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P.S. is a forum for the expression of the concerns of political science as a profession and as

an academic discipline. Its basic aims are to encourage political scientists to participate

more meaningfully in their common life and to stimulate debate about the place of the profession

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Table of Contents

Articles

- 7 **What the Gifted Teacher Gives**
David J. Danelski
Martin Landau
Fred A. Sondermann
- 14 **The Law and The Facts**
Woodrow Wilson

Table of Contents

Sections

Teaching Notes

- 22 The Group Case Study in Political Science Teaching: A Report
Robert Y. Fluno
- 26 The Caucus-Race: Teaching Cyclical Majorities
Thomas W. Casstevens

Reports of APSA Committees

- 28 Preparations for and Conduct of the APSA Elections of 1969:
Report of the Election Committee
- 34 Committee on Program Planning and Review
- 37 Committee on the Status of Blacks in the Profession
- 39 Advisory Committee on "Foreign Relations in the United States"

The Profession

- 44 Bass Report
- 45 Survey of Urban Studies Programs
- 47 Questions for a Political Science Recruit
Inis L. Claude, Jr.

Professional Notes

Association News

Research and Training Support

- 70 Support Available
- 73 Announcement of Awards

Professional Conferences

- 76 Forthcoming Conferences
- 79 Past Conferences

Communications

News and Notes

What the Gifted Teacher Gives

David J. Danelski
Martin Landau
Fred A. Sondermann

On December 7, 1969, the Danforth Foundation announced that three political scientists – David J. Danelski of Yale, Martin Landau of the University of California at Berkeley, and Fred A. Sondermann of Colorado College – had received E. Harris Harbison Awards for “gifted teaching.” The three prize winners discuss the teaching of political science in the following telephone conversation conducted for *PS* by James D. Barber.

Landau I try to help students see the power of their own minds, to feel efficacious as analysts and scholars. I think to a surprising extent we minimize the rather extraordinary powers of analysis that students actually possess. We don’t move as often as we should in the direction of stimulating them to ask “What do I have to say about this particular problem?” and “Why is it that I say what I say about this particular problem?” – *not* “What does the instructor want?” The second thing is to help students reach for the highest standards of scholarship. In my own view, the classroom is as much a scholarly experience, a knowledge factor, as is the laboratory. Too often we don’t treat it with the respect due a genuine scholarly experience. The third thing is to get rid of every damned senseless routine that one can find, from rote textbooks to silly syllabi, and to open up a problem so that any proposal which seems plausible is entertainable and thereafter to proceed to the problem of justification. These are the elements that are especially important to me in a classroom situation.

Danelski I agree with what you say, Martin, and to me an open situation in the classroom means that the traditional notion of the lecture has to go, that the student is not a passive recipient, and that he must be actively involved in the inquiry. Only when you do this can you get what you refer to as the power of analysis on the part of the student, showing him that he has ideas, and that he can think. But in my courses I try to go another step. It may have something to do with the kinds of things I deal with, particularly the analysis of civil liberties decisions of the Supreme Court, where the student not only analyzes important problems of the time in which he is living, but also has an opportunity to examine his value system. Most students, and for that matter most of us, don’t know where they stand in regard on important value questions. The concern for values is, I think, what separates political science from many other disciplines and probably makes the teaching of political science a little easier.

Sondermann Well, I agree substantially with what both Martin and Dave have said, particularly about getting rid of routine. But I think that one of the routines that is very important to get rid of is tests, quizzes, examinations, etc. I haven’t given any classroom tests for three or four years now. My conversion came even earlier and I slowly abandoned the practice altogether. First of all, I don’t like to ask unimportant questions on a test. That’s a waste of the student’s time and of mine. And if I ask important questions on an exam – I recall that one of my students responded once by almost accusing me of putting him in a position where his ethical values were being challenged. He didn’t want to be confronted with the question for the first time and five minutes later put down something on paper that would somehow or other commit him to a position, if only for the time being. So, I’ve gone over exclusively in recent years to a system of take home papers answering questions I pose. If my students don’t particularly like the questions I’m asking, I’m very happy to discuss with them what kinds of questions they would like to answer, what they would like to deal with. I feel that the students work much harder at this sort of thing. I also think they are much more apt to be successful, much more apt to gain a meaningful experience.

I’m not at all interested in having my students come out of my courses with points of view that reflect me, a group of little Sondermanns, if one can call it that. As Martin puts it well, I’m interested in encouraging their analytical skills and their scholarly abilities and to prove to them that they have such. On the other hand, I’m always a little concerned, particularly with students of political science, that some of them, including some of the very best ones, come out having considerable analytical skills, knowing exactly what to do with a particular problem, investigating, analyzing it from a variety of points of view, but then, perhaps just because they have developed this skill, seem utterly unable to come down on one side or the other to say, “Now what do I really think of this?” Where does the balance of value or merit lie in these contrasting arguments?” That seems to me to be a very difficult problem to overcome. I’m not at all sure that I manage very often or very well to overcome it at all, except somehow to demonstrate to them that having performed this kind of operation, while it is difficult to make a judgment, the judgment still needs to be made.

And with Dave, I think the virtue of a political science classroom, is that any point of view is

What the Gifted Teacher Gives

admissible but we have a responsibility as teachers to insist that students understand the implications of their points of view and are willing to live with those implications and consequences.

Landau You know I think I may be a little bit out of tune with both Fred and Dave because in addressing myself to problems of this kind I am concerned that the classroom – my classroom anyway – not be that kind of therapeutic situation which often times is addressed to the “whole student.” I take its main function to derive from the fact that its stock in trade is knowledge. The only commitment that I strive for is a commitment to the concept of knowledge, however we shall define it in the classroom or seminar situation, and I’m not especially concerned with what values students hold, save one, and that is the commitment to knowledge, scholarship, and in some cases to science. But with respect to values generally, I don’t ask my students to commit themselves. However, problems in valuation do arise very, very frequently, and they are entirely relevant to the operations of the classroom. What I try to do with a problem of this kind is to have students employ whatever devices, as rigorous as they can be, that can be deployed for the analysis of values. And these are considerable. So that he gets some picture, not so much of where he stands, but how he thinks, how he organizes his thought, how he forms and develops or adopts whatever values he does. I think that we run the risk at the present time of engaging in activity which is quite immediate and pressing, turning on some concept of “relevance” which can be an awfully dumb kind of concept. We run this risk under the force of very great and significant pressures, and some of these may be of a specious kind which can do grave damage to the integrity of the scholarly enterprise.

Danelski I don’t think that the classroom should be a place for therapy, and I don’t think that examining the values in public policy or in the positions that ultimately are taken by students involves therapy. I think ultimately a concern for the good life and for different conceptions of the good life is at the heart of what we call politics. It is not at the heart of political science, however, and I think that our problem is to bring political science to bear on politics. If we were concerned just about the powers of analysis, it wouldn’t make much difference, I suppose, if we were analyzing the number of trees in a forest or some problem in the physical sciences, but that isn’t what characterizes the content of our teaching. I don’t think that any teacher should use the podium or the

classroom as the means of teaching values, but I cannot see how in the study of politics, as distinguished from the study of political science, we can avoid studying and analyzing values. If we focus on values – especially those of the society in which we live – and their impact on behavior, what we do is related to what is going on in the world outside of the classroom. That is what I see as relevance.

Landau You know, Dave, maybe we’re not in disagreement, because what you put I take as a very legitimate political science problem and I would open up whatever resources we have toward that end. But I think when it comes to the question of relevance, that’s a very, very tricky question and one that’s extremely important. Now it turns out that most of the teaching that I have done has to do with empirical theory, as distinguished from philosophy and the history of philosophy. Well, the fact of the matter is if I have a theoretical formulation before me its relevance is really a matter of empirical research. Its relevance cannot be legislated. It may be relevant and it may not be. The question is to determine whether in fact it is and often times a popular and widely accepted proposed solution to a set of very pressing immediate problems which may define “relevance”, turns out to be irrelevant while formulations which we think of as extremely abstract can turn out to have extraordinary power in solving important social problems.

Danelski I agree, especially when one is concerned with basic research and goes into the classroom to discuss his own or others’ research. Often in such cases relevance isn’t immediately obvious to students. But I think that at the outset of such a discussion, the obligation of an instructor is to demonstrate relevance and if he can’t do this I think he has to some extent failed as a teacher.

Sondermann I think, especially in my own specialty of international relations and foreign policy, the question of relevance is a particularly bothersome one, or maybe it just seems particularly troubling to me because I happen to be in it. Given the expectations of the present student generation, I perceive a certain amount of tension between me and my students. I’ve talked about this with various colleagues elsewhere and I think if they are aware of what is happening, and if they are open about this, they perceive a similar kind of tension. In a course on foreign policy or international relations, students are interested in what happened yesterday and last week and last year, and not too many years before then. They are interested in very concrete happenings and events; they are

less interested in two things that I happen to consider important, as a matter of fact absolutely essential. One is the historical background. The other is the underlying theory of the concrete events with which we deal. As far as many students today are concerned, the Second World War, for example, seems very far removed from them, and that's very difficult for me to accept. For me it was one of the great critical experiences in life. I don't know how old David and Martin are, but that's my generation.

I quite agree with David that we have to demonstrate what the relevance is, that we have to demonstrate the significance. I think we must at the very least insist on our right to make that kind of a demonstration. I haven't always won my case. I do find that in my own teaching I have adjusted myself to shifting expectations on the part of my students. But I must say I've also urged and pressed as much as I can for them to adjust themselves to certain things that I consider to be of legitimate import in the classroom, otherwise I think especially in my field we run the danger of going back to teaching as in the 1920's, to what Ken Thompson and Grayson Kirk have characterized as teaching yesterday morning's *New York Times*. And that's a great risk that we're taking. I'm unwilling to give in to that.

Barber To achieve these ends that you have, is there anything in particular that you've done in the classroom that seems to have worked fairly well in translating these goals for teaching into practice?

Sondermann I've done two things, one being case studies, including not only contemporary ones but also cases, for example in the diplomacy of the Paris peace conference or the Congress of Vienna, and secondly, increasingly the last couple of years I've done some work in the area of simulation. I have reservations about some of the more grandiose claims that are made for simulation, but I do find that after some preparation certain kinds of simulation in international relations bring the problems of the practitioner home to my students in ways in which I think no printed or spoken word from someone else can do. So these are two things that I have tried to do.

Danelski I don't define teaching as something that only takes place in the classroom, and maybe even the most important teaching does not take place in the classroom. It has to do with relationships between some persons called teachers and other persons called students. I find that in tutorials

with one or two students in the office, at coffee shops and in my home, we often talk about things in a way that is more profound than we ordinarily do in a classroom. So I think it might be well to talk about teaching beyond the classroom as well as in the classroom, and I think in the classroom that generally, for me at least, the smaller the group the more easily I can accomplish what I'm seeking to accomplish, not only in the transmission of knowledge, but also in quality of thought on the part of the student. I think that lectures were fine before the invention of the printing press, but with so much of what we are apt to say is in print already, I think the lectures should be de-emphasized.

Barber How do you relate to these students in a small group or in a tutorial situation?

Danelski This is difficult to explain because it is a question of personalities interacting. One thing that I think is important, though, is that the instructor proceed in a non-authoritarian way. One has to be open to any kind of idea that the student might bring up on the subject and let it be known that there will be no sanctions regardless of the idea. Secondly, the student must feel free to make mistakes and even to assert something that might appear foolish or untenable. I think the instructor has a lot to do with how the student feels in a situation like this.

Sondermann It seems to me that the way we teach is a product of the way we were taught, what we admired in some of the teachers we had, what we found missing and lacking in some of the other teachers we had. I think we respond to that and we reflect, both positively and negatively, our own experiences. Hence I do want to say a few kind words for an occasional lecture because I found that when I was an undergraduate student some of the teachers I remember best were teachers who were great lecturers, and I got not only personal pleasure but professional benefit from listening to them. I've largely gotten away from lectures in recent years, but from time to time my students almost urge me to do it and they say, "You know, once in a while at least you ought to lecture, if for no other reason than that we can compare it with what goes on in classroom discussion."

But what I wanted to say in addition to that was to back up a couple of points of Dave's. An experience that affected me very much happened almost fifteen years ago. A former student of mine, who took a number of my classes, then went on to

graduate school, is now teaching in one of the California state colleges, said to me many years later, "You know, my entire professional outlook and life were changed by something you once said to me as we were walking across campus." Well, I haven't the vaguest recollection of ever having walked across campus with him and I couldn't of course begin to recall what it was that I said to him. But to him at that particular moment this was terribly important, where to me it was totally peripheral. When I put this together with some of my own experiences as an undergraduate and also as a graduate student, I think this reinforces what Dave said, namely that so much of whatever impact we have is not impact that derives from our exposition in the classroom, but derives from our relationships with our students outside the classroom in small groups, tutorials, as individuals, in our homes, in the coffee shop and so forth.

Landau As regards my impact, I suppose that if I have any it comes from the entire constellation of the communication net, which may even include the printed word, because you know a good article, a good book, can also be a powerful teaching device, and people can learn from it. I myself am not especially concerned with any specific form of the enterprise because it can take all of the forms mentioned from a large lecture which can be quite productive and stimulating to a little klatsch in a coffee house. As regards my own teaching there are certain devices and techniques I use. Since my own experience as an undergraduate and even a graduate student wasn't all that positive from a teaching point of view, I just examined what my teachers did and I do the opposite.

One of the things that I'm concerned with is just how students proceed to deal with a problem. What's the logic and procedure of their own analysis? And very early and very quickly I turn them back onto their own language and to the images that they employ for purposes of analysis, the metaphors, the models and what have you. In a classroom situation I take a great deal of notes. I take notes as to what the students say and I have my own coding system so I'm not writing all the time. But I feel it incumbent upon me to remember as much as I can about what is being said so that thoughts are not wasted. Oftentimes, I even do this on the blackboard. For me, it's a sign that something positive is happening when a student gets up and walks to the blackboard and takes notes on what I say. There, in naked outline, I stand exposed. Anyway, we turn in on ourselves and the instructor is not excepted

from this process. We turn in to find out what it is that grounds the proposals that we are making with respect to a particular problem. This procedure makes everybody very, very self-conscious about what they're doing and I think it causes much more explicit consideration of the statements that are made. At first it may look like nonsense, but thereafter all of us become quite explicit about what it is we're saying and how we're saying it. In the beginning it may be somewhat awkward, but after a period of say, three or four weeks, we're taking stock of what we have to say and we're asking for justification on whatever ground is appropriate, and often times the ground itself becomes an object of issue.

Now beyond that it is obviously true that personalities interact in a class, it's one of my own personal goals to have ego factors minimized so that we all are students engaged in the same kind of enterprise. This is not easy, but it's possible to achieve to some working extent. When we sit around the table in the classroom or in the coffee house, we are a band of students, and are primarily responding as students. This is at least formally the definition of our situation and something worth striving for by the nature of academic enterprise.

Still another factor that I'd like to introduce here is this: most of the courses I took as a student were programmed; canned is a better term. They were programmed very, very exactly. There was a syllabus and each week was laid out, and here are the readings on this particular problem. All of this reminds me of the way large-scale organizations prematurely program in the interest of certainty whether the conditions for certainty exist or not. As Simon once put it, this is Gresham's law of programming at work – when easy or cheap decisions drive out hard decisions. I think it's quite important to show students that not only can they live with uncertainty, but that uncertainty can be a very significant assist in searching to solve some problems. We tend prematurely to close off too much, and we tend to avoid keeping situations wide open. I like very much what Dave said concerning the power of mistakes. I think the only people who don't make mistakes are dead. The important thing about a mistake is what the hell you are able to learn from it. Given the nature of the closure, instructors often introduce into their class – beginning with A and ending with Z – students really are afraid to make mistakes because they don't really conceive of the situation as genuinely devoted to scholarship. Now, we have much less knowledge than we think we have and we have much less

knowledge than we say we have, and we ought to make this clear to the student. We ought to make it clear to him that he's a participant in the process of gaining knowledge, and things ought not to be mechanical. Here is the question and here is the answer, or here is the question and here is an appropriate kind of discussion which thereafter we will stop or we will drop. If indeed something comes out of this discussion which is a possible solution to a problem and it is important enough to consider, then and there every other thing ought to stop as the class turns to this particular projected solution to see what can be done with it. And if nothing can be done with it at the present moment, then this is one of these uncertainties that we have to face and those who are interested in this problem will go on if they wish, they'll go on to try to change the character of the situation, which means building enough knowledge so that we possess an appropriate solution to the problem. The way we organize courses oftentimes via syllabi and reading lists, presents the appearance of a highly formal and substantial discipline when the case may be just the opposite.

Danelski I think what Marty said is probably the most important thing we can teach. That is, that knowledge is always an open system and that we don't have many answers. In fact maybe we do our best in explaining what we don't know rather than trying to explain what little we do know. What it points out I think is the difference between scholarship and teaching, although obviously the two are related. When you read a book you don't expect to read about a lot of questions. You want answers. There's an introduction and then the data are presented or the theory which will be used to explain the data and then ultimately the analysis and some conclusion. In the classroom we can't always operate that way and I don't think we always should. By the way, I'm not completely against lectures. But a lecture is often like the work of scholarship. It has a beginning, a middle and an end, and on the lecture podium we often talk as though we have many of the answers. The student does not have the opportunity to raise questions or we don't help them raise the questions as I think we should if we are going to operate in an open rather than a closed system of knowledge.

Another question I think we should get into is this: there's been an effort to give people more time for research. That has reduced the number of hours that we teach, and the result in many schools, particularly the large universities is larger classes, and with the larger classes some people have

felt that they have no alternative but to lecture. But the lecture is moving us toward a closed system of knowledge instead of the open system of knowledge.

I'd like to add one thing that moves away from the classroom again, and that's the research situation with the graduate and the undergraduate student. I think there's nothing more magnificent in the teaching relationship than working out a research problem with the student, giving him pretty much of the burden of defining it, but having to defend it to you, his then going out into the field to do the research and finally coming back to you with his findings and interpretations. Or having him work with you on something that you are doing so the student can see how step by step you think through the problem, where you derive theory, where you get data to test theory, how you ultimately interpret the data and make your analysis. I think this is a good way to teach. To me it is the essence of graduate teaching, but I think at least my experience here has been that it works with undergraduates and that those who really catch fire are good candidates for our profession.

Sondermann I am dealing primarily with undergraduates here in the college, although I do some graduate teaching at the University of Denver. But speaking about undergraduates, I want to back up what Dave said. I think that it's terribly exciting to see an undergraduate strike out on his own, to define a problem with whatever help he feels he needs, go out to research it, discuss it with me or one of my colleagues. I think this is the essence of teaching. I'd also like to comment on Martin's excellent point on the open versus the closed system in the classroom. In the sixteen years that I've taught at the college and university level, I find a kind of steady progression in my own technique. I used to be very uptight, to use current jargon, about covering certain facets of a subject, facets that I had defined as germane to the subject. I found over the years that I have become less and less concerned with whether or not we cover everything that at one time I may have thought ought to be included in a course on a certain subject. I find that in an international relations course you become very much involved with the question, let's say, of pacifism as a viable position in international relations. If that means that we're not going to cover collective security or that we're not going to cover arms control simply because the calendar doesn't permit it, so what? I think it is far more important for us to go wherever the interests of the people in the class and my own interest seem to direct us. So for that reason I find that I pay less and less

What the Gifted Teacher Gives

attention to syllabi, previous assignments and so forth. Now I find some students have difficulty accepting this. They want certainty, they want clear signals, and I think it takes a certain amount of time to convince them this is not as essential as perhaps they've learned to think from their high school experience or their experience in other classes.

On the research and teaching problem, as Martin says, the ideal relationship between us and our students is to think of all of us as students, all of us as learners, all of us as searching to discover and understand something that we have previously understood only imperfectly or not at all. I think then in one way or another the question really answers itself, whether this happens to be a major research project, which may take a great deal of our time, which may from time to time take us away from our campuses, or whether it be an attempt better to understand a particular problem. The student who sees us as a fellow student, as a fellow learner, I think has a glimpse of what I would consider the appropriate relationship between him and me.

Barber How about teaching and research in terms of your own role? Is it true that every hour you take for your teaching is an hour taken away from your own research? Or to put it more realistically, is the overlap really quite small? And if there is a productive area of overlap, how do you arrange that, how do you exploit the intersection of these interests?

Danelski I came into academic life almost by accident. Some years ago I was practicing law in a little town in western Washington and I was asked to fill in at a junior college for an old teacher who was ill. I came to teach economics and psychology, supposedly for a week, and when the old man died I stayed on and taught those subjects as well as philosophy and English for a year. I then came to graduate school to prepare for a teaching career. But I soon found out that graduate work and that political science as a profession was concerned primarily with research. I accepted the research commitment, but there's always been an ambivalence in me about not doing more on the teaching end. Therefore most of my working days from about nine in the morning till about five or six in the evening are primarily spent with students, and my research begins after dinner at home or back at the office, on Saturdays and Sundays, during summers, and whenever I can get leave. I'm willing to accept that as roughly a proper division. I think for me – but

not necessarily for everybody – that's the appropriate mix, that what I do primarily in the university is teach while I'm there and during summers and times that I am free I do research. The one complaint that I have, having come from another profession which is reasonably well paid, is that we are underpaid as professionals. The result for me is that I often have to spend time set aside for research and writing (especially summers) trying to earn money to support my family. This makes for tension, but its source is not some inconsistency between teaching and research, but not being paid enough to do both as well as I should like.

Sondermann Well, the line on this difficulty forms on the left, I suppose. I should think that many of us feel the same kind of difficulty. I'm in a somewhat different situation, I assume, because I teach at a small, private undergraduate college where research and publications are not demanded although they are rewarded when they happen, but other things are also rewarded such as good teaching, even without any very large record of publication. I happen to think it's a good system. Maybe I only think so because I'm in it and because it corresponds to my own preferences. It does mean that whatever I do in the way of research and publication I do because I consider it important and I want to do it. I feel no external pressure to produce. I'm not suggesting that everyone at other schools feels such pressure, that no one does anything because he wants to do it himself, but I think there's a difference in tone between the liberal arts college and the university and very properly and appropriately there should be. For the last three years or so I spent a great deal of the time that I don't spend directly teaching editing a journal. I feel that this helps to keep me in the mainstream of what is going on in my field. I think in some ways it helps me either to make a contribution myself or to encourage others to make certain kinds of contributions that I consider significant. So I think that I'm fulfilling my responsibility to the profession as well as my responsibility to my students and to the institution where I teach. But the tension and the pulls in different directions certainly do exist. One way out of it that some of my colleagues have been more successful at than I has been to involve their students in research efforts. Now in the field of international relations and foreign policy either that's a little bit more difficult than it is in certain other fields such as American politics and public opinion, or else I haven't discovered the right method of doing it yet. While I've tried it a couple of times I don't think it's been conspicuously successful.

Landau I don't put the problem as "teaching versus research." They're not disjunctive. They are of necessity conjunctive. But on the matter of scheduling, I guess that's a personal problem with people, how they'll work out their calendars with respect to the distribution of time for these two aspects of the task is quite idiosyncratic and so I won't comment on that save to say I quite agree with Dave that given what it is that most of us try to do, we sure as hell are underpaid as compared to other professionals. But to come to the business of teaching and research, you know each of us has to protect against obsolescence to the best of his ability. Such is the nature of both the enterprise and our responsibility to it. Knowledge grows at an extraordinary rate, and it is required of us, if we're not going to be fakers in the classroom to be as conversant as possible with what is happening and even to contribute to that happening. In my own case getting involved in problems which are "of a research nature" is a very necessary involvement if I'm going to do what I have to do and do it well. I don't know when I will become obsolescent, and while it will surely happen if it hasn't yet it is something that I spend a great deal of time trying, however successfully or not, to guard against. I suspect that if I'm successful in this regard, I'm going to be successful in the classroom as well. The only tension that I see between research and teaching arises on the basis of the reward system in the university. If, indeed, the classroom is a scholarly experience and if it is important – and to me its importance is without question – then we ought to try to right the balance of rewards between research and teaching. All that I mean here is this: in the several universities which I am familiar with, if you are a great publisher, quantity-wise, if you keep publishing article after article after article, and book after book after book, a good part of which may be published for only that reason, then rewards come easily and quickly. But if you don't have that long publication list, but are a superb scholar and teacher the rewards are not nearly analogous. I think that if a better balance could be achieved in this regard, not one as against the other, but simply introducing a factor which we minimize now the situation might be changed in an appreciably better manner. Too often we just don't take enough account of the importance of the classroom in a university system or even to our own research enterprises. By the classroom situation, I don't necessarily mean the formal classroom. A lot of us teach research assistants. It's a very important teaching experience and one, incidentally, which because it falls directly under the label "research,"

is perhaps better rewarded. When we move out into the ordinary classroom situation, the story is a little bit different as we all know, and if we could change this situation – not downgrade our involvement with research assistants and with other colleagues as well, but upgrade our conception and our evaluation of the classroom situation – this would be a significant increment to the profession and to the university.

Danelski I'd be interested in Martin's analysis of why we've reached this pass where teaching does not receive the same rewards as scholarship. Ostensibly it does. The rhetoric of university policies is that teaching stands as an equal with research. I should say good teaching stands as an equal with good research. Yet we know in practice, and when pinned down many university presidents and chairmen will admit, that really what ultimately counts is publication.

Landau Well, I think it's an organizational problem and I don't know that I have the answer. I think it largely has to do with the way we are responding to external influences, that is, sources of money, and with the way we have defined our profession and certain aspects of the profession. We define ourselves largely as scholars and researchers, which is perfectly acceptable to me. Indeed, I do so define us, but somehow we exclude the classroom from this particular set.

Sondermann One of my colleagues in the history department once said, "Why am I an historian and the man who teaches history down the street at the high school is a history teacher?"

Danelski I think the heart of the problem is that good teaching in universities today is generally, in practice, neither respected nor rewarded. I think that stems from some of the things that Marty indicated, the kinds of things that give a university prestige. But in the quest for prestige, some important things are often neglected, among them, unfortunately, a concern for good teaching.

The Law and The Facts

Woodrow Wilson

The life of society is a struggle for law. Where life is fixed in unalterable grooves, where it moves from day to day without change or thought of change, law is also, of course, stationary, permanent, graven upon the face of affairs as if upon tables of stone. But where life changes law changes, changes under the impulse and fingering of life itself. For it records life; it does not contain it; it does not originate it. It is subsequent to fact; it takes its origin and energy from the actual circumstances of social experience. Law is an effort to fix in definite practice what has been found to be convenient, expedient, adapted to the circumstances of the actual world. Law in a moving, vital society grows old, obsolete, impossible, item by item. It is not necessary to repeal it or to set it formally aside. It will die of itself,—for lack of breath,—because it is no longer sustained by the acts or by the moral or practical judgments of the community whose life it has attempted to embody.

There is, indeed, a sort of law which pushes ahead of fact, or seems to. I mean the law, so common in our day, which attempts to correct the habits or to guide the tendencies of society. Take our sanitary laws, for example. They do not record habit; they try to alter it. They are not a reduction to rule, merely, of practices into which society has naturally or instinctively settled. They seek to impose upon us, rather, habits and practices which we would not without their duress have adopted. They are based oftentimes upon scientific facts and principles which are not of common observation. We are very obedient to our men of science. We accept the conclusions of their laboratories without question or criticism and embody them in our rules of life, in our laws, with great benefit to our health, but in obedience to authority, not to experience,—at any rate not to experience which is of our own development or discovery.

But even this is only an apparent exception. Law is still subsequent to the facts. Though they be not of our own discovery and we receive them on faith, they are none the less facts. Law follows them; it does not precede or predict or invent them. It is obedient to experience. It accepts the ascertained, the accomplished, the proved and established circumstance, and frames it into an imperative rule of conduct under the compulsion of what men have found to be true.

I take the science of politics to be the accurate and detailed observation of these processes by which the lessons of experience are brought into the field of consciousness, transmuted into active purposes, put under the scrutiny of discussion, sifted, and at last given determinate form in law. Nothing that forms or affects human life seems to me to be properly foreign to the student of politics.

I do not know how some students of politics get long without literature, as some of them make shift to do,—without the interpretations of poetry or of any of the other imaginative illuminations of life,—or without art, or any of the means by which

men have sought to picture to themselves what their days mean or to represent to themselves the voices that are forever in their ears as they go their doubtful journey. They read history, indeed, in search of the "facts;" but if they miss the deepest facts of all, the spiritual experiences, the visions of the mind, the aspirations of the spirit that are the pulse of life, I do not see how they can understand the facts or know what really moves the world. Very often they do not.

Politics is of the very stuff of life. Its motives are interlaced with the whole fibre of experience, private and public. Its relations are intensely human, and generally intimately personal. It is very dangerous to reason with regard to it on principles that are fancied to be universal; for it is local. Its items are of the time and place. What happens in its field is shot through with a thousand accidental elements which you will not find again upon another occasion, because occasions are not similar. And yet there is a large movement in it all which is independent in some strange way of time and place and accidental elements. There are big facts and tendencies to be picked out. There are circumstances which link whole communities together, make them feel their common interest, reveal to them their common relations, and push them forward into the field of law. They must seek a common order, whether they will or not; they must shape institutions to suit their lives and give vent to their common purposes; they must drive a strong, steadfast peg of law in at each step of their struggle forward to hold them where they are.

This study becomes more and more complex because society changes under our very eyes. I suppose there never was a time when things were actually simple. They look so to us in very ancient times of which we have scant record, no doubt, because we know very little about them. They were complex enough, even then, it may be; but we see them only in bulk, and the mass looks simple and easy of description. But manifestly affairs have grown more and more complex as civilization has deployed upon the modern stage.

There was a time, for example, when societies, when nations, seemed to move forward in mass, all together, their internal interests, at any rate, linked and interrelated in some reasonably manifest fashion. Their law was all of one weaving. The classes of which they were made up were formed in one common mould,—were at least continuously conscious of one another and united in a single nexus of forces. In our day, on the contrary, there is an extraordinary, an unprecedented differentiation. There is a perceptible movement in distinct economic and therefore distinct social sections. Society is too various to see itself as a whole, and the vision of those who study it is confused. Interests have their own separate and complicated development, and must, it has seemed, be made separately and individually the subject of legal regulation and adjustment. The relations which have come to rule in our day in the field of law seen to be the relations of interests, of vast and powerful economic sections of society, rather than of individuals. Laws intended to affect one set of interests directly and vitally are not only not meant to affect other interests directly but other interests are often ignorant of them, wholly indifferent to them. They do

The Law and The Facts

not touch their comprehension, do not enter into their calculations, are not permitted to affect their development.

For these sections and interests are powerfully organized, for the management, defence, and expansion of their own enterprises, personnel, and properties. Their power and their resources are concentrated, their management centered in definite and active agencies. They are equipped to take care of themselves, and are alert for every advantage.

Take the case of the United States. The development of its law in the generations with which we are most familiar has not been a development which yielded to or expressed a movement all along the line, an impulse of mass, a correlation of forces of which the whole social body was conscious. It has, on the contrary, been a rapid development of individual forces in a crowded field upon which interests did not move together but asserted themselves separately and in confused rivalry. Our national growth has been rapid not only but prodigious, alike in respect of population and of material wealth, of physical and of financial power. We are dealing with resources which we deemed inexhaustible. Hope and energy in a free field wrought marvels, as they must always do when untrammelled and with tools and materials at their hand. It has been a great spectacle of splendid force released and challenged by every circumstance to work its will. It has, too, been a regime of utter individualism. The forces as well as the men have acted independently, of their own initiative, at their own choice, in their own way. And law has not drawn them together,—it does not appear that it was its object to draw them together. Our national policy has been a policy of stimulation, but of miscellaneous stimulation. Any one who clamoured for legislative aid and brought the proper persuasive influences to bear could get assistance and encouragement. It was everybody for everything upon a disordered field. There was no attempt to coördinate. Our legislation has been atomistic, miscellaneous, piecemeal, makeshift.

And so individual interests without number have been built up. They have not been harnessed to a common cause; the common cause was supposed to be individual development and the right of those who could to use the country and its resources for the release of their private energy and the piling up of their own wealth. Separate opportunities were studied, not common obligations, variety, not community, of interest. A free field and all the favour the law could show was our rule of life, our standard of policy. Interests of this, that, or the other sort grew so big that they necessarily touched and interlaced. Their contacts made them conscious of one another. Each sought the whole field and met the others in it, made rivals of them, or allies. But there was no common guiding spirit or purpose; there was no mandate of law to mould them into one another, to unite, reconcile, harmonize, direct them. The courts mediated between them, but had no means or standard by which they could accommodate their activities to the interest of communities and of men of every kind outside directors' rooms and offices and banks.

And so the field, almost the subject-matter, of our study has changed. It is still the object of political science to see how the forces move, to note how experience develops into law. But experience does not move with an even front, and law responds to it after its own variety, in sections, in special channels, in segments fitted to special interests. Our search is for the common interest, but where shall we find it? It is displayed in no common phenomena,—at any rate in none that can be easily discerned. If we would discover it, we must compound it for ourselves out of scattered and disparate elements. We must look away from the piecemeal law books, the miscellaneous and disconnected statutes and legal maxims, the court decisions, to the life of men, in which there is always, of necessity, an essential unity, which, whether it will or no, whether it is conscious of it or not, *must* be of a piece, *must* have a pattern which can be traced. Here are the fragments; the laws, the separate forces, the eager competing interests, the disordered *disjecta membra* of a system which is no system, which does not even suggest system, but which must somehow be built together into a whole which shall be something more than a mere sum of the parts.

This is the task, the difficult, elusive, complex, and yet imperative task of political science. It is also the task of the new statesmanship, which must be, not a mere task of compromise and makeshift accommodation, but a task of genuine and lasting adjustment, synthesis, coordination, harmony, and union of parts.

It is first of all, I take it, a task of elucidation, not to say of discovery,—of discovery through thorough elucidation. We have heard a great deal of hopeful talk in recent months about the need of a non-partisan, expert commission to get at the facts about the incidence and actual operation and effect of the protective tariff which Congress has built up into so wonderful and fearful a structure, about the cost of production and the proper basis for duties, about the condition of industry in its various branches and the precise result of this, that, or the other legislative stimulation by means of taxation. It is expected that such a commission would, by investigation of a dispassionate and disinterested sort, afford us what is optimistically spoken of as a “scientific” basis for a revision of the system,—by which, I suppose, it is meant that it would afford us light without heat, elucidation that would not be *ex parte* argument, an exposition of things that would not have the requisite tilt and surface for log-rolling. I trust that such hopes are not ill-founded; but I refer to them here only for the sake of illustration, not to give myself the opportunity to express an opinion. Such a commission would be in fact a commission to discover, amidst our present economic chaos, a common interest, so that we might legislate for the whole country instead of for this, that, or the other interest, one by one. Students of political science are a self-constituted commission in the broader political field for a similar purpose.

They must discover, amidst the confusion of modern elements the common term, the common interest,—or, rather, they must discover the *missing* term. For, as I have said, the whole is not the mere sum of the parts. These scattered pieces, these separately developed elements of modern economic society, do not disclose, when put together, a whole and consistent pattern. The letters they contain do not make a

complete word. The words they contain do not make a complete sentence. Express them all at their best and you still have not found a voice for the common interest, for the forces that must harmonize and round out the life of modern society.

Perhaps we can find a starting point for the new synthesis which this latest enterprise of our thinking must seek to accomplish in two definitions which I have recently ventured to suggest in another place. We are dealing, in our present discussion, with business and we are dealing with life as an organic whole, and modern politics is an accommodation of these two. Suppose we define business as the economic service of society for private profit, and suppose we define politics as the accommodation of all social forces, the forces of business of course included, to the common interest. We may thus perceive our task in all its magnitude and extraordinary significance. Business must be looked upon, not as the exploitation of society, not as its use for private ends, but as its sober service; and private profit must be regarded as legitimate only when it is in fact a reward for what is veritably serviceable,—serviceable to interests which are not single but common, as far as they go; and politics must be the discovery of this common interest, in order that the service may be tested and exacted.

In this conception society is the senior partner in all business. It must be first considered,—society as a whole, in its permanent and essential, not merely in its temporary and superficial, interests. If private profits are to be legitimized, private fortunes made honourable, these great forces which play upon the modern field must, both individually and collectively, be accommodated to a common purpose. Politics has to deal with and harmonize many other forces besides those of business merely. Business serves our material needs, but not often our spiritual. But the business forces are nowadays the most powerful (perhaps they have always been the most powerful) with which politics has to deal. They are the hardest to correlate, tame, and harness; and for the time being our anxious interest centres upon them. Let us extract from them, if we can, the new term of peace and prosperity which will be found in their genuine and successful synthesis.

The economists cannot help us, I fear. They must segregate these great phenomena of which I have spoken, I suppose, and study them in their pure and separate force, as they are; whereas segregation is just what we, as students of political science, are seeking to offset and correct. We wish to study them, not separately, nor even in combination only with one another, but in combination with the influences, the interests, the aspects of life which are not economic, but stuff of fortune, of peace of mind, of fair and generous dealing, of good will and enlightenment and public service.

There is the statesmanship of thought and there is the statesmanship of action. The student of political science must furnish the first, out of his full store of truth, discovered by patient inquiry, dispassionate exposition, fearless analysis, and frank inference. He must spread a dragnet for all the facts, and must then look upon them

steadily and look upon them whole. It is only thus that he can enrich the thinking and clarify the vision of the statesman of action, who has no time for patient inquiry, who must be found in his facts before he can apply them in law and policy, who must have stuff of truth for his conscience and his resolution to rely on.

I know that the statesman and the student of political science have not hitherto often been partners. The statesman has looked askance upon the student,—at any rate in America, and has too often been justified because the student did not perceive the real scope and importance of what he was set to do and overlooked much of the great field from which he should have drawn his facts,—was not a student of thought and of affairs but merely a reader of books and documents. But the partnership is feasible, with a change in the point of view; and the common interest must somehow be elucidated and made clear, if the field of action is not to be as confused as the field of thought.

I do not mean that the statesman must have a body of experts at his elbow. He cannot have. There is no body of experts. There is no such thing as an expert in human relationships. I mean merely that the man who has the time, the discrimination, and the sagacity to collect and comprehend the principal facts and the man who must act upon them must draw near to one another and feel that they are engaged in a common enterprise. The student must look upon his studies more like a human being and man of action, and the man of action must approach his conclusions more like a student.

Business is no longer in any proper sense a private matter. It is not in our day usually conducted by independent individuals, each acting upon his own initiative in the natural pursuit of his own economic wants. It is pursued by great companies, great corporations, which exist only by express license of law and for the convenience of society, and which are themselves, as it were, little segments of society. Law is not accommodating itself, therefore, to the impulses and enterprises of individuals, as experience pushes it forward from change to change; but is accommodating itself, rather, to the impulses of bodies of men, to the aggregate use of money drawn from a myriad of sources as if from the common savings of society at large. The processes of change will be organic only in proportion as they are guided and framed along self-consistent lines of general policy. As experience becomes more and more aggregate law must be more and more organic, institutional, constructive. It is a study in the correlation of forces.

After all, it is not a purely intellectual process, this interpretation of experience, this translation of experience into law. I said just now that I did not see how the student of political science could make shift to know what he was about without the lamps of literature to light his way,—those flames, those lambent spirits of men, that burn in the pages of books that some of you are apt to put away from you as having no significance as of science and of fact in them. Nothing interprets but vision, and ours is a function of interpretation. Nothing perceives but the spirit when you are dealing with the intricate life of men, shot through with passion and tragedy and

ardour and great hope. That is the reason that I said that there were no experts in human relationships. Sympathy is your real key to the riddle of life. If you can put yourself in men's places, if you can see the same facts from the points of view of many scores of men of as many different temperaments, fortunes, environments, if you have Shakespearian range and vision, then things fall into their places as you look upon them and are no longer confused, disordered scattered abroad without plan or relation. You must not classify men too symmetrically; you must not gaze dispassionately upon them with scientific eye. You must yield to their passion and feel the pulse of their life when you are studying them no less than when you are acting for them. Organic processes of thought will bring you organic processes of law. Nothing else will.

Let us break with our formulas, therefore. It will not do to look at men congregated in bodies politic through the medium of the constitutions and traditions of the states they live in, as if that were the glass of interpretation. Constitutions are vehicles of life, but not sources of it. Look at all men everywhere first of all as at human beings struggling for existence, for a little comfort and ease of heart, for happiness amidst the things that bind and limit them. Such and such are the conditions of law and effort and rivalry amidst which they live, such and such are their impediments, their sympathies, their understandings with one another. See them in their habits as they live and perhaps you will discern their errors of method, their errors of motive, their confusions of purpose, and the assistance the wise legislator might afford them.

I do not like the term political science. Human relationships, whether in the family or in the state, in the counting house or in the factory, are not in any proper sense the subject-matter of science. They are stuff of insight and sympathy and spiritual comprehension. I prefer the term Politics, therefore, to include both the statesmanship of thinking and the statesmanship of action. Your real statesman is first of all, and chief of all, a great human being, with an eye for all the great field upon which men like himself struggle, with unflagging pathetic hope, towards better things. He is a man big enough to think in the terms of what others than himself are striving for and living for and seeking steadfastly to keep in heart till they get. He is a guide, a comrade, a mentor, a servant, a friend of mankind. May not the student of politics be the same? May not his eye, too, follow the dusty roads, scan the scattered mass, observe the crowded homes, heed the cry of the children as well as the silent play of the busy fingers that toil that they may be fed, follow the lines of strain, of power, of suffering, get a vision of all the things that tell; and then, with no precise talk of phenomena or of laws of actions, interpret what he feels no less than what he sees to the man of action, too much engrossed, it may be, to see so much or over so wide a field, too much immersed to hear any but the nearby cries and clamours, too eagerly bent upon his immediate task to scan the distant view?

Know your people and you can lead them; study your people and you may know

them. But study them, not as congeries of interests, but as a body of human souls, the least as significant as the greatest,—not as you would calculate forces, but as you would comprehend life. In such an atmosphere of thought and association even corporations may seem instrumentalities, not objects in themselves, and the means may presently appear whereby they may be made the servants, not the masters, of the people. The facts are precedent to all remedies; and the facts in this field are spiritually perceived. Law is subsequent to the facts, but the law and the facts stand related, not as cause and effect, but, rather, as life and its interpretation.

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Teaching Notes

The Group Case Study in Political Science Teaching: A Report

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The political scientist shares a responsibility for political education with his friend the politician. He shies away, however, from "state capitol tours" no matter how well disguised in academic terminology. The college and university-level teacher wishes to make certain that the close relationship between his work in the realm of "practical" political education and the more conventional academic approach is made clear to his students. Whitman College has thus, in recent years, conducted an experiment which combines political education with more conventional academic programs, inaugurating, in 1961-62, a program in which a group of students conduct their own case study research.¹ The collectively researched "group case study" described in this article has developed as the result.

This author has been making use of published case studies as a teaching tool for some twenty years. Convinced of the effectiveness of this educational device, it was natural to wonder why selected students might not be able to learn considerably more by "doing," by writing their own cases, by analyzing events they uncover on their own. This query, plus frustration with previous devices of political education, led to experimentation with student-authored cases. The major advantages are quite obvious. Like political internships, the student has the valuable experience of working cooperatively with political leaders, but the academic instructor is now in control of the situation. Unlike workshops and seminars with public leaders, encounters between student and politician now have clear focus: the student has a specific purpose and a vitality of interest—he knows what he is after. Perhaps most importantly, process is not separated from policy in teaching: the study explores the feelings of need and the social ethics behind a proposal as well as the mechanisms which formulate a proposal to meet those needs.

The Whitman Experiment. Whitman political science majors have sometimes chosen to write case studies under the senior thesis program in that department, but the results were by no means always of high quality. When, therefore, the first group of students began collective research on the case of a school budget enacted in the previous session of the state legislature, there was both hopefulness and skepticism in the mind of the instructor. The first year (1961-62) started in a modest way. Only one hour of credit was assigned to the work each semester

and there was a division of labor among the students, each person undertaking part of the task and reporting back to his colleagues. The results were sufficiently encouraging to suggest further experimentation. Since that first trial, a variety of experience has been accumulated, providing lessons as to the most effective means of operating such a collective research project. It was discovered, for one thing, that with undergraduate students, a division of labor in research is seldom effective: it is better to have all of them perform every major function, occasionally dividing the more time-consuming functions among several-member teams. Too great a division of research responsibility results in an unevenness in the work and in the process of reporting to the whole group. This lowers morale at the same time that it damages the quality of the final product. Furthermore, by having each student perform all the tasks for himself, all members of the group are fully informed of the facts and fully appreciative of research problems.

The amount of labor for the student varies with the material studied, but it is generally far in excess of that required in a standard semester-long course. As the program has developed, the importance of thoroughness has been stressed more and more, resulting in increasing student work loads and also in a higher quality of student participation. The course normally begins with analysis of several previously published case studies relevant to the planned case to remind students of the general method. For example, in tax cases students have been assigned cases in which Governors Foster Furcolo and Orville Freeman battled their way through fiscal policy proposals with their legislatures.² The next step has been for students to read works of a scholarly nature which relate the case to the wider discipline of political science and provide a frame of reference for the issues in the case. For example, in a case study on the role of British Columbia in the Columbia River waters treaty, students read a number of articles on Canadian politics, a standard text-book on Canadian government, a short book on Canadian-American relations, and several articles on the control of international waterways. While completing such a background study, students begin research to provide a survey of the events, developing a chronology which includes a mass of details from which they will later be able to pick and choose points worthy of discussing in their final report.

2 See J. P. Mallan & George Blackwell, "The Tax that Beat a Governor," in Alan F. Westin (ed.), *The Uses of Power*, (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1962), pp. 286-322; and Thomas Flinn, *Governor Freeman and the Minnesota Budget*, Inter-University Case Program #60 (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1961).

1 The author is indebted to the editors of *School and Society* for permission to repeat a few paragraphs from the author's article on this subject in that journal. See the issue of 18 March 1967, pp. 188-191.

Toward the end of the first semester students are required to submit, for grading, an extensive outline including background factors, peripheral issues, a list of major participants, an extensive chronology, and a number of interpretive and factual questions worth investigation during the interview process. When such outlines are completed, the group works together to reach agreement on the story as uncovered in library research, agreeing as to which elements are unclear and as to what facts are missing. The instructor acts as secretary for the group, attempting, on the blackboard, to work out an outline combining the work of the students. Not having performed the research himself, he takes the role of a critical observer, trying to piece together what the students have presented and making certain that he understands the implications. There is inevitable confusion and argument over events and their interpretation, making for lively classroom discussion and provoking stimulating inquiry later on at the interview stage.

A few group interviews with active participants in the case are sometimes held on campus late in the first semester with legislators or others who are familiar with the case. Whitman has an advantage in this respect in that it is on the Washington-Oregon border and in the Columbia River treaty case there were several government officials in Eastern Washington who were involved in negotiations. But the chief interview period usually occurs during the second week of the second semester. Students spend the better part of a week on location, talking with legislators, governors, administrators, journalists, lobbyists, and an occasional political scientist. Frequently this involves visits to more than one city. In the Washington reapportionment case interviews were held in Olympia and Seattle as well as in a small town in which the crucial Supreme Court case of *Thigpen v. Myers* originated. In an Oregon tax case it was necessary to visit a small town newspaper editor who sparked a "tax revolt" campaign. All interviews are conducted in group sessions, normally in the official's own conference room. The system ensures a variety of perspectives: each student is inclined to have a somewhat different direction in his inquiry and yet all have the opportunity of hearing the response. Student questions are usually sharp and penetrating, demonstrating an understanding of the difficulties of public office. Once officials discover the quality of student preparation and the purposefulness of the questions, they become thoroughly cooperative. In the Columbia Treaty case the good reputation of the group of interviewing students was particularly crucial. It appeared to be impossible to arrange an interview with Premier Bennett of British Columbia,

the central figure in the story. The group was told, quite bluntly, by other officials, that no such meeting was likely to be arranged. The Premier failed to answer correspondence, as had been predicted. Several trips to his outer office during the interviewing week resulted in no commitment for a meeting. But, toward the end of the week, having heard about the lively meetings held with other officials, he unexpectedly walked into one of the sessions, sat in the back and listened, then announced that he would see the group that afternoon.

Whenever possible the interview stage is planned for a time when a legislature is in session so that most officials will be present and so that any spare time can be spent in and around legislative chambers. Once this interview stage is completed, usually early in the second semester, students begin work on their final reports. The completion of those reports around the middle of the semester allows the instructor to comment critically on them and permits the students to make final revisions.

The Learning Experience. Undergraduates find original research a flattering challenge. One former student traces his decision to enter graduate training in American government to "the excitement generated by seeing months of library research given real substance in the process of interviewing for the case."³ Students take pride in showing acuteness in their questioning of political leaders. An element of intrigue sometimes adds spice to the work, as, in the 1964-65 case, when the instigator of a referendum movement which succeeded in repealing an Oregon tax law informed the students "in deepest confidence" that his actions had been encouraged by a state official — quite a serious charge if it had proven true. The allegation was categorically denied by the officer involved and by other, more neutral sources, but it did add a note of human interest for the students. In 1965-66 there were denials or statements of "no comment" in the press regarding communications between the Premier of British Columbia and U.S. government officials, talks which would have been a breach of etiquette, since a provincial executive had no business communicating with a foreign power except through his own national government. In that case students were able, through subtle questioning, to discover verifications which made them privy to "off the record" knowledge. In the Washington State reapportionment case the stu-

3 Upon request for this article from the Editor of *P.S.* the author polled a few alumni of the case program but did not have time to communicate with all graduates who have taken part. He is grateful for their help.

Teaching Notes

The Group Case Study in Political Science Teaching: A Report

dents enjoyed eliciting facts about a Federal judge's role after he had stated, at the outset, that he could not properly discuss such matters. As one 1969 graduate put it, "the case study gives a focus to the examination of the political process for which there is no ready substitute." "Being well informed," he went on to say, "the students can engage in a meaningful dialogue with key persons directly involved in a policy issue."

Perhaps the most dangerous stereotype in American thinking, from the standpoint of understanding the operations of a democracy, is the misconception that public officials are somehow second-rate people. The collectively-researched case study quickly gives the students an appreciation of the caliber of public officials and the difficulties of their tasks. There is no academic substitute, according to one alumnus of the program, for a living demonstration that "the men who make our laws, while they may in fact be motivated by highest concerns for the public interest or for the interests of their constituents, nevertheless sincerely disagree." Students also achieve an understanding that virtue is by no means limited to members of one political party. The complexity of the processes, even though explained in classroom courses, become more dramatically obvious during the exploration of the cases. Students find that no matter how hard they try, there are always environmental factors which remain unexplored. They see how tangential issues affect the development of a story, becoming convinced that no social event takes place in isolation. When, in the 1963-64 case for example, students discovered that a battle within the Republican delegation in Congress over aid to depressed areas had a direct bearing on the authorization of an electric generating plant at Hanford, Washington, this tangential character of public issues was dramatically demonstrated.⁴

Evaluation of the Program. Each of the published cases commonly used in classrooms has particular merits for different teaching objectives. The same may be said of the student-researched case. There is no one criterion for judging "the best." Paradoxically, the one case which has so far been published nationally was perhaps the least effective for the students involved.⁵ In large part this was because we could not afford the time or money to make a trip to Washington, D.C. Experience with

eight cases researched so far, however, makes me wonder if the national capitol might not almost be too overwhelming for an effective program of this sort, unless the group were to spend two or three weeks on the scene. The intimacy of Olympia, Salem, or Victoria, in which the scale brings all key participants in close relationship to each other, makes it much simpler to see the whole process. The most successful of the cases may have been the study of the reapportionment in Washington arising out of the Supreme Court rulings of 1962-64. This case involved all branches of government, very intense political and personal battles, technical expertise in district-shaping, a flamboyant use of the judicial power in which the courts actually prohibited the legislature from passing its normal legislation, and fundamental questions of democratic representation. The Columbia Treaty case was undoubtedly the most intriguing. British Columbia politics is an entirely different creature from that in a typical American state; students discovered a strange kind of frontier politics within an ancient parliamentary tradition. The almost automatic use of direct legislation in Oregon tax reform efforts makes its tax policies particularly interesting for case study because students normally have an opportunity to include at least one poll of voter opinion.

A suitable case for such group research must be sufficiently controversial and sufficiently dramatic to have been given full coverage in the public press. In many state legislatures there is little documentary material for student use. Although some documents are always available, major reliance must be on the press. This eliminates many "small" issues which might otherwise be provocative. I have been tempted to assign a local government case but have so far not done so, primarily because the state legislature provides a more diverse source of persons for interviewing. Some legislators inevitably turn out to be unhelpful, but there are always many others who fill the gap. The smaller councils of local government, except perhaps in the very largest of cities, would not seem to present the full arena which is available for major state government issues.

Like any laboratory course, this program is expensive. Too large a group of students increases the chance that weaker students will rely upon their superior colleagues to produce thorough research and sharp and useful questions in the interview process. Ideally the group should not exceed ten, or perhaps twelve, although I have worked with larger groups. There are problems regarding the length of the program. A semester is

4 This case is, to my knowledge, the only one published as a result of the methods described herein. See the author's "Power, Plutonium, and Politics," in R. Tresolini and R. T. Frost, *Cases in American National Government and Politics*, (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1966), pp. 1-10.
5 *Ibid.*

too short and a year is sometimes too long. I intend to explore one suggestion, made by alumni of the program, that the students take part in what they like to call "hash sessions," criticizing each other's final report and working toward a publishable combined product. Another suggestion, made by a teaching colleague who joined in one of the interview periods, is to conduct two cases together, giving the students a comparative perspective. But students are already aware of the "tediousness" of research into primary sources (admitting that they benefit from it). To double the research might also require reducing the quality of the essential academic background. Our past solutions have been to use the remainder of the second semester after completion of the case for critical analysis of a book of general interest to political scientists or to engage in a second, shorter project such as having the students develop a syllabus for a new, experimental course.

Students tell me that they reap unexpected benefits from the program. For example, one alumnus points out that "the class is student oriented, allowing each to come to his own conclusions. The teacher cannot be an expert in every case study, so students and teachers work more nearly on an equal plane, learning together." In this respect, the case study is a substitute for the conviviality found in the natural science laboratory. But the chief merit found by the students is in the process of analysis and in the opportunity to do primary research. "The case study," according to one former student who is now in graduate school, "lays bare, removing from the abstraction of the printed page, both what is admirable and what is questionable in the manner in which governmental decisions are made." Another graduate, now practicing with a metropolitan law firm, was particularly impressed by the fact that "students were forced to become sufficiently well informed in a specific topic for them to engage in meaningful dialogue on a basis of near equality with important leaders of political life." "Under what other circumstance could a college student have a fifty minute interview with a governor with the structure of the interview controlled by himself and his friends?" "I was constantly forced," says a former student, "to pick and choose between conflicting versions of what happened, to fill in gaps of information with educated guesses, to make value judgments, to establish priorities, in sum, to think for myself." Not all students will benefit so richly from this program as did those whose remarks are quoted herein, but the fact that some alumni see great value in it long after graduation should inspire further experimentation in such directions.

Teaching Notes

The Caucus-Race: Teaching Cyclical Majorities

Thomas W. Casstevens
Oakland University

Cyclical majorities (or, if you prefer, the paradox of voting) have been intensively studied since the publication of Kenneth Arrow's and Duncan Black's penetrating studies.¹ Yet, despite its undoubted importance, the subject is very dry: students tend to nod sleepily during lectures. Perhaps, therefore, an excursion into fairyland may be both helpful and informative.²

Lovers of Lewis Carroll's *Alice's Adventures In Wonderland* will recall that, after Alice's and the creatures' damp departure from "the pool of tears," the Dodo averred "that the best way to get us dry would be a Caucus-race."

"'What is a Caucus-race?' said Alice: not that she much wanted to know, but the Dodo had paused as if it thought that *somebody* ought to speak, and no one else seemed inclined to say anything.

"'Why,' said the Dodo, 'the best way to explain it is to do it.' (And, as you might like to try the thing yourself some winter day, I will tell you how the Dodo managed it.)

"'First it marked out a race-course, in a sort of circle, ('the exact shape doesn't matter,' it said) and then all the party were placed along the course, here and there. There was no 'One, two, three, and away!' but they began running when they liked, and left off when they liked, so that it was not easy to know when the race was over. However, when they had been running half-an-hour or so, and were quite dry again, the Dodo suddenly called out 'The race is over!' and they all crowded round it, panting, and asking 'But who has won?'

"'This question the Dodo could not answer without a great deal of thought, and it stood for a long time with one finger pressed upon its forehead (the position in which you usually see Shakespeare, in the pictures of him), while the rest waited in silence. At last the Dodo said '*Everybody* has won, and *all* must have prizes.'"³

Carroll's divertissements, as Warren Weaver and others have often noted, frequently cloak puzzling or profound questions.⁴ The caucus-race is no exception: without mentioning ordinary ties, what sort of races can sensibly be said to be won by everybody? Carroll aficionados have been perplexed to explain it. Martin Gardner's *Annotated Alice*, for example, suggests that "Carroll may have intended his caucus-race to symbolize the fact that committee members generally do a lot of running around in circles, getting nowhere, and with everybody wanting a political plum."⁵

Despite the Dodo's practical instruction, we may well echo Alice: What is a caucus-race? The details of the caucus-race occupy about 1/3 of Chapter 3 in *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*. Since an early manuscript version of that chapter contains no reference to a caucus-race and since the published version is entitled "A Caucus-Race and a Long Tale," the caucus-race is obviously the result of careful, perhaps considered and reflective, writing. A surmise that the caucus-race is a serious subject is reinforced by noting that it is a "dry" subject, not something that Alice "much wanted to know."

The key to understanding the caucus-race is to be found in the writings of Charles L. Dodgson rather than those of Lewis Carroll. Between 1861 and 1885, Dodgson repeatedly wrote on the subject of voting and elections. These writings included a brilliant and original pamphlet published in 1876, *A Method of Taking Votes on More than Two Issues*. That pamphlet, reprinted and discussed by Duncan Black, contains a perceptive analysis of "cyclical majorities."⁶

What is a cyclical majority? The best way to explain it is to give an example. Consider a trio of electors X, Y, Z voting on three competing candidates (or motions) A, B, C. Assume X most prefers A and least prefers C, Y most prefers B and least prefers A, and Z most prefers C and least prefers B. This situation is summarized in the following matrix:

1 Kenneth J. Arrow, *Social Choice and Individual Values* (2nd ed.; New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1963). Duncan Black, *The Theory of Committees and Elections* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1958).

2 This illustration of the pedagogical uses of Lewis Carroll's *Alice* books suggests many other applications in political science teaching. It is taken from my lectures on systematic political analysis at Oakland University, which were developed during my tenure on a National Science Foundation Science Faculty Fellowship for the study of pure and applied mathematics, 1968-69.

3 Roger Lancelyn Green (ed.), *The Works of Lewis Carroll* (London: Paul Hamlyn, 1965).

4 Warren Weaver, "Lewis Carroll," *Scientific American* (April, 1956); reprinted in *Lives in Science; a Scientific American Book* (New York: Simon and Schuster, Inc.; 1957), pp. 241-256.

5 Martin Gardner, *The Annotated Alice* (New York: Clarkson N. Potter, Inc., 1960).

6 Black, *The Theory of Committees and Elections*, *op. cit.*

		Preferences		
		1st	2nd	3rd
Voters	X	A	B	C
	Y	B	C	A
	Z	C	A	B

If the candidates are considered two at a time (a common practice with motions and, for Dodgson, a *desideratum* with candidates) and if the electors vote according to their preference schedules, then no candidate receives a majority over each and every other candidate. A cycle is formed with no natural beginning or end: A beats B, B beats C, C beats A, etc. The term "cyclical majority," coined by Dodgson, vividly describes this type of situation where no candidate receives a majority, in pairwise voting, against each and every other candidate.

The similarities between Dodgson's cyclical majority and Carroll's caucus-race are striking. With both, the course was a cycle, "a sort of circle," beginning where one liked and leaving off where one liked. And "It was not easy to know when the race was over." Who won? "This question the Dodo could not answer without a great deal of thought," and Dodgson also confessed its difficulty. The Dodo answered, "Everybody has won." Dodgson was inclined to say, "Nobody has won." The difference between these answers, of course, is more apparent than real: When everybody is the most charming person in a room, then nobody is the most charming person in the room.

Given these similarities, the plausibility of the thesis that the caucus-race is a cycle, a literary example of a cyclical majority, depends upon the presumption that Lewis Carroll was familiar with the scholarly works of Charles L. Dodgson. Fortunately for the purposes of this note, Carroll's intimate familiarity with Dodgson's writings is well known.

Reports of APSA Committees

Preparations for and Conduct of the APSA Election of 1969: Report of the Election Committee

1 President Easton appointed the Committee on September 5, 1969, and charged it with implementing the procedures adopted by the Council, at its meeting earlier on the same day, for the conduct of the mail ballot for the contested offices. The Committee met during the morning and afternoon of September 5, and consulted the Director of Elections of the American Arbitration Association, whose services in conducting the election had been contracted for earlier by the Executive Director.

2 The Committee issued a "Notice to Nominees and Their Sponsors," dated September 5, 1969 (Appendix A), which was circulated and posted at the Convention and subsequently mailed to its addressees by the APSA office in Washington. The Committee decided to substitute the word *nominee* for the word *candidate*, to avoid the impression that electioneering was in order.

3 After the close of the Annual Business Meeting, on September 11, 1969, William P. Robinson, withdrew from the election as a nominee for a one-year Council term, in support of Tobe N. Johnson. Tobe N. Johnson withdrew as a nominee for a two-year Council term, but remained as a nominee for the one-year Council term. Walter Goldstein, the nominee of the Caucus for a New Political Science, proposed to withdraw on condition that he could replace Tobe Johnson as Caucus nominee for the two-year term. The Election Committee, in a telephone conference on September 11, ruled that this condition could not be accommodated under the Constitution. Mr. Goldstein then simply withdrew as nominee for the one-year term, so that Tobe Johnson's nomination would be unopposed.

4 James Fesler, who was Acting Chairman of the Committee from September 17 to October 1 (during Herbert Spiro's absence in Germany), and Josephine Milburn spent September 19 at the offices of the AAA, in order to help in the preparation of the ballots and supplementary materials. Much of Mr. Fesler's time on September 19 was taken up by telephone conversations relating to the attempt to substitute another nominee for John Meisel, who had withdrawn. (See 6 below, and Appendix C, 1.) Mr. Fesler again visited the offices of the AAA on September 29. These visits were needed in order to redraft the covering letter of October 3, 1969 (Appendix B), and to get the ballot and accompanying materials ready for the printer.

5 All group statements submitted exceeded the

limits allowable under paragraph 5 of the "Notice" of September 5. The statements submitted bear the following percentage relation to the allotments made to the groups by their nominees: Caucus — 126%; Ad Hoc Committee — 294%; and Black Caucus — 131%. In order to meet the constitutional deadline for the mailing of ballots by October 3, the Committee was unable to ask sponsoring groups to reduce the length of their statements and expect compliance on time. The statements were therefore printed as submitted.

6 John Meisel withdrew from the election by letter dated September 9, addressed to the Executive Director. The Election Committee was informed of this withdrawal on September 17. At the same time, the Executive Director informed the Acting Chairman of the Election Committee that the Nominating Committee of the APSA and the Ad Hoc Committee for a Representative Slate, Meisel's nominating groups, had chosen a substitute nominee. The Election Committee found this procedure to be unconstitutional and reiterated its earlier ruling of September 11 (see 3 above), that substitute nominations were not in order after the close of the Annual Business Meeting on September 5, 1969. (See Appendix C, "APSA Election Committee's Exclusion of John G. Grumm from Candidacy (vice John Meisel) for a Two-Year Council Membership".)

7 Several hundred new members joined the Association between the closing of the Annual Business Meeting and October 3, 1969. This included numerous family members.

8 On October 9, 1969, the National Office brought to the Committee's attention the problem of members of the Association who had not received a ballot, because their dues were in arrears. Since notices of dues are sent out by bulk mail, which is neither forwarded nor returned to the sender when the addressee had changed his address, the Committee made the following decision:

Any "continuing" member — i.e., one who has been a member in previous year(s) — whose dues have not been paid recently "because of changes of address or other reasons" (as stated in point 4 of the letter of October 3, 1969) shall be allowed to pay his dues in order to receive his ballot from the AAA, so long as the dues are received by the national office by five p.m. on Friday, October 24, 1969, so that his name can be forwarded to the AAA to be in its hands by Monday, October 27, 1969.

More than seventy members availed themselves of this opportunity.

9 Several members received double mailings of the materials from the AAA, apparently because of (a) double listing of their names on the membership rolls or (b) incomplete alphabetization of the membership list furnished the AAA by the National Office. However, since the list was subsequently alphabetized, and since each name on it was assigned a number which also appeared on the outer, signed return envelope, it is unlikely that anyone had two ballots counted. Some members apparently received two ballots in a single mailing from the AAA. Where two ballots were enclosed in a single inner, secret envelope, this was discovered upon the opening of the inner envelope, and one of the two ballots was declared void.

10 Josephine Milburn and Herbert Spiro attended the counting of the ballots at the offices of the AAA in New York. This was useful because, *inter alia*, the validity of some ballots had been challenged by the AAA. For instance, some members had changed their names as a result of marriage, or husband-and-wife members had mixed up their numbered envelopes.

11 The AAA normally retains both the outer envelope and the ballots for one year. The Committee has, of course, not yet been able to analyze the election, but it hopes to be able to do so.

Recommendations

1 So long as contested elections are to be held under the present Constitution of the APSA, we recommend that the American Arbitration Association continue to conduct the elections for us.

2 Nominees and nominating groups should supply the Secretary all required information, including biographical statements and statements of views, at the time of giving notice of the nomination, that is, at the latest 24 hours before the Annual Business Meeting, so that ballots can be mailed within two weeks of the close of the Annual Business Meeting.

3 A revised or new Constitution should benefit from recent experience, as recommended in James Fesler's letter of November 4, 1969, to Aaron Wildavsky (Appendix D).

4 A revised or new Constitution might also (a) close the membership rolls for purposes of gaining the franchise as of the beginning or the close of the Annual Business Meeting; (b) change the provisions for (non-professional) Family Members and their right to vote; (c) establish minimal

qualifications for membership to exclude non-professionals like publishers' representatives, a good many of whom are members and voted.

5 The Council should appropriate a sum of money which will enable the Election Committee, and/or others to be appointed by the Council, to analyze the returns with respect to voting participation, and ballot voting patterns. Such an analysis does not violate the secrecy of the ballot, as the ballot itself carries no direct or indirect identification of the voter, and as all outer return envelopes, which do identify the voters, once they are opened, are wholly segregated from the ballots.

Herbert Spiro, Chairman
James W. Fesler
Josephine F. Milburn
Paul Puryear
Frederick Wirt

Appendix A

Notice to Nominees and their Sponsors

1 Pursuant to the amendment of the APSA's Constitution's "Article V: Elective Officers," passed by the Annual Business Meeting on September 3, 1969, the Council adopted, on September 5, 1969, the following resolution to govern the conduct of the election:

The Council established an Election Committee to meet with representatives of the American Arbitration Association (whose services in conducting the election have been contracted for by the Executive Director) to organize a single consolidated information supplement for mailing with the ballots. The Committee will set a maximum number of words for the use by nominees or their representatives for the description of themselves and their professional careers and accomplishments, and will set another maximum number of words for the nominees or their representatives to use for a statement of views and, furthermore, the Committee was directed to inform each of the nominated candidates and their sponsors of the availability of this opportunity and the deadlines set. The Council authorized the President to appoint such an Election Committee promptly. The Council authorized the Election Committee to request the APSA Nominating Committee to make a brief statement of the procedures and criteria which guided the selection of their nominees and that such a statement, of modest length, be included in the official information which accompanies the ballot.

2 President David Easton has appointed a Com-

Reports of APSA Committees

Preparations for and Conduct of the APSA Election of 1969 Report on Election Committee

mittee on elections consisting of James Fesler, Josephine Milburn, Paul Puryear, Frederick Wirt, and Herbert Spiro, Chairman.

3 Nominees or their sponsors are requested to provide the Association office on the Ball Room floor of the Commodore Hotel or, after Saturday, September 6, the Washington office, with the two statements — the biographical statement and the statement of views — mentioned in the Council's resolution.

4 To facilitate compilation of the biographical statement, the APSA office has available a photocopy of each nominee's entry in the *Biographical Directory*. Nominees may add to or subtract from that entry, in order to bring it up to date, but in no case is the total length to exceed the equivalent of thirty lines in the *Directory*.

5 A nominee's statement of views must not exceed 100 words. Nominees, instead of submitting an individual statement of views, may indicate, "I subscribe to the statement of views of (name of group (s))." In that case, the nominee may allot up to 90 words total to the group (s).

6 In order to be mailed out with the ballots by the American Arbitration Association by Friday, October 3, 1969, these statements must reach the AAA no later than *Wednesday, September 17, 1969*. They should be addressed to:

Mrs. Margaret V. Carlson
Election Director
American Arbitration Association
Room 2300, 151 West 51 Street
New York, New York 10020

7 Because information was requested at the Annual Business Meeting about the availability to nominees of the APSA membership mailing list, members are advised that the address labels of the APSA mailing list may be purchased for less than \$50 upon request to the national office. The individual membership list includes 12,000 to 13,000 names.

Appendix B Letter to Members

Dear Colleague:

Section 1 of the APSA Constitution's "Article V: Elective Officers" was amended by the 1969 Annual Business Meeting to provide for a mail ballot of the individual membership in the event of a contest for an elected office or offices (see the amended provision, item 1 on Attachment A). The Council, at its September 5th meeting adopted procedures for

the conduct of the mail ballot (see excerpt from minutes of the Council meeting — item 2 on Attachment A). In accord with these directions President David Easton appointed a Committee on Elections consisting of James Fesler, Josephine Milburn, Paul Puryear, Frederick Wirt, and Herbert Spiro, Chairman.

These points about the procedures should be noted:

1 The mail ballot is being conducted by the American Arbitration Association, Room 2300, 151 West 51st Street, New York, New York 10019. (Telephone: 212: JUdson 2 6620).

2 Ballots which include directions about voting, together with the information about nominees called for by the resolution of the Council given in item 2 on Attachment A, are enclosed herewith. They have been mailed on or before Friday, October 3, 1969.

3 In order to be counted, ballots must be returned to the American Arbitration Association, in the two envelopes enclosed for that purpose, postmarked no later than Monday, November 3, 1969.

4 These materials are being mailed to members of the Association on the basis of addresses on file as of September 8, 1969. Members who do not receive them, because of changes of address or other reasons, may request ballots from the American Arbitration Association. Members knowing of colleagues who have not received ballots should call their attention to this paragraph and the paragraph numbered 1 above.

5 Nominations at the Annual Business Meeting placed the following offices in the contested-election category: President-Elect, three Vice Presidents, eight members of the Council for two-year terms, and one member of the Council for the unexpired one year of the term of Samuel DuB. Cook, who had submitted his resignation.

6 After the close of the Annual Business Meeting and before preparation of the ballot, four nominees withdrew from the election and therefore do not appear on the ballot for the positions indicated: They were:

John Meisel, for a two-year Council term;
Tobe N. Johnson, for a two-year Council term (but remaining as a candidate for the one-year Council term);
William P. Robinson, for a one-year Council term (who withdrew in support of Tobe Johnson);

Walter Goldstein, for a one-year Council term (who withdrew so that Tobe Johnson's nomination would be unopposed).

7. The Election Committee informed each nominee that his or her statement of views could not exceed 100 words, but that the nominee had the alternative of stating "I subscribe to the statement of views of [a specified group]" and allotting 90 words of his total to the group, whose space was therefore to be the aggregate of such allotments. Every group statement, as submitted, exceeded its allotment so calculated. Time constraints precluded return of statements for revision, and the Election Committee was unwilling to edit the statements. After finding that no group would be significantly disadvantaged thereby, the Committee authorized publication of the statements without change.

8. The printed ballot erroneously lists "Warren Farrel and others" as the nominators of James M. Elden for a two-year term on the Council. His nominating group should read: "Ad Hoc Committee for the Election of a Graduate Student to the APSA Council."

9. Ballots will be publicly counted in the offices of the American Arbitration Association, by its officers, on Monday, November 10, 1969. Nominees will be notified by letter from the AAA of the results of the election. The general membership will be notified as soon as practicable, in *P.S.* or the *American Political Science Review*.

Very truly yours,
Herbert J. Spiro, *Chairman*
Election Committee

Appendix C
APSA Election Committee's Exclusion of John G. Grumm from Candidacy (vice John Meisel) for a Two-Year Council Membership.

James W. Fesler
Acting Chairman (September 17 to October 1, 1969), Election Committee

1 *The Circumstances:* At the Annual Business Meeting the night of September 3-4, 1969, John Meisel was formally placed in nomination for a two-year Council term by the APSA Nominating Committee and by the Ad Hoc Committee for a Representative Slate. On September 17 (the day I became Acting Chairman of the Election Committee for the period of Mr. Spiro's absence from the country), the Executive Director informed me by telephone that Meisel had withdrawn as a

nominee; that he (the Executive Director) had so informed Messrs. Cleaveland and Herzberg, the chairmen of Meisel's nominating groups; and that the Nominating Committee had chosen John G. Grumm, one of the Nominating Committee's five alternates as the substitute nominee.. (It had first chosen a Canadian like Meisel, who, however, could not be reached for his acceptance). I responded that, while withdrawal by a nominee was within the Constitution and Rules of Procedure, the purported nomination of another person in place of a withdrawn nominee was unconstitutional. The Executive Director then, and later that day after consulting Mr. Cleaveland of the Nominating Committee, questioned the soundness of the ruling (but not the Election Committee's jurisdiction in the matter), as did Mr. Herzberg of the Ad Hoc Committee by telephone on September 19. On September 19, when Mrs. Milburn and I were at the American Arbitration Association offices, I telephoned Mr. Cleaveland to ask whether he thought that either he or I should ask Mr. Meisel to reconsider his withdrawal, in view of the ruling against a substitute nomination; he advised against it on the grounds that the Executive Director had twice made such a request with negative results.

While at the AAA offices on September 19, Mrs. Milburn and I instructed the AAA to delete Meisel from the ballot as a candidate, in accordance with his September 9 letter of withdrawal, transmitted by the Executive Director to the AAA on September 17, and to disregard the instructions in the Executive Director's September 17 covering letter to replace Meisel's by Grumm's name on the ballot. On September 21 the Election Committee, in a telephone conference, confirmed the ruling. By formal memorandum of September 23 I directed the AAA not to print Grumm's biographical statement (transmitted by the Executive Director on September 17) and to delete Grumm's name where it appeared as a nominated and endorsed candidate in the group statement of the Ad Hoc Committee (transmitted to the AAA with other materials by the Executive Director on September 16). On entirely different grounds I instructed the AAA not to print the group statement of the Conference for a Democratic Politics (also transmitted by the Executive Director on September 16); the statement included Grumm in the list of Conference-endorsed candidates.

2 *Constitutional Basis of the Ruling:* The 1969 Annual Business Meeting amended Section 1 of Article V. It did not amend Section 2 of that Article, which reads in part (emphasis added): "The [Nominating] Committee . . . shall submit to the next Annual Business Meeting one nomination

Reports of APSA Committees

Preparations for and Conduct of the APSA Election of 1969 Report on Election Committee

for each elective office to be filled, except the Presidency. These nominations *shall be announced to the membership*, by any convenient means, *well in advance of the annual meeting*. Additional nominations, sponsored by at least 10 members of the Association, may be offered from the floor at the Annual Business Meeting, upon 24 hours' advance notice to the Secretary."

The language is pellucid. *All* nominations must be made at the Annual Business Meeting, not subsequent to that meeting.

On September 11, in telephone conference, the Election Committee had established a firm precedent in ruling against a proposed nominee-substitution by the Caucus for a New Political Science. Tobe Johnson, one of the Caucus' eight nominees for two-year Council membership, withdraw his candidacy for that post (while remaining a nominee for a one-year Council term). Walter Goldstein, the Caucus nominee for the one-year term proposed to withdraw, on condition that he could replace Johnson as Caucus candidate for the two-year term. The Election Committee ruled that his condition could not be accommodated under the Constitution. He then simply withdrew from the one-year-term candidacy. The effect was to reduce the Caucus slate for two-year Councilorships from eight (the number of such posts to be filled) to seven. The effect of the Committee's ruling on Grumm was identical: the Nominating Committee had only seven nominees on the ballot for two-year terms; the Ad Hoc Committee had only seven nominees for the same terms.

3 Arguments Advanced against the Ruling: The following arguments were advanced by the Executive Director and/or Mr. Herzberg in questioning the Election Committee's ruling:

a. Preparation of the mail ballot, its distribution, its marking, its return, and its tabulation may be regarded as continuations or extensions of the Annual Business Meeting, the constitutional situs of nominations.

Response: The Committee had no need to consider whether such an interpretation of Section 2's "Annual Business Meeting" is possible. The amended Section 1 settles the question. It provides that in the event of contested elections "the Executive Director shall distribute ballots within thirty (30) days *following the Annual Business Meeting* . . ." (emphasis added).

b. It is "preposterous" for the Election Committee

to interpret the Constitution so narrowly as to disqualify itself from meeting the contingency of the death or unavoidable withdrawal of a nominee between the Annual Business Meeting and the printing of the mail ballots; such a position would mean that in this year's case of the Presidency-Elect, the death of Mr. Lane during that period would leave Christian Bay, a nominee from the floor by the Caucus, unopposed, and so would disenfranchise members not supportive of the Caucus as well as negate the competition for office intended by the Caucus.

Response: The Constitution is defective in not providing for such contingencies; it is regrettable that neither the Ad Hoc Committee in drafting its mail-ballot election amendment nor I as the Council's draftsman was alert to the need for amending Section 2, as well as Section 1, of Article V. The Election Committee cannot amend the Constitution, nor can it pretend that Section 2's language is unclear. The defect has been brought to the attention of the Constitutional Revision Committee.

The hypothetical case regarding the Presidency-Elect happily is hypothetical. The Committee, therefore, did not need to reach that question in order to determine the actual cases before it.

c. The Nominating Committee, as an official organ of the Association, has a preferred standing, entitling it to present a full slate of nominees to the membership by mail even if groups presenting competitive nominees are not so entitled.

Response: The Nominating Committee is in fact under more severe constitutional constraints than those on Association members' "additional nominations." The Committee must not only submit its nominations to the Annual Business Meeting; it must also announce them "well in advance of the annual meeting."

One purpose of this, presumably, is to put the membership on notice so that any individual member may determine whether any of the Nominating Committee's nominees are sufficiently objectionable to warrant the enlisting of nine other members for the purpose of making "additional nominations." This purpose would be subverted if John Grumm, whose name had not been known as that of a nominee either at the Annual Business Meeting or "well in advance" of it, appeared on the mail ballot. Some organized groups of nominators were not aware of his proposed replacement of Meisel and so were unable to

consider whether he should be opposed by "additional nominations;" curiously, one independent nominating group and one nonnominating but purportedly nominee-endorsing group (the Ad Hoc Committee and the Conference for a Democratic Politics) did know of Grumm's supposed nomination and endorsed him in their group statements, well before the Election Committee was advised of Meisel's withdrawal and of the Nominating Committee's proposal of Grumm and his acceptance.

d. The Nominating Committee at its Spring 1969 meeting was foresighted enough to agree on five alternates for the persons it intended to approach for formal nomination to the Council; the Election Committee should respect this foresight and accept one of the alternates as a substitute nominee.

Response: Such foresight is admirably prudent allowance for the contingency of a proposed nominee's declining the Committee's nomination when approached in May; it has no bearing on the period following formal nominations at the Annual Business Meeting.

Appendix D Fesler Letter

Professor Aaron Wildavsky, *Chairman*
Constitutional Revision Committee
American Political Science Association
Institute of Governmental Studies
University of California.
Berkeley, California 94720

Dear Aaron:

During the absence of the chairman of the APSA Election Committee, Herbert Spiro, from September 17 to October 1, I served as acting chairman of the Committee. The Committee instructed me to bring to your and your Committee's attention a serious defect in Article V of the Constitution, which gave rise to some difficulties — which could have been much more serious — in determining the names to appear on the mail ballot. I have delayed writing until a draft memorandum had been circulated and approved by my colleagues on the Election Committee. The memorandum, in final form, is enclosed.

The principal issue reflected in the memorandum is the Constitution's failure to provide for substitute nominations if candidates nominated at the Annual Business Meeting withdraw between that Meeting and the printing of mail ballots (a period normally

of about twenty days). You will want to note particularly item 3c of the memorandum, which suggests that the problem is more complicated than might be supposed.

A less critical constitutional defect, not mentioned in the memorandum, is the failure to provide specifically for the withdrawal or death of a nominee of the Nominating Committee between the Spring, when the membership is informed in print of the slate, and the Annual Business Meeting. The constitutional requirement of the slate's announcement "well in advance of the annual meeting" appears to preclude substitute nominations that occur too late for such announcement.

I recognize that your Committee's proposals may be so substantial as to render irrelevant a perfecting of existing constitutional language. In that event, perhaps the two points raised here will have cautionary value for the new nomination and election articles.

Sincerely,
James W. Fesler

Reports of APSA Committees

Committee on Program Planning and Review

Interim Report (Part I)

The report printed below is a draft of the first part of the report of the Committee on Program Planning and Review. It is concerned only with Council procedures for establishing, funding, and reviewing programs of the Association. The report has been discussed by the Council of the Association at its meeting of December 4-5, 1969; at that time the Committee requested that the draft be circulated for comment among the members of the Association, and the Council agreed. Members should send their comments and suggestions to the Committee chairman, Frank J. Sorauf, Department of Political Science, University of Minnesota: Minneapolis, Minnesota 55455. Part I of the report will be formally acted on by the Council at an early meeting in 1970.

The first part of the report of the Committee on Program Planning and Review will deal with procedures through which the Association might more effectively set and review its programmatic commitments. The following recommendations look to the creation of procedures by which the Association will adopt new programs, exercise its responsibility for on-going programs, and make decisions to continue or terminate them.

At a later time the Committee will make recommendations on the substantive issues involved in setting programmatic priorities. That second part of this report will review the present programs of the Associations and make recommendations for future program development. In so doing it will of necessity confront the question of the role and goals of the American Political Science Association.

For the present, however, it seems to the Committee that the need for procedural guidelines is so great that the first part of the report should be issued in advance of the second. The Council is developing rapidly as the governing body of the Association, and its practices and procedures are now in a formative stage. Furthermore, the Council has also very recently entered a period of rapid program innovation. For both of these reasons we think these recommendations are especially timely.

I Committee Structure

As the Council becomes the governing body of the Association between annual meetings, it seems clear to this Committee that the Council must develop a simple structure of on-going committees to screen and prepare its business. At least we doubt that the kind of meaningful review of programs we envision can be undertaken without committee

preparation before Council consideration. Therefore:

A We recommend that the Council establish as standing committees a Finance Committee and a Committee on Program Planning and Review. Their proposed responsibilities will be outlined below. (Although the Elections Committee does not figure directly in the problem of program review, we would urge that it too be made a standing committee.)

B We recommend, furthermore, that the members of these standing committees be appointed from the membership of the Council, and that the Treasurer of the Association be an *ex officio* member of the Finance Committee. That membership of the standing committees be drawn from the Council seems important to us for at least two reasons: because the committee members must be familiar with policy discussions within the Council and because they must have the legitimacy of election by the membership of the Association.

The Council must also continue to rely on regular committees for the close administration and supervision of programs of the Association. Therefore,

C We recommend the establishment or assignment of a supervisory committee for each new program (or related group of programs) of the Association, the members to be drawn from the interested and expert members of the Association.

These supervisory committees may in some instances exist only to administer a program, but in other cases their responsibilities might well include other activities in the same area of concern.

II Program Review

The programs of the Association have historically fallen into two rather separate groups: the "special" programs and the "regular" programs. The "special" programs are those financed by funds from outside the Association; in most cases they have been supervised by semi-autonomous advisory committees within the terms of the grant. The "regular" programs have been financed by the general funds of the Association and have generally also been more closely administered by committees of the Council. Patterns and processes of review must in the short run take these differences into account. However,

D We recommend that the *de facto* distinction between special and regular programs be elimin-

ated by the establishment of all new programs as "regular" programs, reporting to the Council through a supervisory committee (see recommendations C and F) and accounting for its expenditures and budgets (whatever the ultimate source of its funds) through the usual channels.

Recognizing the semi-autonomous operation of some on-going, externally funded programs,

E We recommend that for the life of these "special" programs that their advisory committees and administrators report fully to the Council through the Committee on Program Planning and Review. In the present and for the future for the "regular" programs,

F We recommend that the supervisory committee for each program report to the Committee on Program Planning and Review (and through it to the Council) at least once a year, giving an account of its accomplishments, a programmatic accounting of its funds, and a proposed budget for the coming year.

Beyond this kind of periodic review (and the budgetary review outlined below) the Council cannot feasibly go. We have considered for example, the possibility that the Council (or a special committee of its creation) advise and approve research designs which might be generated within any of the programs or by any of its committees. This kind of day to day (or month to month) review of programs by the Council does not seem to us possible. Beyond the periodic reviews recommended here, the Council must rely on the wisdom and judgment of the members of the supervisory committees and, where necessary, help them obtain whatever counsel and services they need.

These recommendations for the review of specific programs of the Association overlook the issue of the review of some traditional and very basic activities of the Association. They include pre-eminently the holding of annual conventions and the publication of the *American Political Science Review*.

G We recommend therefore that the Council establish and publicize general policy guidelines for these traditional activities and the committees and boards which administer them. To assist the Council in a periodic (preferably biennial) review of the format and function of these activities, the Council has sufficient authority to appoint *ad hoc* committees to assist it in these evaluations.

This Committee envisions, in other words, a regular but less frequent and less specific review of these traditional activities than of the other programs of the Association, both because of their traditional acceptance and, in the case of the *Review*, the tradition of editorial independence. We do think, however, that the Council does have an important responsibility in the name of the Association to review periodically the place of these activities in the total program of the Association and to set general policy guidelines for them.

Finally, the review of the programs and activities of the Association must be communicated ultimately to the full membership. The supervisory committees have already begun to report to the Council and to the annual business meeting. The publication of these reports in *P.S.* facilitates their circulation. To these avenues of communication we would add another:

H We recommend that the President of the Association publish an annual report to the membership which would contain (in part) his own summary and evaluation of the programmatic achievements, innovations, and decisions of the year.

III Budget and Finance

Little discussion should be necessary within this Association on the value of budgetary control as a device for program review. But the need for budgetary review will also become more acute as new program proposals compete for limited Association funds. Thus, fiscal responsibility as well as an orderly setting of priorities dictate the inauguration of more systematic procedures of budgetary review.

The tradition is established that the Treasurer of the Association present a budget of projected revenues and expenditures to the Council once a year. To strengthen the usefulness of that tradition:

I We recommend that the annual budget of the treasurer include recommendations for appropriated funds for each program. In determining the recommended appropriations the Treasurer shall use the proposed budgets of the supervisory committees (see recommendation F).

J We also recommend that the Finance Committee consider and make recommendations to the Council on

1. the annual budget of the Treasurer, and
2. any proposal for Council consideration that involves the expenditure of money.

Reports of APSA Committees

Committee on Program Planning and Review

The Committee notes that these recommendations leave undecided the question of whether such prior Finance Committee consideration ought to precede such proposals before the annual business meeting. We think they should, but since that issue poses a constitutional question, we will transmit these views to the Committee on Constitutional Revision.

So that rational decisions on budgeting and the setting of priorities can take place, it is also necessary that the Council have before it at one time the bulk of the requests for its funds. Therefore,

K We recommend that the Council encourage its members and committees to make proposals with substantial financial implications in the period immediately preceding the drafting of the annual budget and that it make clear that it will honor substantial requests for funds in the interim period only in special circumstances.

The Committee recognizes that not all financial demands are predictable and that contingency or emergency funds will have to be budgeted. It also recognizes, however, that the provision of substantial contingency funds creates a disposition to evade the orderly budgeting of Association funds we seek to achieve.

Finally, in the future, as in the present, not all programs of the Association will be fully financed by its general revenues. It now appears to be settled policy that the Council must approve all proposals and attempts of any committee or program to seek outside financing. As for the possible sources of that outside financing, we have considered and rejected the feasibility of setting elaborate criteria for the sources of funds which the Association solicits or accepts. Instead, we have opted for control of fund sources through a policy of full publicity. Therefore,

L We recommend that the source of all program funds other than the general funds of the Association be openly identified and that the source's programmatic goals in the funding also be clearly identified. As a corollary to that policy, the Association must make clear its policy of full publicity to any potential funding source.

That openness and disclosure, we feel, will assure the accountability the Association's membership expects.

IV Initiatives and Innovation

Within a professional organization such as the American Political Science Association no one group can or should assume sole responsibility for the charting of new courses or the redefinition of the organizational role. The specification of what this Association ought to be doing falls especially to the elected Council of the Association. To assist and prod the Council to look to innovations in programs:

M We recommend that the Committee on Program Planning and Review be charged with a special responsibility to engage in programmatic reconnaissance and the recommendation of new programmatic directions and priorities. The Committee ought also to assist in the development of its recommendations into specific program proposals for Council consideration.

This final recommendation springs from our conviction that the Council itself – assisted by the Committee on Program Planning and Review – must assume leadership in the setting of priorities and goals for the Association. Failure of the Council to exercise that leadership will result in priorities being set by inadvertence, indirection, or the availability of funding.

Frank J. Sorauf, *Chairman*

Merle Kling

Francis E. Rourke

Herbert J. Spiro

Members of the Committee appointed after the drafting of this report are listed on page 67.

Committee on the Status of Blacks in the Profession

Second Interim Report

At its meeting on October 19, 1969, the Committee on the Status of Blacks in the Profession took action with respect to the following matters:

I Black Graduate Student Fellowship Program

It was agreed that the chief criteria for the selection of black graduate fellows would be demonstrated potential for successful graduate study and financial need. The intellectual potential of applicants would be measured in a variety of ways including undergraduate performance and evaluations by faculty informants. Any black student would be eligible for an award provided that he qualifies for acceptance to an institution of higher learning offering advanced degrees in political science. Normally, an award would be made for one year only with the expectation that the student's graduate department would provide financial support thereafter. In special cases of hardship, however, the Committee would consider requests for an additional year of support.

A total of twenty-five (25) APSA Black Graduate Fellows would be designated each year. While, at present, it is only possible to grant five cash awards, it is hoped that designation as an APSA Fellow will aid the designee in securing financial assistance from interested graduate departments.

The Committee on the Status of Blacks believes that the APSA should utilize the Black Graduate Student Fellowship Program as a means of stimulating greater activity on behalf of blacks by graduate departments. Specifically, the Committee recommends that the President and the Council make a specific request that graduate departments adopt the following procedures.

A Provide financial support beyond the first year for the recipients of cash stipends under the APSA Black Graduate Student Fellowship Program.

B Agree to waive all tuition and fees for recipients of APSA graduate stipends.

C Award fellowships and grant tuition waivers to APSA Black Graduate Student Fellows for whom the Committee is unable to award a cash stipend.

To effectuate the above objections, it is further recommended that the APSA, through its Executive Director, enter into agreements with graduate departments that are willing to make such commitments.

To implement the fellowship program, a subcom-

mittee of the Committee on the Status of Blacks was established. The subcommittee will establish the application procedures, recommend appropriate selection criteria to the full Committee, and make the final selection of Fellows based upon those criteria. Awards will be announced on April 1, 1970.

II Black Caucus Proposals

(See Minutes of Annual Business Meeting, this issue)

A Black Faculty Exchange Program

The Committee discerned some possible problems in implementing this proposal, and referred it back to the Caucus for further consideration.

B Black Faculty Research Program

The Committee recommends that the APSA Council establish an initial research fund of one million dollars over five years to support the research of black political scientists. The funds would be administered by the Committee on the Status of Blacks to provide full-time, part-time, and summer grants. Priority would be given to research projects having special relevance to the black community.

C Center for Black Politics

Preliminarily, it was agreed that such a Center would provide research, technical assistance, and staff support for black elected officials. It was recommended that the APSA Council provide funds for a conference bringing together interested individuals and organizations to discuss the scope, purpose and organization of such a Center.

D Black Representation on the Council

The Committee recommends that the President and the Council advise the APSA Nominations Committee of its desire that a larger number of blacks be included on its official nominating slate. The Committee on the Status of Blacks will suggest additional nominees at the appropriate time.

E APSA Associate Director for Black Affairs

The Committee recommends that the new position of Associate Director be established and filled by a black. The new appointee would concern himself on a continuing basis with the problems of blacks in the profession.

F Discriminatory Practices

The Committee recommends that the Association sever its relationship with any firm discriminating against blacks in any form. This recommendation includes, but is not limited to, Association policies and practices with respect to investment, employ-

Reports of APSA Committees

Committee on the Status of Blacks in the Profession

ment, awards, purchasing, and publishing. It is further recommended that the proposed black Associate Director supervise the implementation of this non-discrimination policy.

G *Constitutional Revision*

The Committee recommends that the Council go on record as favoring an amendment to the APSA Constitution to permit the Association to adopt positions on issues of public policy affecting the welfare and status of blacks and other oppressed peoples. The views of the Council and the Committee should be transmitted to the Constitutional Revision Committee at an early date.

H *Council Action on Caucus Proposals*

The Committee on the Status of Blacks requests that the Council respond to its recommendations with respect to the Caucus proposals by February 28, 1969.

III Personnel Policy

At its August meeting, the Council requested that the Committee on the Status of Blacks respond to criticisms (by two members of the Association) of the practice of listing faculty positions for "black political scientists" in the Association's Personnel Service Newsletter. The essence of the argument against such practices was that it supports the maintenance of racial qualifications for employment and encourages a form of reverse discrimination. The Committee on the Status of Blacks found this argument unconvincing.

Institutional racism in the profession has had the effect of denying many professional opportunities to blacks. It is not enough to merely abandon past racial oppression. Its effects must be reversed. And, this can only be done by according blacks preferential treatment now and for the foreseeable future. Therefore, the Committee recommends that the current personnel policy be maintained and that the Council issue a statement of justification consistent with the reasoning presented briefly above.

IV Investment Policy

The Committee endorsed, in principle, the proposal of Benedict Stavis that the Association adopt a positive investment policy not only designed to penalize companies that discriminate, but to aid those companies and organizations seeking to promote desirable social goals. However, the Committee recognized some of the issues involved in implementing such a policy, and has decided to give the matter further consideration at its next meeting.

Paul L. Puryear, *Chairman, Fisk University*
Russell Adams, *North Carolina College*
Twiley W. Barker, Jr., *University of Illinois*
Samuel D. Cook, *Ford Foundation*
C. Vernon Gray, *University of Massachusetts*
Graduate Student

Tobe N. Johnson, *Morehouse College*
Mack H. Jones, *Atlanta University*
Robert E. Martin, *Howard University*
Lois B. Moreland, *Spelman College*
Frank L. Morris, M. I. T. – *Graduate Student*
Michael J. Parenti, *Yale University*
William P. Robinson, Sr., *Virginia State College*
Harry M. Scoble, Jr., *University of California, Los Angeles*
Nathaniel P. Tillman, Jr., *Delaware State College*
Alex Willingham, *University of North Carolina*
Maurice C. Woodward, *Federal City College*

Advisory Committee on "Foreign Relations of the United States"

Report of the Thirteenth Meeting — 1969

The Advisory Committee on *Foreign Relations of the United States* consists of representatives of the American Historical Association, the American Political Science Association, and the American Society of International Law, whose combined members, numbering in the thousands, constitute the academic research community most directly interested in *Foreign Relations* and other documentary publications and records compilations relating to the foreign affairs of the United States.

The members of the committee were welcomed by the Acting Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs, Richard I. Phillips. It received oral reports from the Director of the Historical Office, William M. Franklin; the Deputy Director, Richardson Dougall; the Chief of the "Foreign Relations" Division, S. Everett Gleason; and the Chief of the Research Guidance and Review Division, Arthur G. Kogan. Other members of the Historical Office were present to provide additional information desired by the members of the committee. The committee members had lunch with the Under Secretary for Political Affairs, U. Alexis Johnson.

The Advisory Committee acknowledges its sincere appreciation to all who contributed to rendering its deliberations fruitful and rewarding. It is convinced that the staff members of the Historical Office are able, industrious, and dedicated, it is appreciative of the continued high state of excellence maintained in the *Foreign Relations* series, and it is cognizant of a great many difficulties and strains impinging upon conscientious staff members who seek to continue their high level of performance while functioning under an expectation of support that may be inadequate to maintain past standards of accomplishment.

Summary of Findings

The Advisory Committee is concerned that *Foreign Relations* continue to be published on a regularized basis and that its compilers remain devoted to maintaining their traditionally high standards. As in past years, the committee centered attention primarily on three fundamental matters: the status and publication prospects of the *Foreign Relations* series, clearance procedures and difficulties, and problems of access to documents and materials.

Production of Foreign Relations So far as compilation progress and publication prospects are concerned, the committee is aware that over the years *Foreign Relations* has been given a low

priority in the purview of the Department of State concerning its manifold activities, that the task of compiling the materials for each year (and for each individual volume) involves a growing task of reviewing an increasing quantity of documentation, that the production of the *Foreign Relations* series has gradually been slipping backward, and that as the series moves into the post-World War II period, progress is likely to be retarded even more unless a deliberate effort is made to provide the staff and procedures essential to overcome foreseeable compilation, editing, and publication problems.

Aside from delay resulting from the increasing documents collecting and screening functions, progress is impeded especially by an unfavorable personnel situation — an unfortunate combination of low departmental priority on increasing the number of Historical Office positions, the actual reduction of staff size, general personnel freezes, and the lack of authority for the Historical Office even to fill existing staff vacancies or to fill them only by reassignment of personnel within the Department, which often is unavailable if not uninterested.

The consequences of these factors are that the currency of the compilations and publication of the *Foreign Relations* series has gradually eroded — from only a few years delay after the date to which they pertained, to a 15-year delay by the end of World War I, to 20 years by 1960, and more recently to 23 years — despite the fact that in 1962 the Secretary of State officially set the time lapse at 20 years (except in exceptional circumstances). More serious — for a number of reasons largely relating to the quantity of personnel and restrictions on recruitment — the prospects of maintaining even the current 23-year schedule of production beyond another year or two appears to the committee as very bleak and the gap is about to slip to 25 years. The committee regards such continuous and accelerating erosion as most discouraging.

The committee understands that the Historical Office plans to reduce the number of *Foreign Relations* volumes per year from 12 (for 1945) to 8 (for 1947) and to 7 (for 1948). On this basis it is hoped to attain a compilation schedule of a year per year. The committee, welcoming the achievement of a year per year production schedule, views the manner of its accomplishment as a compromise with necessity reflective not as much of desirability as of restrictive personnel and other cost considerations.

Reports of APSA Committees

Advisory Committee on "Foreign Relations of the United States"

These are key years in the post-World II period so far as major policy development is concerned. The latter involve such important matters as the European Axis Satellite peace treaties, the Rio Pact and O.A.S. Charter, the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan, and the North Atlantic Alliance. The committee realizes, of course, that certain phases of compilative work – especially those laborious and time consuming tasks concerned at early stages with documentary identification and selection – cannot be reduced simply arbitrarily by delimiting the number of final volumes to be published.

Clearance Problem The members of the Advisory Committee are aware of the sensitivities, difficulties, and problems involved in the matter of clearance of documentation for publication in *Foreign Relations*. It is our understanding that in the past denials of clearance have not been regarded as a serious debilitating or retardation factor. Nevertheless, the committee is concerned over the not inconsiderable delay in achieving clearance by other units and officers of the Department of State – despite an agreement in 1963 fixing a three-month review schedule. The committee is inclined to believe that this growing delay is not due to inability or unwillingness to ultimately provide such clearance, or to difficulty in the pragmatic matter of deciding on clearance by the approving officer, but rather that it is symptomatic of the view that this process warrants such low priority that clearance of individual *Foreign Relations* volumes recently has taken up to nearly two years (calculated from the time galleys are submitted for clearance to the accomplishment of the task). As a consequence, the Historical Office is estopped from further progress on the specific volumes concerned. The convoy proceeds only as fast as the slowest ship in the line. It appears to the committee that the Department of State ought to be able to establish procedures to overcome such protracted clearance delay. To the extent that other executive departments and agencies are involved in "outside" clearance – a problem which is bound to increase as the *Foreign Relations* series moves further into the post-World War II era – the Historical Office will need active and firm Department of State support at the highest levels to expedite such clearance.

Access to Documents The Advisory Committee also considered the matter of access by the unofficial researcher to documentary materials in the Department's files. The committee members are highly disturbed by the narrowing gap between

the timing of the publication of *Foreign Relations* volumes and the open period for public access to the files (at 30 years). It considers the possibility of seeing the publication of *Foreign Relations* delayed to 30 years (therefore, matching the commencement of the open period) as most undesirable for a number of reasons. First, outside *ad hoc* publication may induce some to conclude that publication of *Foreign Relations* then becomes unnecessary, or that it may be accomplished in an abbreviated or much more superficial fashion. Second, biased privately published chronicles or collections, relying on selected documentation, which provide inaccurate or partial accounts may achieve a popular impact which, were *Foreign Relations* available, might have been offset by more objective analyses based on full documentation – and by the documents themselves.

Third, the committee is deeply concerned that slippage to 30 years may lead to moving the open period back beyond 30 years, which the committee would regard as not only disappointingly retrogressive but also violative of the commendable record the Department of State has maintained over the decades in making the foreign relations documentation of the United States publicly and systematically available. Moreover, it would be embarrassing, if not politically challengeable as advancing toward greater secrecy, to retrogress in the matter of timing of the open period while other governments (such as the United Kingdom) actually move in the opposite direction. The committee is not herewith advocating advancing the open period for full public access to diplomatic documentation, but it believes that everything should be done to prevent it from being set back in excess of 30 years.

Production of Current Documents The committee has been apprised of the fact that the compilation and publication of the annual volumes of *American Foreign Policy: Current Documents* are adversely affected by some of the same problems and attitudes relating to staffing considered above, and that the staff engaged in preparing these volumes has had to be shifted to other duties. The committee deplores the fact that, at best, the publication of these volumes is being delayed and at worst may be discontinued, unless additional professional staff members are made available to the Historical Office. *Current Documents* has become an indispensable, widely used, and high quality reference source. In view of the purposes served by these annual volumes, the committee regards their cost of production as being modest and sees considerable merit in maintaining their publication, and it views

the specter of discontinuance as tragic.

Additional subjects In addition, the committee discussed a variety of related subjects. Among others, these included: the emergence of a revisionist interpretation of the cold war and other elements of United States diplomacy, a mounting anti-historical and future-minded spirit abroad in the land, lack of appreciation within and outside the Department of the value of departmental historical research on recent issues, departmental advance announcement to the scholarly world of its publication plans and prospects as well as Historical Office annual releases to interested professional journals, portending difficulties of clearance respecting intelligence materials concerned with diplomatic events in the post-World War II period, the possibility of publishing deferred supplements to *Foreign Relations* concerning specific issues on which it may be difficult to acquire early clearance, the method of transferring departmental files to the method of transferring departmental files to National Archives, the possibility of arranging access by unofficial scholars to compiled and cleared materials (i.e., galleys) in advance of printing and publication, and the general departmental attitude toward the compilation and publication by the Historical Office of special studies.

Summary of Conclusions

Deliberation on these findings has led the Advisory Committee to the following general conclusions:

1 Slippage in the compilation and publication of the *Foreign Relations* series continues; it appears to be approaching 25 years; and, unless changes are effected, it will be moving toward 30 in the next several years. This situation is more than endemic; it has become critical.

2 If slippage should continue to 30 years – when the Department's records are opened to the public – this will render the task of usage by the Historical Office more difficult and further retard its progress, or will necessitate keeping the records in the Department after 30 years and burden it with administering their use by outside researchers, or will result in keeping them closed to the public. In turn, this may encourage moving the archives opening date beyond 30 years – thus modifying long-standing American practice and contravening the spirit of the Freedom of Information Act – which eventuality is bound to evoke adverse outside reaction and pressures by researchers, the academic community generally, the press, and Congress. The committee is convinced that the

Department must do all it can to avoid letting *Foreign Relations* slip to 30 years.

3 The primary cause of slippage is not one of efficiency or morale of the current historical staff, but is due simply to attrition of personnel, various restrictions on enabling the Historical Office to fill vacancies rapidly, prohibitions on outside recruitment, and lack of provision for phased increasing of staff size to keep pace with assigned tasks. It is due, more specifically, to a net declining number of staff positions over a period of years, to "freezes" on filling vacancies in existing staff over extended periods, and to personnel practices which deny authority to recruit outside the Department. The committee realizes that this last hindrance may be temporary, but it is disturbed by lack of appreciation of the need to recruit the most highly trained, technically qualified, and dedicated specialized professionals which can be obtained – not temporary appointees who happen to be available but whose interests and careers really lie elsewhere. Qualified documentary historians with a career interest in *Foreign Relations* are as essential to the work of the Historical Office as are trained lawyers in the legal office.

4 The committee is convinced that the quantity of additional professional staff members necessary to reverse compilation and publication slippage is modest and that, in terms of the overall resources of the Department of State – to say nothing of the mass research resources of the National Government as a whole – rectification of the personnel shortage of the Historical Office should not be an insurmountable problem. Nevertheless, year by year, it continues, and persistently it worsens. The criticality of this situation can be alleviated only if relief is supplied immediately. The committee is satisfied that in coping with this matter, large problems actually can be resolved by small numbers – that is to say, the issue is not one of a brigade of bodies, but merely of a small handful of trained professionals.

5 So far as documentary clearance is concerned, the committee is of the opinion that it is essential for the Department of State to establish a policy position at a high level to require prompt action on departmental clearance, and to provide high level support of the Historical Office in obtaining clearance by other executive departments and agencies. The committee considered various techniques to expedite clearance within the Department, such as using senior or mid-career Foreign Service Officers between assignments or attaching retired

Reports of APSA Committees

Advisory Committee on "Foreign Relations of the United States"

career officers for this purpose, and it views this as a relatively inexpensive solution to a vexing problem. Other alternatives, such as wholesale declassification of Department of State documents on a continuous and organized basis, or of early automatic declassification, are viewed by the committee as being either more expensive and more time consuming or as unrealistic.

6 The committee regards the indefinite deferral of the publication of *American Foreign Policy: Current Documents* to be undesirable, and deems its discontinuance to constitute a grievous loss to active officials, the researcher and the enlightened community in general, as well as a deplorable, retrogressive action by the Department. The committee is convinced that the reason for such deferral or discontinuance is compelled by staffing considerations rather than matters of intrinsic merit.

Recommendations

The Advisory Committee on *Foreign Relations of the United States* makes the following recommendations to the Secretary of State:

1 That the Historical Office be authorized to fill immediately all staff vacancies as they occur, by appointing the most highly qualified, professionally trained candidates available, and that it should be exempted from both personnel "freezes" and the requirement to restrict appointments to transfer within the Department. Immediate action on this recommendation is required if candidates are to be assured for appointment in the summer of 1970, at the conclusion of their current academic commitments.

2 That the staff of the Historical Office be augmented promptly to keep pace with its assignment and responsibility in producing *Foreign Relations* and related compilations, and that this be done on a systematic basis. The committee – believing that authorization for the appointment of only two additional professional staff members (aside from filling existing vacant positions immediately) will enable the Historical Office to estop existing slip-page – recommends that this office be given two such additional positions at the earliest possible moment.

3 That, in addition, the gap between the years of publishing *Foreign Relations* and the years to which they pertain be rolled back significantly. To achieve this, the Historical Office should be urged to prepare immediately a plan to recommend the steps and staffing requirements necessary to reduce the publication gap to the agreed 20-year line and maintain it there during the 1970's. This plan should designate the staffing needs (professionals and others) as well as consider and define new procedures (where justifiable and feasible) to expedite the achievement of this roll-back goal. Recommendations should be presented to the Advisory Committee in time for consideration at its annual meeting in November 1970, but in the meantime, the Historical Office should be encouraged to present these proposals to the Secretary of State and other responsible officials of the Department as soon as they are completed, and present a progress report on developments to the committee at its next meeting.

4 That high-level Department of State support be clearly and firmly established or reconfirmed in writing to require departmental offices to ascribe

essential priority to *Foreign Relations* clearance tasks, that commencement of clearance not be permitted to be put off by individual policy offices for months, and that attention be given to systematizing practice within the Department of State by the use of high and middle grade Foreign Service Officers between assignments or by *ad hoc* appointment of retired officers for this purpose if regular staff members cannot be spared for clearance duties.

5 That planning be launched to provide high-level Department of State support of the Historical Office to achieve "outside" clearance by other departments and agencies as the *Foreign Relations* series comes to involve increasing documentation concerning the newer issues of the post-World War II era (such as nuclear, space, alliance, foreign bases, status of forces, and similar issues). The results of such contingency plans should be developed during 1970, should be reported by the Historical Office to the Advisory Committee at its next meeting, and should be launched when their application becomes essential.

6 That the Department of State take appropriate action to see to it that its series entitled *American Foreign Policy: Current Documents* continue to be produced, and that these volumes be published within not more than two or three years of the dates to which they pertain.

Inis L. Claude

Professor of Government and Foreign Affairs
University of Virginia (APSA)

David R. Deener

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Tulane University (ASIL)

Hardy C. Dillard

James Monroe Professor of Law
Judge Designate, International Court of Justice
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W. Stull Holt

Professor of History
University of Washington (AHA)

Ernest R. May

Dean of Harvard College
Harvard University (AHA)

Paul A. Varg

Dean of the College of Arts and Letters
Michigan State University (AHA)

Elmer Pilschke (Chairman)

Professor of Government and Politics
University of Maryland (APSA)

The Profession

Bass Report

The Behavioral and Social Sciences (BASS) Survey Committee of the National Academy of Sciences and the Social Science Research Council has issued its report entitled *The Behavioral and Social Sciences: Outlook and Needs*. The report was published by Prentice-Hall and costs \$7.95. A companion report on the discipline of political science, by Heinz Eulau and James G. March, was also published by Prentice-Hall and was described in the Fall P. S. Other disciplinary companion reports to the overall report are on the subjects of anthropology, economics, geography, history as a social science, linguistics, psychiatry as a behavioral science, psychology, sociology, and statistics/mathematics/computation in the behavioral and social sciences.

"The social sciences will provide no easy solutions in the near future", the report concludes, "but they are our best hope, in the long run, for understanding our problems in depth and for providing new means of lessening tensions and improving our common life."

Noting the needs for better information on the quality of life in our society, the Committee recommends that the Government support, through funds and legislation, efforts already under way to develop a system of "social indicators" that would measure particular aspects of our national life and help to assess changes in the state of society. (Juvenile delinquency and infant mortality statistics are examples of currently existing social indicators.)

The Committee further recommends that social and behavioral scientists outside the government begin to prepare an experimental "annual social report to the nation" that would interpret social indicators as one basis for formulating social policy. If the experiment is successful, preparation of the report might become a government responsibility similar to the preparation of the annual economic report.

Stressing the need for better data, the Committee recommends that a commission be established by the President of the United States to work out details of a national data system that would make social data more accessible for research while protecting the privacy of individuals. The report stresses that the individual's right to privacy must take precedence over the scientist's need for information, and it recommends establishment of a special governmental group, including private citizens, to set up the means for continuing protection of this right.

The Committee points out that our society is now

lacking in careers, parallel to those in engineering, aimed specifically at the application of behavioral and social science. It recommends, therefore, the establishment of graduate schools of applied behavioral sciences, cutting across existing social science specialties, to provide high level research and training programs oriented toward the solution of social problems. In addition to the social sciences, these schools would include such fields as law, engineering, and architecture.

The Committee expresses concern that the current restrictions on federal funds for science could cause the breaking up of research teams that have slowly learned to work efficiently together. Emphasizing the need for preventing such disruption, it recommends a minimum budget growth for the social sciences of 12 per cent annually, compared to the 20 per cent growth of recent years. However, if the enlarged role recommended in the report is to be met, additional funding of approximately \$100 million a year will be required. The total federal funding of behavioral and social science research and development was \$297 million in 1967, the latest year for which figures are available.

The report is one of a series prepared by the National Academy of Sciences surveying the status, opportunities, and needs of the various sciences. Its intent is not a drastic or dramatic redirection of basic social science research, but a strengthening of trends toward research on a larger scale and of increased pertinence to social problems and public policy.

Members of the central planning committee, who were responsible for the report, are Ernest R. Hilgard (Chairman), Professor of Psychology, Stanford University; Henry W. Riecken (Co-Chairman), President, Social Science Research Council; Kenneth E. Clark, University of Rochester; James A. Davis, Dartmouth College; Fred R. Egan, University of Chicago; Heinz Eulau, Stanford University; Charles A. Ferguson, Stanford University; John L. Fischer, Tulane University of Louisiana; David A. Hamburg, Stanford University; Carl Kaysen, Institute for Advanced Study; William H. Kruskal, University of Chicago; David S. Landes, Harvard University; James G. March, University of California, Irvine; George A. Miller, Rockefeller University; Carl Pfaffmann, Rockefeller University; Neil J. Smelser, University of California, Berkeley; Allan H. Smith, Washington State University; Robert M. Solow, Massachusetts Institute of Technology; Edward Taaffe, Ohio State University; Charles Tilly, University of Michigan; and Stephen Viederman (Executive Officer), National Academy of Sciences.

Survey of Urban Studies Programs

Atlee E. Shidler, Director of Educational Programs at the Washington Center for Metropolitan Studies, has issued a summary report of a continuing survey of urban studies programs at colleges and universities. The preliminary report is entitled "Urbanizing the University," and is available from the Center, 1717 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036.

Shidler reports that a typical pattern of urban studies curriculum development "would include, roughly in this order, the appearance of urban-hyphenated and conceptually-based courses in sociology, political science, economics and, though less frequently, geography and history; the urbanizing of traditional courses here and there in a wide range of disciplines by expanding and adding urban subject matter; the development of new courses on specific problems, such as urban renewal, housing and transportation; the development of urban concentrations in one or more disciplines, most often political science, sociology and economics; the introduction of honors courses and senior seminars; the addition of a core set of interdisciplinary courses such as Metropolitan Analysis, Policy for Urban Systems, or Urban Social Problems and Planning; the development of work-experience and internship opportunities; and, finally the organization of these elements into a coordinated urban studies program.

"Most of the newer programs, graduate and undergraduate, offer degrees. They tend to view the field as itself a broadly-based discipline, supported by minors and urban-related courses in traditional disciplines. Programs that do not offer degrees, which include some of the oldest and best established, tend to view the field as a common or generalized aspect of various traditional disciplines in which the basic in-depth educational experience should continue to be provided.

"Where urban research centers already exist, they have customarily played a leading role in the organization and administration of interdisciplinary urban studies teaching programs. Otherwise, the initiative usually has come from political science or sociology, occasionally from economics or geography, and, less frequently, from schools of architecture or urban planning.

"Urban studies is still a very new field for most colleges and universities, but it is fashionable and is spreading and developing rapidly. Unlike its relatives, city planning and architecture, or other professional fields and academic disciplines, it has no journal and no national association. That there

is no common definition of its content or agreement about its form of organization is, therefore, not surprising and probably advantageous."

The general characteristics of Urban Studies Programs are summarized by Shidler as follows:

- Few universities yet have both graduate and undergraduate programs, but many that have one are developing the other.
- While a majority of the programs offer degrees, very few, and none of the undergraduate ones surveyed, are organized as departments.
- Only a few programs approach urban affairs in terms of systems and processes rather than problems and issues.
- Very few programs deal with the city as an independent variable, and what many call "urban problems" too often turn out to be any and all problems that people have in cities.
- There is a considerable tendency, especially in newer programs, to define urban as meaning central city and, to some extent, as basically black and poor. Suburban, suburban/central city, and metropolitan-wide affairs are in most cases neglected.
- Among the social sciences, political science and government are most likely to offer courses with metropolitan perspectives. Although economics is not as strong in this regard as political science and government, it is far stronger than sociology.
- There is a widespread preoccupation with urban pathologies and relatively little attention to the future and to ideal possibilities. This is less the case where professional schools of architecture and/or urban planning are participating.
- Philosophy, religion, literature, psychology, environmental sciences, and professional fields such as law, engineering, health, social work, business and education are, far more often than not, absent from interdisciplinary urban studies programs.
- History is involved in only about half the graduate programs surveyed and about one third of the undergraduate programs; and its involvement is almost entirely confined to U.S. history.
- Architecture and planning schools and the social sciences are showing signs of moving toward each other – the former by adding courses and other activities dealing with race, social justice and

The Profession

Survey of Urban Studies Programs

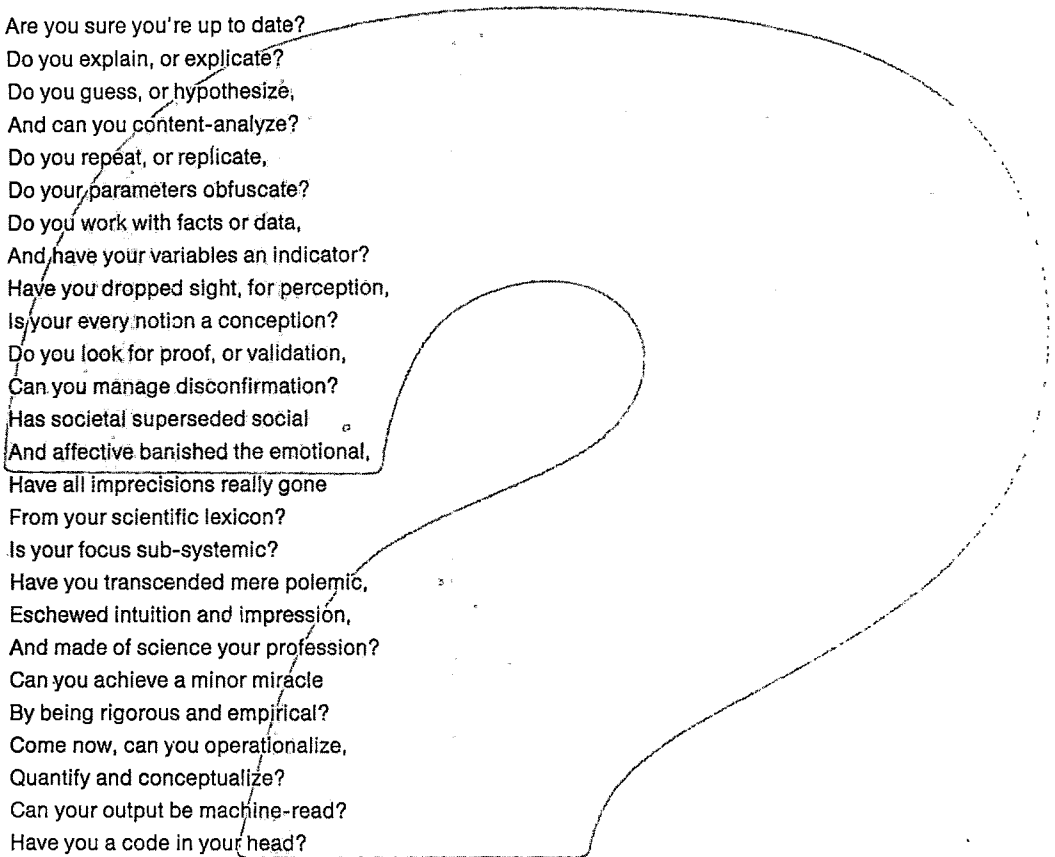
social planning, and the latter by giving increasing attention to the sociology, politics and economics of the urban development process broadly considered.

- Urban studies programs customarily view the communities in which they are located as sources of student internship and work-study opportunities, as places in which to perform services for the needy, as laboratories for developing knowledge and testing ideas, as bodies of officials who need training, and as sets of problems to be researched and solved. But very few institutions have approached their environs as communities with which to cooperate in a continuing effort to achieve collective self-understanding.
- Very few programs include any concern with the international dimensions of urbanism.
- There is almost no apparent inter-university cooperation in urban studies instruction.
- Teaching programs are frequently tied to research centers and institutes and sometimes to community service programs, but urban research, teaching and service are still very much a "trinity in search of a theology."

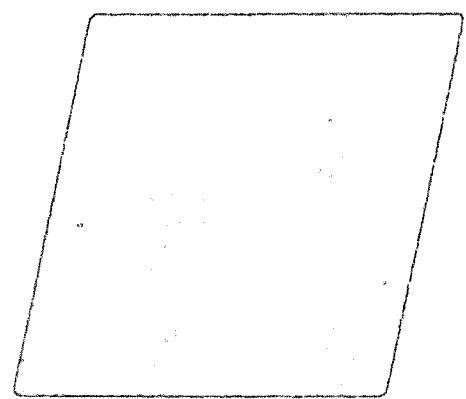
Note: A fuller preliminary report of this survey, including brief descriptions of several outstanding programs, is available from the Center upon request. The collection of materials analyzed includes brochures, pamphlets, reports and other printed matter describing urban studies teaching programs operating or being developed at some 40 colleges and universities, including 25 graduate and 22 undergraduate programs. The collection of these materials is part of a continuing survey of urban studies teaching programs. The materials are available for use in the Center's library.

Questions for a Political Science Recruit

Inis L. Claude, Jr.
University of Virginia



Are you sure you're up to date?
Do you explain, or explicate?
Do you guess, or hypothesize,
And can you content-analyze?
Do you repeat, or replicate,
Do your parameters obfuscate?
Do you work with facts or data,
And have your variables an indicator?
Have you dropped sight, for perception,
Is your every notion a conception?
Do you look for proof, or validation,
Can you manage disconfirmation?
Has societal superseded social
And affective banished the emotional,
Have all imprecisions really gone
From your scientific lexicon?
Is your focus sub-systemic?
Have you transcended mere polemic,
Eschewed intuition and impression,
And made of science your profession?
Can you achieve a minor miracle
By being rigorous and empirical?
Come now, can you operationalize,
Quantify and conceptualize?
Can your output be machine-read?
Have you a code in your head?
Are you adept at research design—
Brother, can you paradigm?



The Editor thanks Jack L. Walker, University of Michigan,
for calling this poem to his attention.

Woodrow Wilson Center

The Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, established by an Act of Congress in 1968, is now seeking applications and nominations for scholars to be in residence in the fall of 1970. The new fellowship and guest scholar programs will open in October 1970 in the newly renovated original Smithsonian Institution building in Washington.

When the fellowship program is fully operational, up to 40 scholars from the U.S. and other countries will be selected for periods ranging from a few weeks to several years. According to a statement of policy adopted by trustees: "Emphasis will be placed on studies designed to increase man's understanding of significant international, governmental, and social problems and to improve the organization of society at all levels to meet such problems. The focus will be on the public policy aspects of contemporary and emerging issues which confront many people and, where applicable, on comparative analyses of different cultural, regional and other approaches to such issues.

The board has designated two subjects on which it would like to see substantial individual and group studies undertaken and proposals developed in the opening period at the center: (1) the development of international law for ocean space; and (2) late twentieth century man in perspective, including "the implications of social biology and the deteriorating environment."

All nominations and applications for openings in the first three months (October 15, 1970 – January 15, 1971) must be received by May 1, 1970. A certain number of appointments will be offered by the center by March 15, 1970. Additional invitations will be issued by July 1, 1970.

Each fellow will be asked to seek financial support from his own institution, government, private foundation or other source – and until the center's initial funding requirements are fully met – fellowship candidates with some such outside means of support may be in a preferred position. Thereafter, within a stipulated ceiling, stipends will be provided by the center.

A booklet about the center programs and forms for either nominations or applications can be obtained from: Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Smithsonian Institution Building, 1000 Jefferson Drive, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20560.

Graduate Student Journal

The *Journal of International and Comparative Studies* is edited by graduate students of the five area Consortium universities in Washington, D.C., and is devoted to the publication of scholarly articles by graduate students in the social sciences. These universities are American, Catholic, Georgetown, George Washington and Howard. The recent expansion of the scope of the *Journal* is reflected in the wider participation of graduate students on the Board of Editors as well as in the articles in the winter, 1970 issue. Articles are on the theories of international relations, game theory, reflections on Tom Mboya, the British ombudsman system as a model for the U.S. Congress, and research notes on units of analysis.

The *Journal* is a non-profit venture, funded from voluntary contributions from the five participant universities and subscriptions. Editorial board members are all graduate students and receive no compensation for their time and effort. Information on subscriptions and the submission of articles may be received from the *Journal* office at Hoya Station, Box 2127, Georgetown University, Washington, D.C. 20007.

Women's Caucus Activities

A group of women political scientists is encouraging women and men colleagues to join their efforts in calling attention to the problems of women in the discipline. Dues for the Women's Caucus for Political Science are \$3 annually. Members receive a Newsletter describing Caucus activities and other news. Copies may be obtained by sending a stamped, self-addressed envelope to the Caucus. A special bibliography of articles concerning the status of women in academic life is also available from the Caucus. Mailing address is Box 12859, University Station, Gainesville, Florida 32601.

Television Information

The Television Information Office, 666 Fifth Avenue, New York, New York 10019, publishes information on the television industry, including the following publications of interest to political scientists: Burns W. Roper, "A Ten-Year View of Public Attitudes Toward Television and Other Mass Media 1959-1968;" a bibliography entitled "Television in Government and Politics" (with supplements); and "Television Programs Relating to Law and the Legislative Processes 1960-1964."

Report on **Nixon** Administration and Academic Talent

The Arts and Sciences Division, Republican National Committee, has announced the availability of a report entitled "Substantial Utilization of Academic Talent by the Nixon Administration." The document lists appointments in the administration of persons with academic backgrounds.

Political scientists in the administration include Daniel Patrick Moynihan, Counsellor to the President; Charles L. Clapp, Special Assistant to the President; Robert J. Pranger, Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs; William R. VanCleve, Special Assistant for International Security Affairs; Joel M. Fisher, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for International Organization; George Grassmuck, Special Assistant to the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare for International Affairs; Carl McMurray, Assistant to the Secretary of Interior; Thomas Melady, U.S. Ambassador to Burundi; David Derge, Member of the U.S. Advisory Committee on International, Educational and Cultural Affairs; Stephen Horn, Vice Chairman of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights; Alexander Heard, Member of the Task Force on Priorities in Higher Education, which also includes Malcolm C. Moos; Edward C. Banfield, Chairman of the Task Force on Model Cities, which also includes James Q. Wilson.

Copies of the report, which covers all academic disciplines, are available by writing to Richard C. Curry, the APSA National Committee Fellow, who is Director of the Arts and Sciences Division, at Republican National Committee, 1625 Eye Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006.

B'nai B'rith Publications

The Anti-Defamation League offers various materials on the subjects of Problems of Democracy and Human Relations, for classroom or discussion use. Information on the materials, which include films, filmstrips, recordings and publications, may be obtained from the ADL at 315 Lexington Avenue, New York, New York 10016.

Latin American Digest

The Center for Latin American Studies, Arizona State University, publishes the *Latin American Digest*, a journal summarizing the political, economic and social trends of Latin American countries. The *Digest* is issued in September, November, January, March and May. Subscriptions are \$2 annually, from the Center, Tempe, Arizona 85281.

Voting Report

The Freedom to Vote Task Force, Democratic National Committee, has issued its report *That All May Vote*. The report is the first of three. It contains recommendations for a Universal Voter Enrollment Plan, creation of a National Election Commission and declaration of a National Election Holiday. Future reports will consider voter qualifications and the democratic process.

Executive Director of the Task Force is William J. Crotty of the Political Science Department, Northwestern University and currently APSA National Committee Fellow at the Democratic National Committee. Ramsey Clark is Chairman. Other political scientist members include Nelson Polsby, University of California, Berkeley, and Doris Kearns, Harvard University. The report contains several statistical appendices on voting turnout at the state, national and local level and in foreign nations. For further information write: Freedom to Vote Task Force, Democratic National Committee, 2600 Virginia Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037.

Attitude Measurement Lists

The Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan, has announced publication of three volumes of listings of attitudinal measures. These listings review and evaluate the major empirical measures of political and social attitudes. The volumes are *Measures of Social Psychological Attitudes* (662 pages, cloth \$12, paper \$6); *Measures of Political Attitudes* (702 pages, cloth \$12, paper \$6); and *Measures of Occupational Attitudes* (460 pages, paper \$6). These publications are available from the Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan, P.O. Box 1248, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106.

New Law Journal

Students at Yale Law School are beginning a new quarterly publication, the *Yale Review of Law and Social Action*, devoted to discussing methods of effecting social change. It will be a "forum for well-known practitioners, activists, and social thinkers as well as as lesser known persons who are at the forefront of attacks on social problems."

The journal is offering subscriptions to members of the American Political Science Association at the special rate of \$6 for one year, \$10 for two years and \$20 for five years (regular rates, \$8, 14 and \$30). The first issue is February, 1970. For further information or subscription, write to: *Yale Review of Law and Social Action*, Yale Law School, 127 Wall Street, New Haven, Connecticut 06510.

Teacher Training

COMPASS – the Consortium of Professional Associations for Study of Special Teacher Improvement Programs – of which the APSA is a member association, has announced that political scientists interested in problems of teacher training may have their names placed on the COMPASS mailing list by writing to the Director, Joseph Palaia. The address is COMPASS, 400 A Street, S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003.

Teaching Innovations Study

A study of teaching innovations at 882 institutions of higher learning has been conducted by Michael Brick and Earl J. McGrath and published by Teachers College Press, Columbia University. The study includes descriptions of innovative methods of teaching, and analyzes the types and extent of innovation. The study is available for \$3.95 from the Teachers College Press.

Black Politics Booklet

The Metropolitan Applied Research Center has published, for the Institute for Black Elected Officials, a booklet entitled "The Black Man In American Politics: Three Views," by Kenneth B. Clark, Julian Bond and Richard G. Hatcher. The 41 page booklet is available for \$.50 from the Metropolitan Applied Research Center, 1819 H Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006.

Biographical History of Entire U.S. Supreme Court

R. R. Bowker Company has announced the publication of the first encyclopedic study of all 97 men who have served on the Supreme Court, entitled *The Justices of the Supreme Court 1789-1969: Their Lives and Major Opinions*. The four volume set includes biographical essays, selected opinions, and bibliographies for each justice, as well as appendices for summarizing statistical information about the justices, an index and reference tables. Cost of the set is \$110. Information is available from the publisher at 1180 Avenue of the Americas, New York, New York 10036.

Higher Education Journal

The International Association for Cultural Freedom, in cooperation with Macmillan Journals, publishes *Minerva*, which examines the organization of university education, the development of scientific research and problems of academic freedom. Editor is Edward Shils. The journal is published quarterly, and subscriptions cost \$7.50 (air mail). For further information write to Macmillan Journals, Ltd., 4 Little Essex Street, London WC2, England.

Hamilton Washington Program

Hamilton College sponsored in Fall, 1969, its first Semester in Washington Program under auspices of the Department of Government. Fourteen students, twelve from Hamilton and two from Colgate University, spent the fall semester in Washington. The students had full-time internships in Congressional offices for the first half of the semester and spent the second half of the semester in administrative offices. The interns found employment in the offices of various Congressmen and Senators and on the staffs of several committees. Executive internships were found in the White House, the State Department, Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Department of Housing and Urban Development, and the Department of the Interior among others.

Academic requirements included a weekly seminar in public policy and the preparation of a research paper relating individual experiences and observations to a student-selected theoretical proposition. The program was directed by Eugene Lewis of the Hamilton College Department of Government. The Semester in Washington Program is to be a permanent part of the College curriculum.

Mexican Political Biographies

The Center for Latin American Studies, Arizona State University, has published *Who's Who in Mexican Government*, with 250 biographical summaries of officials and politicians in Mexico at the municipal, state and federal level, as well as a directory of the current federal administration, a list of Mexican consuls and their addresses in the United States, a list of the governors of the Mexican states and their terms of office, an annotated bibliography and a glossary of political terms. This is the first Mexican political *Who's Who* since 1946. The publication, edited by Marvin Alisky, is available from the Center for prepayment of \$2 hardback and \$1 paperbound. The address is Center for Latin American Studies, Arizona State University, Tempe, Arizona 85281.

Military History

Research Collection

The U.S. Army Military History Research Collection at Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania, is open to use by civilian as well as military researchers, writers, and scholars. The Collection's primary mission is the assembly and preservation for scholarly use of source materials, published and unpublished, relative to the military history of the U.S.

Included in the Collection are more than 200,000 bound volumes, many sets of rare military periodicals, and manuscripts and personal papers representing virtually every aspect of Army history. Special collections include thousands of glass slides from the early 1900's on; over 200 separate collections of photographs, documents, letters, and diaries from veterans of the Spanish-American War, Philippine Insurrection, and Boxer Rebellion; and the personal and career military papers of many deceased and retired high ranking Army officers. Most of the Research Collection's published materials have come from three main library sources: the Army War College, the National War College, and the Command and General Staff College. Individual donors and shipments from other Army post, museum, and school libraries have also continued to add material. Personal papers of persons who have served in the Army are continually being added to the manuscript collections. Researchers interested in using the Military History Research Collection are urged to visit the collection or write to the Director, Col. George S. Pappas, U.S. Army Military History Research Collection, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania 17013.

DNC Rules Commission

The Rules Commission of the Democratic National Committee has issued "Issues and Alternatives," a study guide of Democratic National Convention practice and procedure and possible changes in Democratic Party governance. The document will be widely disseminated to future witnesses before the Commission and others interested in questions of party conventions and structure. Over 700 inquiries were directed to party leaders and political scientists to develop the alternatives covered in the publication, which will serve as the basis for a series of hearings and consultations with party leaders around the country.

The Commission hopes that all interested persons will submit written comments on the various proposals. The address is: 2600 Virginia Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037.

Michigan Conference Formed

The Michigan Conference of Political Scientists held their initial meeting at Michigan State University, October 23-24, 1969. Samuel H. Barnes, Survey Research Center, University of Michigan, spoke on "Program in Comparative Research" at the evening meeting and Senator Sander Levin, Minority Leader of the Michigan State Senate, addressed the luncheon group on "Educational Reform in Michigan."

Panels discussed "Political Violence" and "Student Demands and Administrative Response."

Officers elected for 1969-70 were: President, Robert W. Kaufman, Western Michigan University; Secretary, Miss Barbara Stander, Wayne State University; Treasurer, Harold Arman, Delta College. The position of president-elect will be filled later.

Also elected were members of the Executive Council: for two year terms, officers Robert Kaufman and Harold Arman, and Fridolf Johnson, Ferris State College; for one year terms, Harold J. Spaeth, Michigan State University; Elton Ham, Kalamazoo College; Kenneth Morgan, St. Clair Community College; John C. Smith, Kellogg Community College, *ex officio* as Chairman, Political Science Section, Michigan Academy of Science, Arts, and Letters; and Miss Stander.

The Conference voted, after some opposition from the floor, to reserve one regular seat on the Executive Council for a graduate student from one of the Michigan universities.

Commission on Campaign Costs Report

The Report of the Twentieth Century Fund Commission on Campaign Costs in the Electronic Era has been issued. The report, entitled *Voters' Time*, includes the basic proposal that "the Federal Government provide significant candidates in general election campaigns for President and Vice President of the United States with basic campaign broadcasting access to the American voting public. . . ." Members of the Commission were: Newton N. Minow, Chairman; Dean Burch, Thomas G. Corcoran, Alexander Heard, and Robert Price. Copies of the report are available for \$1 from the Twentieth Century Fund, 41 East 70th Street, New York, New York 10021.

Biographical Information on American Politics

The second edition of *Who's Who in American Politics* contains 19,000 entries and includes biographical information on the President, Vice President, Senators, Congressmen, Cabinet members and Federal officials, state legislators, mayors, county chairmen and others. Published in January, 1970, the 1,334 page volume also contains a geographical index. Cost is \$27. For further information, write the R. R. Bowker Company, 1180 Avenue of the Americas, New York, New York 10036.

Politicometrics Program

A graduate research seminar in Politicometrics is being offered at Ohio State University during 1969-70. "Politicometrics, basically defined as the science of measuring political behavior, is concerned with the design of process control models that can be used by administrators and politicians. The key difference between politicometrics and operations research is that the former includes the optimization and simulation of both political and physical variables."

Stephen D. Slingsby of the Division of Research, College of Administrative Science, is developing the Politicometrics Research Program at Ohio State. The program's purpose is twofold: 1) to conduct basic research in the design of new mathematical logics and, 2) to conduct applied research through the combined efforts of administrators and policy scientists in an attempt to build operational politicometric models.

China Press Translations

E. Raymond Platig, Director, Office of External Research, Department of State, has announced that the translations of Chinese Communist press materials which had been sent free of charge to some China specialists, university research centers and libraries will be available on a paid subscription basis from the Clearing House for Federal Scientific and Technical Information, 5285 Port Royal Road, Springfield, Virginia. These translations, produced in the American Consulate General, Hong Kong, include the *Survey of China Mainland Press* (the title often used for all four series), *Current Background*, *Selections from China Mainland Magazines*, and *Index*.

The initial annual subscription rate will be \$130 for all four series mailed to addresses in the United States and Hong Kong, and \$165 for foreign mailings.

Intergovernmental

Relations Publications

The Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations has announced the publication of several recent reports which are appropriate for use in teaching and research about state and local government and intergovernmental relations.

The duty of the Advisory Commission is to give continuing attention to intergovernmental problems in Federal-State, Federal-Local, and State-Local, as well as interstate and interlocal, relations. The Commission's approach to this broad area of responsibility is to select specific intergovernmental problems for analysis and policy recommendation.

New reports include: *State Aid to Local Government: Urban America and the Federal System*, prepared by Allen D. Manvel drawing on reports of the Advisory Commission over the nine year period of its existence; the 1970 Cumulative *ACIR State Legislative Program*; and a descriptive pamphlet entitled "The Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations."

A booklet describing all ACIR publications and their availability for classroom and other use will be sent on request by the Commission. Of special interest to political scientists is the survey conducted jointly by the American Political Science Association and the Advisory Commission. Entitled *Federalism and the Academic Community*, the study is available without charge from the Commission while the limited supply exists. The address is 726 Jackson Place, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20575.

Arkansas Association Formed

In November, 1969, 30 political scientists, representing nearly all colleges in Arkansas, formed the Arkansas Association of Political Science. At the meeting, held at Hendrix College in Conway, Arkansas, Bob Riley, Ouachita Baptist University, was elected President. The Association is now developing a constitution, is seeking members, and plans annual programs, a speakers' bureau and a communications program for political scientists.

The formative meeting was held in conjunction with a one day seminar held at Hendrix College for political scientists to meet with delegates to the Arkansas Constitutional Convention. An address was made by Daniel R. Grant, Vanderbilt University, and incoming President of Ouachita Baptist University.

Social Science Journal

Reidel Publishing Company has announced a new publication, *Theory and Decision*, an international journal for the philosophy and methodology of the social sciences. Its aim is to analyze and criticize the methods, presuppositions, formal and informal logical structures of these sciences, and to increase interdisciplinary communication. Manuscripts are welcomed from philosophers, social scientists, policy scientists, decision theorists and other interested scholars. For further information write to: Alex C. Michalos, Department of Philosophy, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania 15213; or Gerald Eberlein, Freie Universität Berlin, D-1000 Berlin 48, Bleichertstrasse 34, Germany. Subscriptions cost \$19.55 for institutions, \$11.15 for individuals.

Book on Teaching

The American Association for Higher Education sponsored the development of a book on college teaching to be entitled *Effective College Teaching: The Quest for Relevance*. The book is a selection of chapters from a larger collection prepared as a study of college teaching with special reference to the disciplines. Kenneth Boulding prepared the chapter on "The Task of the Teacher in the Social Sciences." The volume is intended for independent reading and as a basis for seminar and workshop discussion with beginning college teachers. The study was conducted under contract with the U.S. Office of Education under the auspices of the Joint Committee on College Teaching, which is administered by the AAHE. The APSA is a participant in the Joint Committee on College Teaching. Copies of the 200 page book may be obtained as part of a packet of informational materials on AAHE membership for a contribution of \$1.50 to the AAHE, One Dupont Circle, Washington, D.C. 20036.

Consortium Course Compilation in Urban Affairs

To provide Washington, D.C., area college and university students with information on courses offered at institutions of higher education in the area on urban affairs, the Washington Center for Metropolitan Studies has published a booklet which lists all urban courses entitled "Spring 1970 Courses in Urban Affairs." The compilation includes both graduate and undergraduate courses, and is designed to encourage students to use the Consortium of universities.

European Urban Affairs Study Tour

The Washington Center for Metropolitan Studies and the School of Government and Public Administration, The American University, will conduct an urban studies tour of Europe next summer. The emphasis will be on the management of urban renewal, new towns, the reform of local government, and urban environmental services. The tour will depart June 21, and return August 2, 1970. Write David T. Parry, Washington Center for Metropolitan Studies, 1717 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036.

Audiovisual Catalog

A catalog of motion pictures and filmstrips entitled *U.S. Government Films* includes a listing of items for sale by the National Audiovisual Center of the General Services Administration. The 165 page catalog, the first such issued, gives a brief description of each film. Requests for the catalog should be addressed to: National Audiovisual Center, Washington, D.C. 20409.

League of Nations Documents

League of Nations documents and publications will be made available on 35mm microfilm by Research Publications, 254 College Street, New Haven, Connecticut. The objective is to produce a complete collection of League material, both published and unpublished, so far as remaining restrictions permit. It will then be possible for any institution, organization or individual to acquire a complete League of Nations Library at reasonable cost. Research Publications has the support and cooperation of the United Nations. The U.N. League of Nations collection, which is believed to be the most complete in existence, will be available for this project.

A wealth of research material exists in the collection, covering a wide range of subjects. It will be of interest to historians, political scientists, sociologists and others studying not only this period but also the years following the death of the League. Bibliographic work is now going forward preparatory to microfilming operations, which are scheduled to begin later this year. A prospectus is now in preparation. Inquiries may be addressed to: Samuel B. Freedman, President, Research Publications, 254 College Street, New Haven, Connecticut 06510.

Intersocietal Information Center

The Northwestern University Intersocietal Information Center, supported by funds from the Ford Foundation, has begun operation as a research organization to stimulate and support interdisciplinary and cross cultural research among the social sciences and professional schools at Northwestern University. Scholars at institutions other than Northwestern may also use the Center according to certain procedures and conditions.

Full information on the facilities, resources and services of the Center is available in the "Introduction to the Users Guide" and the *Users Guide to the Intersocietal Information Center*. The *Users Guide* is \$2. and can be obtained from the Center. The Center has a mixture of quantitative and qualitative information in the following categories: machine readable data, bibliographic material, reference materials, propositional inventories, Human Relations Area Files, and the coded microfilm files of the International Comparative Political Parties project. The address is 1818 Sheridan Road, Evanston, Illinois.

Bibliographical Service Index

ABC POL SCI, Advanced Bibliography of Contents in political science, has completed its first year of publication and has issued its Annual Index cumulated for Numbers 1-8, which constitutes Number 9.

ABC POL SCI publishes reproduced contents pages of 260 journals in political science and government, concurrently or in advance of their publication date. Subscriptions are \$6.50 annually for individuals. Further information may be obtained from ABC Clio Press, Riviera Campus, 2010 Alameda Padre Serra, Santa Barbara, California 93103.

Black Studies Journal

Sage Publications has announced that it will begin publication in September, 1970, of the *Journal of Black Studies*. The journal will publish articles of research and analytical discussion of a broad range of subjects "related to the life and experience of people of African descent." Martin Kilson, a political scientist at Harvard University, is on the Advisory Board; Charles V. Hamilton, Columbia University, is on the Editorial Board. Subscriptions to the quarterly are \$15 regular, \$10 professionals and teachers, \$7.50 full time students, from Sage Publications, 275 South Beverly Drive, Beverly Hills, California 90212.

Dakota Territorial Records

The Curator of the Orin G. Libby Manuscript Collection at the University of North Dakota announces the completion of a microfilm edition of the Dakota Territorial Records. Sponsored by the National Historical Publications Commission, this project preserves the extant official records of twenty-eight years of territorial government. Included in the edition are: the correspondence of the territorial governors; the correspondence of the secretaries of the territory; incorporation records, both foreign and domestic; and the miscellaneous records from various minor offices that composed the governmental structure.

These documents were widely scattered through both Dakotas when the project began in February, 1968. They were assembled and arranged, for the first time since the division of North and South Dakota, by the University Archivist and his staff. Thus, the microfilm edition preserves these important documents and, at the same time, synthesizes a previously separated records group.

The entire 86 roll set, including a pamphlet guide, costs \$860., while individual rolls may be purchased for \$12.50 each. Copies of the pamphlet guide may be purchased and further information may be obtained from the Curator of the Orin G. Libby Manuscript Collection, Chester Fritz Library, University of North Dakota, Grand Fork, North Dakota 58201.

Moratorium Meeting

The Caucus for a New Political Science sponsored a meeting for political scientists participating in the November March on Washington to protest the Vietnam War. The meeting was held at the Political Science Building on November 16. Those attending discussed the role of political scientists in protest movements, and effective ways for political expression and dissemination of their viewpoints.

Federal Program Listing

The Staff of Representative William V. Roth (R-Delaware) has prepared a "Listing of Operating Federal Assistance Programs," which have been collated in a House of Representatives Document now on sale by the U.S. Government Printing Office for \$4.50. The 1,129 page listing contains information on 1,315 federal programs, their requirements and the name of the person to contact for assistance under the program.

Internship Programs

Internship programs in the Kentucky legislature and Delaware executive branch will be continued this year based on their successes in 1969. The Kentucky program provides for 20 college students to serve key legislators and committees during the 60 day session. They receive \$225 a month and 14 hours of academic credit. In Delaware, the Governor's Summer Fellows Program enables 17 college students to spend 10 weeks during the summer working in state agencies for \$100 a week.

Industrial Relations Journal

The New York State School of Industrial and Labor Relations, Cornell University, has announced the establishment of a new journal, *Issues in Industrial Society*. The first issue was devoted to "Business, Labor and Jobs in the Ghetto;" the second issue to "Political Activities of Unions and Company Managers." A year's subscription costs \$5 (3 issues). Write to the School, Ithaca, New York 14850.

HUD Research Report

As part of the Department of Housing and Urban Development's Clearinghouse Service, the publication "Recent Research in Public Administration" has been issued. Containing abstracts of research in progress in seven categories, the report was published by HUD in cooperation with the Science Information Exchange and the International City Managers Association. The abstracts include information on each project's purposes and support, and whom to contact for further information. The categories for the selection of abstracts included: Community decision-making, Organization and Management, Urban Finance, Budget, Systems Analysis, Urban Data and Information Systems, and Manpower and Training. Further information about the report or HUD Research Projects may be obtained from the Clearinghouse Service, Department of Housing and Urban Development, Washington, D.C. 20410, or the document may be obtained from the U.S. Government Printing Office for \$1.25.

Urban Institute

The Urban Institute, 2100 M Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. has issued a booklet entitled "The Urban Institute: Work Program for 1969-70." The booklet describes the purposes of the Institute, its efforts thus far in dealing with urban research problems, and work now in progress.

Fulbright-Hays Act Scholars

The Committee on International Exchange of Persons has recently issued the Directory of Visiting Scholars in the United States awarded grants under the Fulbright-Hays Act for 1969-70. The Committee also expects to issue in March 1970 a list of foreign scholars available under the Fulbright-Hays program for appointments in American colleges and universities for the academic year 1970-71. The list to be issued in the spring will include information about scholars nominated by the binational Educational Commissions and Foundations abroad for Fulbright-Hays travel grants covering costs of round trip transportation from the home country to the United States, provided arrangements can be completed for lecturing or research appointments with appropriate stipends at American institutions of higher learning.

Persons interested in receiving a copy of the current Directory for the academic year 1969-70 or a copy of the forthcoming list of candidates to be issued in March 1970 may write to: Miss Grace E. L. Haskins, Program Officer, Committee on International Exchange of Persons, 2101 Constitution Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20418 (or telephone 202-961-1648).

Pi Sigma Alpha Chapter Awards

Charles B. Hagan, President of Pi Sigma Alpha, the national political science honor society, has announced a national competition among chapters in recognition of 1970 as the society's fiftieth anniversary.

Organized in 1920, the society now has 130 chapters. The two chapters that operated the "most interesting and stimulating programs" in the spring or fall, 1969, semesters will receive travel and hotel expenses to the 1970 Los Angeles Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association for the Faculty Sponsor and Chapter President.

Science Policy Newsletter

The Science and Public Policy Studies Group has begun the publication of the SPPSG Newsletter for three months in early 1970 as a test of the utility of such a newsletter for the members of the group. Contents include information about courses and programs in science policy, news, congressional roundup, publications, announcements, meetings and other features. Those with news or information should contact the SPPSG Newsletter, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Room E53-418, Cambridge, Massachusetts 02139.

Association News

1969 Annual Meeting

Minutes of the 1969 Annual Business Meeting of the American Political Science Association

First Session, Wednesday, September 3, 1969
New York Hilton Hotel
President David Easton, presiding
The Meeting was called to order by the Presiding Officer at 4:45 p.m.

Chairman of the Constitutional Revision Committee, Mr. Wildavsky, moved the adoption of the amendment to the Association's Constitution, Article IX on amendments, proposed by the Council (included as item II.A. 1 of the Agenda):

Resolved that Article IX be amended to read as follows: (adding the italicized language and deleting the bracketed language), and that Article VII, Section 1, be brought into conformity with such action.

1 Amendments to this Constitution [shall] may be proposed by the Council *or by fifty (50) members of the Association* [and adopted by a majority vote of the members present at any regular or special meeting of the Association. Ten members may propose amendments to this Constitution. Such proposed amendments shall be referred to the Council for consideration and by them referred to the Association for its action thereon at]. *The Council shall transmit all proposed amendments to the next Annual Business Meeting [with such recommendations as the Council may see fit to make] and may make recommendations on those amendments originating outside the Council.*

Mr. Wildavsky offered an amendment to the amendment, substituting "forty percent" for "one-third" of the voting membership necessary to support a Constitutional amendment at an Annual Business Meeting to require a mailed ballot on the amendment. The substitution of "forty percent" was approved by voice vote. The main motion, the amendment to Article IX, was then adopted by voice vote.

Mr. Wirt, a Member of the Council, moved the adoption of the amendment to Articles V and VII on election of officers, proposed by the Council (included as item II.B.1 of the Agenda):

Resolved that Article V, Section 1, be amended to read as follows (adding the italicized language and deleting the bracketed language) and that Article VII, Section 1, be brought into conformity with such action.

1 The elective officers, except the President, shall be chosen by [a majority] vote of the members of the Association attending the Annual Business Meeting, a quorum being present, *provided that whenever there is a contest for any elected office or offices such be conducted by mail ballot of the entire individual membership. In the latter event the Executive Director shall distribute ballots within thirty (30) days following the Annual Business Meeting and under such other conditions as the Council may prescribe, and he shall count only ballots returned within thirty (30) days following distribution; each contested election shall be determined by a plurality of those voting on the particular office; if the number of nominees for the set of vice-presidencies or for Council membership exceeds the number of offices constitutionally to be filled, all such nominees shall appear on the mail ballot, members shall be entitled to vote for a number equal to the number of offices in the set, and the nominees ranking highest in the poll, in a number equal to the number of offices, shall be declared elected.* The President-Elect shall automatically succeed to the office of President upon the completion of the President's term, or upon the occurrence of one of the contingencies provided for in section 3 of this Article. The terms of elective officers, except members of the Council, shall extend for one year [viz.] *measured from the end of the program of [one] the Annual Meeting [to the end of the next], except that an officer's term shall in no event expire until his successor assumes office.* The terms of members of the Council shall extend for two years, similarly calculated, and one-half shall expire each year.

It was moved that this amendment be referred to the Constitutional Revision Committee.

A motion to table the referral motion was defeated by voice vote.

The referral motion was defeated by a vote of 370 - 281.

An amendment to the main motion, adding a Section 2, was offered:

This amendment shall take effect at the close of the 1969 Annual Business Meeting.

The previous question having been moved and agreed to, the amendment to the main motion was defeated by a show of hands.

An amendment abolishing the Nominating Com-

mittee of the Association in future elections was offered, and ruled out of order by the Presiding Officer on the grounds that the proposed amendment concerned a different subject.

The ruling of the chair was appealed, and the previous question having been moved and agreed to, the ruling was sustained by voice vote.

A motion to recess was defeated by voice vote.

The previous question having been moved and agreed to, the main motion amending the Constitution, Articles V and VII, was adopted by voice vote.

It was moved that the Meeting recess for one hour and a half, and resume at 8:30 p.m. The motion was adopted, and the Meeting recessed at 7:05 p.m.

Second Session, Wednesday, September 3, 1969
New York Hilton Hotel
President David Easton, presiding

The Meeting was called to order by the Presiding Officer at 9:00 p.m.

Mr. Huntington, representing the Ad Hoc Committee for the Popular Vote Amendments, moved the adoption of the amendment to Article VII and VIII on adoption of resolutions, proposed by the Ad Hoc Committee (included as item II.C of the Agenda):

We propose the following amendment to Article VII, paragraph 1 of the Constitution to become effective immediately upon adoption by mailed ballot of the membership (adding the italicized language):

Article VII, Amendment II

The membership of the Association duly assembled in the Annual Business Meeting or in a special meeting duly called resolves policy questions brought to it, and may confirm, revise, or repeal the action of the Council, the Executive Committee or any officer. Whenever any such actions of those present and voting are contested by twenty percent or more of those present and voting, such actions shall be submitted for approval to the entire membership by a mailed, secret ballot under conditions prescribed by the Council and shall be determined by a majority of those voting by mail.

Article VIII shall, therefore, be changed to conform

to this amendment and shall read as follows (adding the italicized language):

Article VIII: Resolutions

All resolutions shall be referred to the Council for its recommendations before submission to the vote of the Association at its Annual Business Meeting. Notice of this provision shall be given to the members of the Association in advance of the Annual Meeting.

Whenever any such actions of those present and voting at the Annual Business Meeting are contested by twenty per cent or more of those present and voting, such actions shall be submitted for approval to the entire membership by a mailed, secret ballot under conditions prescribed by the Council and shall be determined by a majority of those voting by mail.

Mr. Sorauf, a Member of the Council, moved on behalf of the Council that the amendment be referred to the Constitutional Revision Committee. The previous question having been moved and agreed to, the motion for referral was adopted, 367 - 344.

Mr. Rothman, initiator of an amendment to Article VII on adoption of resolutions, moved the adoption of his amendment (included as item II.D.1 of the Agenda):

Proposed for addition at end of Article VII, paragraph 1

Further, upon petition of five per cent or more of the full membership of the Association, any proposed amendment to the Constitution of the Association or any decision taken at the Annual Business Meeting or by the Council, shall be submitted for approval to the entire membership under conditions prescribed by the Council, except that all such decisions shall be determined by a majority of those voting.

Mr. Sorauf, a Member of the Council, moved on behalf of the Council that the amendment be referred to the Constitutional Revision Committee. The referral motion was adopted by voice vote.

Mr. Kling, a Member of the Council, moved the adoption on behalf of the Council of its Resolution on Academic Freedom (included as item III.A.1. of the Agenda):

Association News

1969 Annual Meeting

Whereas, resolutions and correspondence on the topic of academic freedom have been addressed to the Council and Officers of The American Political Science Association;

Whereas, the membership of the APSA is mindful of the continuing importance of American colleges and universities remaining as centers of independent inquiry and criticism in a time of social crisis and political polarization;

Whereas, the Association maintains a profound concern for the conditions under which so many of its members teach and study;

Whereas, in accordance with Article II, Section 2, of the Constitution of the APSA, the Association may adopt resolutions in support of academic freedom;

Therefore, be it resolved that the 1969 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association:

1 *reaffirms* the 1947 endorsement by The American Political Science Association of the 1940 *Statement of Principles on Academic Freedom and Tenure* of the American Association of University Professors;

2 *calls upon* Departments of Political Science and all college and university authorities to refrain from the application of political and ideological criteria in the recruitment and promotion of political scientists;

3 *expresses opposition* to the investigation of campus political activities by governmental authorities and to proposals designed to penalize institutions and individuals by the withdrawal of governmental financial aid;

4 *urges* governmental authorities to leave to the faculties, student bodies, administrations, and trustees of the colleges and universities the resolution of campus conflict;

5 *directs* the President of The American Political Science Association to appoint a committee to make a thorough inquiry into the meaning, current status, and prospects for academic freedom for both faculty and students with particular attention to (A) situations where pressures from any sources establish a climate of intimidation leading to restriction of academic freedom, (B) the responsibilities of administration, students, and faculty to

prevent such restriction, and (C) the feasibility of the administration of sanctions by The American Political Science Association against violators of academic freedom;

6 *authorizes* the Executive Director of The American Political Science Association to communicate, both in writing and in oral testimony, the contents of this Resolution to governmental bodies and officials; and

7 *refers* to the committee herein authorized all other resolutions proposed to the 1969 Annual Meeting of The American Political Science Association on the subject of academic freedom.

The Presiding officer pointed out that adoption would preclude consideration of other resolutions on the same subject (included as items III.A.4-5. of the Agenda):

Proposal of the Department of Political Science, Yale University, submitted by Robert Lane
Resolved: that the (Yale) Department of Political Science request the Council of the American Political Science Association to direct the President of the Association to appoint a committee to investigate the meaning, current status, and prospects for academic freedom for both faculty and students with particular attention to (1) situations where pressures from any sources establish a climate of intimidation leading to restriction of academic freedom, and (2) the responsibilities of administration, students, and faculty to prevent such restriction.

Proposal by Sanford Levinson
Resolved, that the Executive Council of the American Political Science Association establish a commission on the relationships between American universities and police and other internal security agencies of the various levels of government, with its inquiry to include, but not be limited to:

A The extent of both overt and covert police activity on campus, including infiltration by secret police of constitutionally protected groups, and the consequent effects of such activity on the integrity of the university community and the freedom of political inquiry.

B The extent of university cooperation with various congressional and state legislative committees investigating campus unrest, including the supply of membership lists, etc., to such groups, and

the consequent effects of such activity on the integrity of the university community and the freedom of political inquiry.

Be it further resolved, that the Association provide financial backing to the commission for the hiring of a full-time executive assistant, as well as any other assistance deemed necessary by a majority of the commission, up to a total of \$50,000. The commission, on its part, is mandated to prepare its report for the 1970 convention, together with any resolutions it deems appropriate.

An amendment to the Resolution was proposed which would add to Section 3 the Association's opposition:

... to the keeping as well as the turning over of files or other information on the political views and activities of students and teachers to private or governmental investigatory agencies by university administrators.

The amendment was adopted by voice vote.

An amendment to the Resolution was proposed which would add a clause D to Section 5:

and (D) linkages between dangers to academic freedom on the one hand and serious threats to political freedom in the wider community on the other, since the freedom of public life is in the last analysis indivisible.

A further amendment to the Resolution consisting of a new Section 8 was ruled out of order. The amendment adding the above language to Section 5 was adopted, 310 - 251.

An amendment to the Resolution was proposed which would add a Section 8, in which the Association would urge:

... the International Political Science Association, of which the APSA is a corporate member, to adopt a similar statement of academic freedom for all its member associations, with particular reference to the Soviet Union and the peoples' democracies.

The amendment was ruled out of order on the basis of being a main Resolution itself.

The previous question was called, but the Presiding officer noted that under the Rules of Procedure a speaker on both sides of a Resolution must be

heard if a member desires to speak.

A motion to adjourn *sine die* was defeated by voice vote.

After speakers on both sides were heard, the previous question was agreed to.

A motion to suspend the rules to take up the Report of the Nominating Committee was interposed, and defeated by voice vote.

A procedural motion was offered to vote on the main Resolution as a whole rather than *ad seriatum*, which was adopted by voice vote.

The main Resolution was adopted as amended, by voice vote.

A motion to suspend the rules to take up nominations was offered. The Chairman of the Association's Committee on the Status of Women objected, but the Presiding officer ruled the motion was not debatable. The motion to suspend was adopted, 277 - 243, and the Meeting proceeded to take up nominations.

A motion to recess until 10:00 p.m. Thursday was offered and defeated by voice vote.

Mr. Livingston, representing the Nominating Committee, offered nominations for offices as follows:

President-Elect, Robert E. Lane; Vice-Presidents, Grant McConnell, William Riker and Robert E. Ward; Secretary, Thomas R. Dye; Treasurer, Francis E. Rourke; Members of the Council for two-year term, Samuel P. Huntington, Henry S. Kariel, John H. Kessel, Lewis Lipsitz, John Meisel, Jewel L. Prestage, Robert H. Salisbury, Ellis Waldron.

Sanford Levinson, representing the Caucus for a New Political Science, offered nominations for offices as follows:

President, Christian Bay; Vice-Presidents, David Kettler, H. Mark Roelofs, Alan Wolfe; Secretary, Paul Minkoff; Treasurer, Robert H. Clarke; Members of Council for two-year term, Henry Kariel, Lewis Lipsitz, Jewel Prestage, Tobe Johnson, Phillip Green, Theodore Becker, Alex Gottfried, William Connolly; Member of Council for one-year term, Walter Goldstein.

Claude Hawley, representing the Ad Hoc Com-

Association News

1969 Annual Meeting

mittee for a Representative Slate, offered nominations for offices identical with the Nominating

Committee with the following exceptions for Members of the Council:

two-year term, Herbert McClosky and Alan Sindler instead of Lewis Lipsitz and Henry Karlel; one-year term, Tobe Johnson.

Mr. Jones, representing the Black Caucus, offered a nomination for Member of the Council with two-year term, Tobe Johnson. The Conference for Democratic Politics declined to offer nominations. Mr. Farrel nominated James Elden for Member of the Council, two-year term. Mr. Jones amended the previous nomination of the Black Caucus to include William P. Robinson, Member of the Council, one-year term. The Presiding officer noted that the Association's Nominating Committee chose not to offer a nomination for the one-year term Council Membership.

A motion that the Meeting be recessed until 10:00 p.m. on Thursday was adopted by voice vote at 12:15 a.m.

Third Session, Thursday, September 4, 1969
Hotel Commodore
President David Easton, presiding

The meeting was called to order by the Presiding Officer at 10:00 p.m.

Mrs. Milburn, Chairman of the Committee on the Status of Women, moved the adoption of the resolution of the Council on the Status of Women in the Profession (included as item III.B on the agenda).

Be it resolved:

1 that the APSA support an active recruitment program, especially in any scholarship and fellowship program in which it participates, and actively take special steps to expand the number of places that are occupied by women;

2 that the APSA, especially at its conventions, provide for more active participation of women political scientists in offices, committee assignments, convention panels, and other programs and activities of the Association;

3 that these and similar programs, which create opportunities for women in our profession and encourage women to seek them, be continued until

some reasonable parity between men and women in the profession is achieved.

Miss Klotzburger moved the withdrawal of the Caucus for a New Political Science proposal on the Status of Women and offered an amendment to the Council resolution on the Status of Women to be paragraph four as follows:

4 that the APSA, especially at its conventions, provide generous facilities by which members can organize on problems of women political scientists.

The Presiding Officer proposed that barring objection the Caucus resolution on the Status of Women be withdrawn. There being no objection it was so ordered.

Miss Stiehm of the Women's Caucus proposed an amendment to the Council proposal on the Status of Women to be paragraph five as follows:

5 that the APSA disapprove of discrimination against women in admittance for study, awarding financial support, academic employment and consideration for promotion; and publicize the information about specific instances of such discrimination.

Mr. Baker moved to refer the amendments to the Council for consideration and possible submittal to the Committee on the Status of Women for sympathetic consideration.

It was moved to table the motion to refer.

The motion to table the motion to refer was carried by voice vote.

The Presiding Officer then ruled the motion to table (already passed) out of order because, according to parliamentary procedure, it tabled the main motion as well as the motion to refer. The vote on the motion to table was set aside and the meeting returned to the pending business, the motion to refer.

The previous question on the motion to refer having been moved and agreed to, the motion to refer was defeated by voice vote.

A motion was made to delete the last clause of the proposed paragraph five to the resolution.

The previous question was moved and agreed to and the motion to delete was defeated by voice vote.

The amendment to the resolution known as paragraph four was adopted by voice vote.

The amendment to the resolution known as paragraph five was adopted by voice vote.

Miss Steinmo moved to adopt a resolution

1) that the American Political Science Association reprimand the management of the Commodore Hotel for following a policy of discrimination against women, 2) that the American Political Science Association investigate the possibilities of bringing suit against the management of the Commodore Hotel for having violated the Civil Rights Act, and further, 3) that the APSA resolve that they never again in the future will use the facilities of the hotel that follows a policy of discrimination against women.

The Presiding Officer ruled the motion out of order.

It was moved to suspend the rules in order to permit the offered resolution.

The motion to suspend the rules was carried by a show of hands.

The motion on discrimination against women was reintroduced.

The Presiding Officer ruled the motion unconstitutional on the basis of Article VIII of the Constitution.

On a point of parliamentary inquiry the Presiding Officer was requested to rule part three of the motion on discrimination against women amendment as constitutional.

The Presiding Officer ruled part three as constitutional.

The previous question was moved and agreed to and part three of the motion on discrimination against women was adopted as paragraph six of the proposed resolution on the Status of Women by voice vote.

The resolution on the Status of Women as amended by paragraphs four, five, and six was adopted by voice vote.

The Presiding Officer recognized Mr. Levinson to present the resolution of the Caucus for a New Political Science on the APSA Congressional

Distinguished Service Awards (Item C.1 on the agenda).

Mr. Levinson moved a substitute motion "that the (APSA Congressional) Distinguished Service Awards be immediately abolished."

Mr. Mansfield moved that the substitute motion and the main motion (not moved) be referred to the Council with a view of reconsideration of the whole policy, and perhaps the liquidation (of the awards), and then an orderly arrangement with the original donor.

The motion to refer the substitute motion was defeated 233 to 204.

The previous question was moved and agreed to.

The substitute motion was adopted by a show of hands.

A motion to adjourn was moved and rejected.

The Presiding Officer called for a vote to bring up Item III.E on the agenda as the next order of business; it was adopted.

Mr. Greenberg, the sponsor of Item III.E, the obligations of scholars to subjects of research, moved its adoption.

Resolved:

that the American Political Science Association urges all scholars conducting research in ghetto communities to redirect a major portion of all royalty payments received as a result of that research back to the ghetto by contributing to minority self-help organizations, businesses, and cooperatives.

The Presiding Officer announced that the Council recommended that the resolution on the obligations of scholars be referred to the Committee on Ethics.

Mr. Jones offered two amendments. The first amendment consisted of a request to the Association to instruct its Constitutional Revision Committee to take whatever steps that are necessary to make it possible for the Association to exploit its moral and intellectual authority fully in influencing the outcome of public policy issues.

The second amendment consisted of a set of six proposals to be referred to the Committee on the Status of Blacks.

Association News

1969 Annual Meeting

1 We demand that the APSA support and finance in political science an extensive exchange program among Black colleges and universities, especially between schools with fully-staffed departments and under-staffed departments.

2 We demand that the APSA establish a special fund for Black faculty research.

3 We demand that the APSA use its influence to provide tangible support for the creation of an Institute of Black Politics to be housed at a Black University.

4 We demand that Black representation on the Executive Council of the APSA be expanded beyond the current Black tokenism.

5 We demand that the APSA create an administrative position at the level of Associate Director to be filled by a Black person who will be concerned on a continuing basis with the problems of Black people in the profession.

6 We demand that the APSA sever its relationship with any company or firm discriminating against Blacks in any form.

It was moved that the rule of the Presiding Officer to allow amendments to the motion, be tabled on the basis of Article VIII of the Constitution; the motion to table was rejected.

An amendment was offered to direct "the agencies to which these matters have been referred to report back to the 1970 Annual Business Meeting."

The Presiding Officer ruled in response to a parliamentary inquiry that the pending business was whether to refer the Obligations of Scholars Resolution and proposed amendments to appropriate Committees for further consideration not whether to adopt them.

The previous question was moved and agreed to.

The motion to refer the resolution on the obligations of scholars and amendments was adopted by voice vote.

It was moved to adjourn. The meeting was adjourned sine die at 1:45 a.m.

1970 NSF Register

The Association has continued its participation in the National Science Foundation Register of Scientific and Technical Personnel. The Association conducts the survey for political science, which is one of several professions which are part of the Register. One of the main objectives of the Register project is to obtain information on the profession for use by individual scholars, departments, institutions and the Association in studying and planning for political science. Salary information is held in strict confidence and is released only in aggregate statistics. No information is available for commercial purposes.

Questionnaires for the project were designed by the NSF in cooperation with the Association's Advisory Committee. The questionnaires were sent out February 1, with those for individuals previously registered preprinted in part. The cooperation of all members of the Association is urged by the Advisory Committee. The Committee is composed of Karl Deutsch, Harvard University, Chairman; Elmer Cornwell, Brown University; Heinz Eulau, Stanford University; Barbara Hinckley, University of Massachusetts; Tobe N. Johnson, Morehouse College; Harold D. Lasswell, Yale University; Frank Munger, Florida State University; and Austin Ranney, University of Wisconsin. The Association's Register Supervisor is Mrs. Carolyn Ecker.

Information from the 1968 Register has appeared over the past year in *P.S.* and will continue to be used for comparative purposes. The 1970 questionnaire was accompanied by a Request for Additional Information on respondents' racial/ethnic identification for the Association's committees which are seeking information on the makeup of the discipline and profession.

The definition of a professional political scientist to be used for the 1970 Register, proposed by the Advisory Committee, is: "A Ph.D. in political science; or a master's degree in political science plus one year of professional experience; or two years graduate work in political science and one year of professional experience; or substantial professional achievement in political science as evidenced by contribution to the professional literature."

Association Permissions Policy

The Association has announced new policies for requests for permission to reprint articles appearing in Association publications. Previously, the Association referred those requesting permission to reprint to the author of an article, stating that his permission was required to reprint. With the increasing number of such requests, however, and changes in publications market practices, new policies were adopted with the following provisions.

- 1 The author of an article to be reprinted is free to give or deny permission, or to impose conditions, fees, or a share of royalties.
- 2 The Association, upon receiving a request to reprint, informs the requester that a detailed response will be forthcoming after the Association contacts the author or authors. At the same time, it informs the author of the request and asks him to complete a form, noting whether or not permission is given and the conditions under which it will be given.
- 3 A response is then made to the person requesting permission to reprint, informing him of the author's wishes. A normal fee specified by authors is \$100. The Association also requires a \$50 fee for each article or major portion thereof for commercial use. This includes world rights.
- 4 The Association then receives checks from the requester and forwards payment to the author.
- 5 Annual Meeting panel papers may be reprinted contingent on the permission of the author.
- 6 For short passages of an article, or for reprinting purposes other than commercial such as for classroom or conference use, neither a fee nor the author's permission is required.

The Association's policies are in conformance with the principles of the Committee on Professional Ethics Advisory Opinion Number One on the subject of reprinting.

Report On The Selection of Nelson W. Polsby as the New Managing Editor of the American Political Science Review

On November 14, 1969, the present Managing Editor of the *American Political Science Review* submitted his resignation to President Karl W. Deutsch. The letter said, in part, "A word seems in order about the timing of [the resignation]. In my discussions with then-President David Truman I agreed to undertake the editorship for a period of three to five years. The transition period began in July, 1965, and the first issue published under my direction was that of March, 1966. Accordingly, I am currently in my fifth year of service and feel that I have fulfilled my agreement with Dave. Quite aside from this, however, it has always seemed to me that a fairly frequent rotation of editors is healthy for the journal (and the editors) and that five years is a reasonable maximum tenure."

The Constitution of the Association (Article VI, Section 1) provides: "The . . . Managing Editor of *The American Political Science Review* shall be appointed by the Council, after it hears the recommendation of the President. [He] shall have [a term] to be fixed in each case by the Council; and [he] shall be eligible for reappointment."

At its meeting of December 4-5, the Council established a Search and Screening Committee to assist President Deutsch in considering candidates for the new Managing Editor. The Council stipulated that the Committee be composed of the President as Chairman, President Elect, Managing Editor, three members of the Council, and one member of the current Editorial Board. To the four appointive positions President Deutsch named Herbert McClosky, University of California, Berkeley; Joseph L. Noguee, University of Houston; Vernon Van Dyke, University of Iowa; and Robert E. Ward, University of Michigan.

The Council also directed that a letter be sent immediately by the Executive Director to all department chairmen advising them of the vacancy and asking for their suggestions and nominations for filling it. This letter was mailed from Washington on December 8, and a total of twenty-two replies were received in time to be considered by the Committee. The Council directed the President to recommend a person for the editorship at its next meeting.

Six of the seven Committee members met in Cambridge, Massachusetts, on December 23. Professor Ward was unable to attend but communicated his views to the President in advance of the meeting.

Association News

At the meeting the Committee reviewed all the persons – some ninety-four names in all – who had been suggested to them. Several names were eliminated from further consideration because of information, gained from informal soundings, of their wishes not to be considered.

For evaluating those remaining, the Committee agreed upon the following main criteria. First and foremost, the new Managing Editor should be committed to encouraging the best work done by any and all of the different approaches to political analysis now used or emerging in the discipline; he or she should not be dedicated in any way to promoting any particular approach over the others. The new editor should be a scholar of established reputation. He or she should have editorial talent for evaluating and improving manuscripts as well as administrative talent for managing the journal's office and communications. The editor should already have demonstrated his possession of these talents in some way – e.g., by having edited another journal or a volume of essays, or by having acted as editorial advisor for a publisher. The editor should have shown ability both to apply high standards impartially in deciding what to publish and to help authors to present their work in the clearest and most readable form. The editor should be widely familiar with the profession's active scholars, both those older and established and those younger and rising, in all the nation's regions. He or she should be knowledgeable in American Government and Political Theory, since a majority of the manuscripts submitted are in these fields; but it would be highly desirable for the editor also to have some competence in Comparative Politics and International Politics. And it would also be desirable for the editor to have some competence in related disciplines and some experience in interdisciplinary research and writing.

After agreeing on the foregoing criteria, the Committee proceeded to consider the ninety-odd remaining nominees. After much discussion the number was reduced to a "short list" of six. On a secret ballot each Committee member then ranked the six names in his order of preference. The preferences on the six ballots were combined into a composite ranking, and the Committee agreed that the intervals among the top names were sufficiently large to request the President to present the first name to the Council for its approval.

At the meeting of the Council in Cambridge on January 14 President Deutsch explained the Committee's criteria and procedures and expressed

the members' regret that only one of so many excellent nominees could be chosen. He then presented the Committee's first choice: Professor Nelson W. Polsby of the University of California, Berkeley. After some discussion the Council unanimously approved the President's recommendation and Professor Polsby was named the next Managing Editor of the *Review* for a term of five years. He has since accepted the appointment, and will assume its full duties in early 1971.

Austin Ranney

New Address for New Manuscripts for the American Political Science Review After June 1, 1970

Beginning June 1, 1970, the *Review's* Managing Editor Select, Professor Nelson W. Polsby, will assume all responsibility for referring and making decisions on all newly submitted manuscripts and for deciding on manuscripts referred but not decided on prior to June 1. Accordingly, after June 1, 1970 all new manuscripts and all correspondence concerning manuscripts not then decided upon should be sent to:

Professor Nelson W. Polsby, Managing
Editor Select
American Political Science Review
Department of Political Science
University of California, Berkeley
Berkeley, California 94720.

Each manuscript should be accompanied by an abstract of up to 200 words briefly describing the article's contents. All manuscripts and abstracts should be submitted *in duplicate*. They should be double-spaced and may be in typed, mimeographed, hectographed, or other legible form. Footnotes should appear at the end of the manuscript, not at the bottom of the page.

Since manuscripts are sent out anonymously for editorial evaluation, the author's name and affiliations should appear only on a separate covering page. All footnotes identifying the author should also appear on a separate page.

State and Local Government Internship Program

The Association's State and Local Government Internship Advisory Committee has announced 14 grants for 1970–71 under a program sponsored by the Ford Foundation. The Committee is chaired by Charles B. Hagan, University of Houston. Other members are Paul L. Beckett, Washington State University; Franklin L. Burdette, University of

Maryland; Chester B. Earle, American University; Thomas A. Flinn, Ohio State University; and Donald G. Herzberg, Eagleton Institute.

The Committee made 14 grants, ten of which were renewals. Receiving grants were University of California, Los Angeles, Columbia University, University of Michigan, University of Minnesota, University of California, Davis, University of California, Santa Barbara, Case Western Reserve University, Florida (University of Florida-Florida State University), Indiana University, University of Maryland, University of Tennessee, University of Utah, Vanderbilt University, and Washington University (St. Louis).

The grants are made for the purpose of supporting graduate internships at the state and local level, to provide recipients the opportunity to conduct research and observe the conduct of government.

Parties Report Reprinted

The Report of the Committee on Political Parties of the Association of 1950, *Toward A More Responsible Two Party System*, has been reprinted by the Johnson Reprint Corporation. The report originally appeared as a Supplement to the *American Political Science Review*, Volume XLIV, Number 3, Part 2 (September, 1950).

The Report has become one of the often-quoted works in the literature of political parties, and has come to represent a view of party responsibility which has been critically examined since the Report appeared. Because it is cited and referred to so often, its new availability in inexpensive form will contribute to its use in classroom assignments and individual study.

Cost of the reprint is \$3.50, from Johnson Reprint Corporation, 111 Fifth Avenue, New York, New York 10003.

European Flights

For the eleventh successive summer, the Association is arranging two flights to Europe in 1970. Flight A will leave New York June 10 for London, and return September 7. The A Flight will be by Pan American and will cost \$245. Flight B will leave New York for Paris August 1 on Pan American and will return September 7. The cost for Flight B will be \$270. Flights are open only to members of the Association and their immediate families. For further information, write, Director, Summer Flights in care of the Association.

Cumulative Index Published

An updated edition of the *Cumulative Index to the American Political Science Review* has been published by the Association in cooperation with University Microfilms. The index was edited and the program designed by Kenneth Janda, Northwestern University, based on the previous edition which he edited in 1964. The new index covers Volumes 1 to 62 of the *Review*, for the years 1906-1968. The index is a KWIC index, "keyword in context," which has been redesigned to give the user all the information he needs to find an article in "one stop." Assisting Janda in the publication were Donald Dillaman, Richard R. Greenfield and Jeffrey Krend, all students at Northwestern.

Price for the index is \$6.50, a relatively low price due to the cooperative efforts of Professor Janda and his assistants, University Microfilms and the Association. For copies, send \$6.50 to University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106. Members at educational institutions are urged to remind their libraries to order the *Cumulative Index*.

IPSA Travel Grants

The Association has received a grant of \$10,000 from the National Science Foundation to assist American political scientists in travel to the International Political Science Association Congress in Munich, Germany, August 31 to September 5, 1970. Grants are limited to travel costs.

Application forms are available from the Association office. The deadline for receipt of applications will be June 1, 1970. An Association committee will make the grants and notify individuals soon after that date. For information, write to Travel Grants, IPSA Congress in care of the Association.

APSA Group Flight to IPSA Congress

A group flight has been arranged for Association members traveling to the Eighth World Congress of the International Political Science Association. The Congress will be held in Munich, August 31 to September 5, 1970. The group flight will leave from Kennedy International Airport, New York, August 22 and will return September 7. The fare will be \$245 on Lufthansa Airlines. For information, write Director, Summer Flight Programs in care of the Association.

Association News

Program for the 1971 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association

The 67th Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association will be held in **Chicago** at the Conrad Hilton Hotel, **September 7-11, 1971**. The Program Committee is listed below. The members of the Committee and the Program Chairman welcome suggestions from members of the profession on specific papers, specific panels, or on the general structure of the program. We would be happy to have ideas for innovation; we would be happy to be reminded of tradition we have slighted. If you have suggestions or comments on the program, please communicate to one or more of those listed below. It is important to have these communications early. More definite plans for the meetings will be taking shape in the fall.

Program Chairman: **Sidney Verba**
Department of Political Science, University of Chicago

I. Research Areas (No distinction is made between American politics and Comparative politics. Panels will deal with either or both.)

- A. Political Belief Systems and their Formation
Dennis Sullivan, Department of Government, Dartmouth College
- B. Technology and Politics
Todd La Porte, Department of Political Science, University of California, Berkeley
- C. New Modes of Policy Analysis
Patrick Crecine, Department of Political Science, University of Michigan
- D. Law and Social Change
Herbert Jacob, Department of Political Science, Northwestern University
- E. Conflicts, Groups and Party Alignments
David Kovenock, Department of Political Science, University of North Carolina
- F. Urban Politics
Joel Aberbach, Department of Political Science, University of Michigan
- G. Art as Politics
Claire Rosenfield, Department of English, Brown University
- H. International Relations and Organization
Joseph Nye, Department of Government, Harvard University
- I. Political Development: New Directions
Warren Iichman, Department of Political Science, University of California, Berkeley
- J. Public Administration: The Administration of Social Services

Paul Puryear, Department of Political Science, Fisk University

II. Philosophy, Theory and Method

- K. Ethical Theory
Richard Flathman, Department of Political Science, University of Chicago
- L. Formal Theory
Gordon Black, Department of Political Science, University of Rochester
- M. Problems of Measurement and Method
Lester Milbrath, Department of Political Science, State University of New York, Buffalo

III. Political Science and Public Policy

- N. The Impact of the Social Sciences on Society: A Retrospect on Recent Major Policy Issues
Graham Allison, Department of Government, Harvard University
- O. The Impact of the Social Sciences on Society: Prospects for the Major Issues of the Future
Murray Edelman, Department of Political Science, University of Wisconsin

IV. Political Science: A Self-Evaluation

- P. Political Science as a Vocation
Merle Kling, Department of Political Science, Washington University of St. Louis
- Q. Teaching Political Science
G. Bingham Powell, Department of Political Science, University of California, Berkeley

Association News

APSA Committees

Members of Association Committees are appointed by the Presidents of the Association. All members are invited to correspond with the Chairmen of Committees concerning the subjects of their Committee's concerns.

Constitutional Revision Committee

Aaron Wildavsky, Chairman, *University of California Berkeley*

Sandra G. Bogner, *University of Florida – Graduate Student*

Richard F. Fenno, Jr., *University of Rochester*

Alex Gottfried, *University of Washington*

Michael Haas, *Northwestern University*

Charles V. Hamilton, *Columbia University*

Robert E. Hawkinson, *University of Chicago – Graduate Student*

Donald G. Herzberg, *Eagleton Institute of Politics*

Herbert Jacob, *University of Wisconsin*

Avery Leiserson, *Vanderbilt University*

John D. Lewis, *Oberlin College*

Walter F. Murphy, *Princeton University*

James W. Prothro, *University of North Carolina*

Victor G. Rosenblum, *Reed College*

Rudolph J. Rummel, *University of California, Berkeley*

Judith N. Shklar, *Harvard University*

Sidney Verba, *University of Chicago*

Kenneth N. Waltz, *Brandeis University*

Committee on the Status of Blacks in the Profession

Paul L. Puryear, Chairman, *Fisk University*

Russell L. Adams, *Federal City College*

Twiley W. Barker, Jr., *University of Illinois*

Samuel D. Cook, *Ford Foundation*

C. Vernon Gray, *University of Massachusetts – Graduate Student*

Tobe N. Johnson, *Morehouse College*

Mack H. Jones, *Atlanta University*

Robert E. Martin, *Howard University*

Lois B. Moreland, *Spelman College*

Frank L. Morris, *M. I. T. – Graduate Student*

Michael J. Parenti, *University of Illinois*

William P. Robinson, Sr., *Virginia State College*

Harry M. Scoble, Jr., *University of California, Los Angeles*

Nathaniel P. Tillman, Jr., *Delaware State College*

Alex Willingham, *University of North Carolina*

Maurice C. Woodward, *Federal City College*

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Herbert J. Spiro, *University of Pennsylvania*

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Association News

APSA Committees

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The National Register of Scientific and Technical Personnel

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Barbara A. Hinckley, *University of Massachusetts*
Tobe N. Johnson, *Morehouse College*
Harold D. Lasswell, *Yale University*
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Nathaniel P. Tillman, *Delaware State College*
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Fred I. Greenstein, *Wesleyan University*
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Howard D. Mehlinger, *Indiana University*
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Harvey C. Mansfield, Jr., *Harvard University*
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Edward S. Corwin Award Committee

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Sheldon Goldman, *University of Massachusetts*

Leonard D. White Committee

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Norman I. Wengert, *Pennsylvania State University*

Pi Sigma Alpha Award Committee

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William C. Mitchell, *University of Oregon*

Helen Dwight Award Committee

Burton M. Sapin, Chairman, *George Washington University*
Richard A. Brody, *Stanford University*
Donald J. Puchala, *Columbia University*

Administrations Censured by the AAUP

The censured administrations with dates of censuring, are listed below. Reports were published as indicated by the parenthesized *AAUP Bulletin* citation.

Lowell Technology Institute	Winter 1959, pp. 550-567 April 1960
Alabama State College	Winter 1961, pp. 303-309 April 1962
South Dakota State University Censure was voted specifically on the Board of Regents of Education of the State of South Dakota, and not on the institution's administrative officers.	Autumn 1961, pp. 247-255 April 1962
Alcorn Agricultural and Mechanical College	Autumn 1962, pp. 248-252 April 1963
Grove City College	Spring 1963, pp. 15-24 April 1963
Sam Houston State College	Spring 1963, pp. 44-51 April 1963
College of the Ozarks Censure was voted specifically on the Board of Trustees, and not on the institution's administrative officers.	Winter 1963, pp. 352-359 April 1964
Wayne State College (Nebraska) Censure was voted specifically on the Board of Education of State Normal Schools of the State of Nebraska, and not on the institution's administrative officers	Winter 1964, pp. 347-354 April 1965
St. John's University (N.Y.)	Spring 1966, pp. 12-19 April 1966
Amarillo College	Autumn 1967, pp. 292-302 April 1968
Texas A & M University	Winter 1967, pp. 378-384 April 1968
Arkansas Agricultural and Mechanical College	Winter 1967, pp. 385-390 April 1968
Cheyney State College	Winter 1967, pp. 391-399 April 1968
Southern University and Agricultural and Mechanical College	Spring 1968, pp. 14-24 April 1968
Wisconsin State University at Whitewater	Spring 1968, pp. 25-36 April 1968
Lorain County Community College (Ohio)	Spring 1968, pp. 49-58 April 1968
Troy State University (Alabama)	Autumn 1968, pp. 298-305 May 1969
Northern State College (South Dakota) Northern State College, like South Dakota State College, is under the jurisdiction of the Board of Regents of Education of the State of South Dakota	Autumn 1968, pp. 306-313 May 1969
Frank Phillips College (Texas)	Winter 1968, pp. 433-438 May 1969
Dutchess Community College (N.Y.)	Spring 1969, pp. 41-49 May 1969
Central State College (Oklahoma)	Spring 1969, pp. 66-70 May 1969
Broward Junior College (Florida)	Spring 1969, pp. 71-78 May 1969
Detroit Institute of Technology	Spring 1969, pp. 41-49 May 1969

Research and Training Support

Support Available

Mathematical Applications Institute

The National Science Foundation has awarded Virginia Tech a grant of \$47,000 for use in the university's department of political science to conduct a summer Institute in Mathematical Applications in Political Science.

The sixth of its kind, the summer program will attract 30 college teachers of political science from institutions throughout the United States to the university from June 16 through July 31.

Topics to be covered in the program will include matrix algebra, set theory, statistics and factor analysis as well as methods of applying these tools in research and teaching.

To supplement instruction in these topics, four nationally prominent political scientists will address the participants in the institute at intervals throughout the summer. The scheduled speakers are Steven J. Brams, New York University, Fred Kort, University of Connecticut, William H. Riker, University of Rochester, and J. David Singer, University of Michigan.

The summer program in mathematical applications was conceived by Joseph L. Bernd, chairman of the department of political science. Last year, the program was directed by James F. Herndon, associate professor of political science. Herndon will again direct this year's institute with the assistance of Hugh G. Campbell, associate professor in the department of mathematics and Thomas H. Roback, assistant professor in political science.

Additional information concerning the Institute on Mathematical Applications in Political Science can be obtained by writing James F. Herndon, department of political science, Lane Hall, Blacksburg, Va. 24061.

NSF Interdisciplinary Research Program

Establishment of a new research support program designed to produce information basic to resolving important problems of modern society has been announced by the National Science Foundation.

The program, "Interdisciplinary Research Relevant to Problems of Our Society" (IRRPOS), represents the first major NSF effort systematically to provide research underpinnings to societal problem-solving.

"Teams of scientists from several disciplines, and with varying professional backgrounds, will be able to work cooperatively in obtaining basic knowledge

directed toward solving such problems as environmental quality, the consequences of technological change, or the structure of the urban environment."

The National Science Foundation has authorized up to \$6 million from its current budget to launch the new program. An Office of Interdisciplinary Research has been established to administer the program. Dr. Joel A. Snow has been appointed Acting Head of the office.

The Foundation looks to universities to submit proposals for support, with cooperation from industry and nonprofit organizations encouraged. In addition, NSF intends to take a substantial initiative in developing vigorous research efforts related to societal problems.

The program is envisioned as a way to obtain combined and related insights from many different professional fields to relate the existing and yet-to-be-obtained scientific knowledge to the needs of society. A wide variety of social, economic, and policy-related factors play significant roles in every substantial societal problem. Integrating scientific knowledge with these factors in many instances requires interdisciplinary efforts, where specialists from different areas of science contribute their skills and experience towards solving a specific problem.

In addition, IRRPOS is closely related to proposals for technology assessment within the Foundation. In testimony before the Subcommittee on Science, Research, and Development of the Committee on Science and Astronautics on November 18, NSF Director William D. McElroy said, speaking of IRRPOS, that "... we are concerned here with the totality of scientific research that is required to serve as an underpinning for the technological assessments that have been chosen on the basis of well-defined selection criteria. To this extent the program thus becomes Foundation-wide. There is much that we do that has a bearing on technology assessment; but there is much that we don't do and that should be done. The necessary planning of our program in Interdisciplinary Research Relevant to Problems of Our Society is, in my view, really an essential part of technology assessment. The resulting program, generalized as it may be, becomes, in my judgment, one of the most significant that has been undertaken by the Federal Government."

General criteria for support will include the long-range implications of the proposed research for resolving major problems of society, and the overall

scientific merit of the proposed program. An explicit indication of societal relevance and potential social impact is expected to be an integral element of all acceptable proposals.

NSF will *not* support social-action programs, widespread application of technological devices, or research that would duplicate programs carried out by other Federal agencies.

The Foundation will, however, be receptive to proposals for relevant research of a broadly scientific character that extend beyond the special areas of responsibility of other agencies.

Political Communication Institute

The second National Science Foundation Summer Institute in Mass Political Communication will be held at Ohio University June 15 – July 18, 1970. College teachers in political science, sociology, social psychology, and communications are eligible. Current theories and research methods, including laboratory, will be covered. Topics will include emerging issues in political communication; the coverage of political events; legislative, executive, and agency relations with the media; campaign strategies and the effects of communication; foreign affairs and international communication systems; crisis communications; sampling, interviewing, content analysis, data processing, and simulation. Address inquiries to William H. Harlan, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Ohio University, Athens, Ohio 45701.

NEH Humanities Report

The National Endowment for the Humanities has issued the first edition of *Humanities*, an occasional report intended to inform educators and others interested in the humanities of projects supported by the Endowment, and to stimulate the submission of meritorious proposals to the Endowment. Communications about the Endowment, its purpose, and the projects it supports are invited. The Endowment provides support in four areas: research, education, public programs and fellowships.

Political science is included in the Endowment's programs, where it "has humanistic content and employs humanistic methods." Of particular interest to political scientists is the Endowment's recent statement: "Though it supports projects from the familiar humanistic tradition of pure scholarship and general knowledge, it particularly invites proposals that relate the humanities to contemporary problems: urbanization, foreign policy, civil liberties,

war and peace, government decision-making and, in sum, the wider application of humanistic knowledge and insights to the general public interest." Information on NEH programs is available from the Endowment for the Humanities, Washington, D.C. 20506.

Australian Scholarships

Applications are invited for research scholarships in Political Science at the Australian National University.

Applicants should have a degree from a recognized university. A scholarship is awarded initially for two years, subject to satisfactory progress, but normally will be extended for the whole period of the course, usually three years. The Ph.D. degree course requires the submission of a thesis. The basic scholarship allowance is \$2,850 per annum tax free. A married scholar without children whose wife is unemployed may apply for an extra \$620 per annum. Married scholars with dependent children receive \$875 per annum for the first child and \$250 per annum for each other child. Return fares are paid and assistance with housing is given to most scholars. Application forms and further particulars are available from the University. Applications should preferably be made in April or September, but those at other times will be considered. Scholarships may be taken up at any time after award, subject to agreement of the Head of the Department concerned. Write to C. G. Plowman, Box 4, P.O., Canberra. A.C.T. 2600 Australia.

Federal Grant Eligibility For State Legislatures

State legislatures and legislative agencies have been declared eligible for federal research grants by Budget Director Robert P. Mayo. In a memorandum to federal departments and agencies, Mayo stated that state legislative applicants should be considered on their merits against other applicants, and that state legislatures and legislative agencies are eligible to apply for grants-in-aid unless a federal statute specifically excludes them. The clarification was sought by the National Legislative Conference, which had found that state legislative applications for grants had received different treatment by federal agencies.

Criminal Justice Studies

The National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice announced it is making up to \$760,000 available for three special programs involving fellowships and pilot grants for innovative criminal justice studies. Henry S. Ruth Jr., the

Research and Training Support

Support Available

director of the Institute, said the special programs are part of the Institute's over-all activities to develop new techniques and ideas for reducing crime and improving the nation's criminal justice system.

The Institute is the research and development arm of the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA), created by the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act in June 1968. LEAA administers a broad program of financial and technical assistance to the nation's police, courts, and corrections agencies. The Institute's fellowship program is designed to attract outstanding scholars to important research in the criminal justice field. The pilot grants, he said, will be to assist researchers and scientists who lack sufficient financial support from universities or organizations to carry out promising projects that may have wide application in the criminal justice system.

The Institute's total budget for fiscal 1970 is \$7.5 million. The bulk of the funds will be used to finance research, development, study, and demonstration projects in five priority areas of criminal justice problems:

1. Stranger-to-stranger street crime, particularly robbery, assault and vandalism in the cities.
2. Burglary, particularly in the home and small business establishment.
3. Control of the narcotics addict and the traffic in narcotics.
4. Those kinds of violent disorders which prevent a necessary level of orderly functioning within our communities and our major social and government institutions.
5. Organized crime, particularly those aspects that foster violence, drug addiction, corruption and loss of confidence in government processes.

Grant and fellowship applicants may obtain copies of the Institute's "Program and Project Plan for Fiscal Year 1970," application forms, and detailed information, from the Center for Special Projects, National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice, Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, U.S. Department of Justice, Washington, D.C. 20530.

Visiting Fellowships

Ten visiting fellowships, which will support a year's research at the Institute, are available. Candidates

must be U.S. citizens with a demonstrated capacity to perform professional research, and their prospective study projects must promise benefits for the criminal justice system. The amount of the fellowships will be negotiated with each fellow to permit a year's interruption of his career without personal financial loss. Each stipend will cover materials, travel expenses and computer rental fees, but no more than \$10,000 will be available for such project costs. Fellows will be selected on the following criteria: significance of project for criminal justice, scientific merit, personal competency, project's feasibility and likelihood of its producing useful results; and area chosen – the Institute's intention being to cover as many critical program areas as possible. Unless otherwise arranged, the fellowships are for September 1970 through August 1971. Deadline for applications is April 15, with awards to be made May 15.

Research and Training Support

Announcement of Awards

State Science Grants

The Council of State Governments has received a \$320,000 research grant from the National Science Foundation to assist the States in the organization, administration and utilization of science and technology.

The two-year project will be under the general direction of George A. Bell, the Council's Director of Research. Guidance and advice will be provided by an advisory committee representing all branches of state government, the federal government, scientific organizations and academicians. G. Lyle Belsley will be full-time director of the project. Belsley was formerly Executive Director of the Kestnbaum Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, and retired in 1966 as Director, Economic Affairs Office, U.S. Office of Emergency Planning.

The aims of the project are to:

- Determine the current uses of science and technology by the States, and evaluate their effectiveness.
- Assess the possibilities and potentials for state use of science and technology; identify state problems to which technological approaches would be applicable, outline various approaches that might be taken, and define methodology for identifying these problems.
- Suggest and test mechanisms and procedures designed to assure that States make maximum use of this knowledge.

Attention also will be given to applications of science and technology on an intergovernmental basis, such as the collection and exchange of data.

Some States have become concerned with larger policy questions related to the use of science and technology, and the impact of these upon the State generally and state government specifically. A number of States have established science and technology commissions to provide an official means for considering such problems.

The federal government expended nearly \$17 billion in 1969 in research and development on science and technology. By comparison the fifty States contributed \$93.3 million to such activities in 1965, the latest year for which statistics are available. Although the major portion of the federal expenditure was for military and space

activities, of which there are no state counterparts, the federal research effort is still many times greater than that of the States.

The Council of State Governments is a joint agency of all the States, organized for the purpose of strengthening state government, preserving its role in the American federal system, and fostering interstate cooperation. Governor John A. Love of Colorado is President of the Council, and Senator Charles L. Delaney of Vermont is Chairman of the Governing Board.

Atlantic Institute Grants

Four political scientists received Ford Foundation grants to attend a European-American meeting at the Atlantic Institute in Paris in July, 1969. They were **Harold C. Deutsch**, University of Minnesota; **Robert S. Jordan**, George Washington University; **Ruth C. Lawson**, Mt. Holyoke College; and **Leslie Lipson**, University of California, Berkeley.

Visiting Scholars in the U.S.

Twelve political scientists from other nations have received visiting scholarships in the United States during the academic year 1969-70. These scholars are affiliated with American institutions, but are also available to visit other institutions and groups. Invitations may be extended to them individually or through the Committee on the International Exchange of Persons, 2101 Constitution Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20418. Invitations should indicate a willingness to cover the travel and expenses of the scholar. Visiting scholars are as follows (American institution in parentheses, political science department unless noted otherwise.)

Chandra P. Bhambhri, Rajasthan University, India (University of Michigan)

Tarun C. Bose, Jadavpur University, India (Harvard University, Charles Warren Center)

Ilkka J. Heiskanen, University of Helsinki, Finland (Cornell University, Graduate School of Business and Public Administration)

Hisao Iwashima, National Defense College, Japan (Harvard University)

Rusen Keles, University of Ankara, Turkey (University of California, Los Angeles)

Research and Training Support

Announcement of Awards

Frank G. Little, Australian National University, Australia (Yale University)

Basudev C. Malla, Tribhuwan University, Nepal (Southern Illinois University)

Tuomo Martkainen, University of Helsinki, Finland (SUNY at Buffalo)

Kopparti V. Rao, Banaras Hindu University, India (University of Chicago)

Oral Sander, University of Ankara, Turkey (Harvard University)

Shanti P. Varma, Rajasthan University, India (Columbia University, South Asian Institute)

Rudolf Wildenmann, University of Mannheim, Germany (SUNY at Buffalo)

American Scholars Abroad

Four political scientists in the United States received senior visiting scholar grants from the Committee on International Exchange of Persons, 2101 Constitution Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20418. The grantees with their home and visiting institutions are:

Rowland A. Egger, Princeton University (University of Amsterdam, Netherlands)

Eugene Skolnikoff, MIT (Catholic University of Tilburg, Netherlands)

Bruce M. Russett, Yale University (Free University of Brussels, Belgium)

Alex Weilenmann, University of Pittsburgh (Kennedy Institute, Tilburg, Netherlands).

Minority Research Award

Leslie B. McLemore, Ph.D. candidate in government, University of Massachusetts, has received a minority research award from the Social Science Research Council. The grant is from a special fund of \$75,000 provided by the Ford Foundation for the dual purpose of assisting the work of social scientists who are members of ethnic minority groups, and advancing research on problems of those groups in American society. McLemore's grant is for the completion of research for a dissertation on the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party.

Nominations of prospective candidates for awards, or inquiries concerning eligibility may be addressed to the Social Science Research Council, 230 Park Avenue, New York, New York 10017. The committee acts upon each case as promptly as possible. The committee is composed of Austin Ranney, chairman, Edgar G. Epps, James L. Gibbs, Jr., Walter L. Wallace, and Elbridge Sibley, staff.

NSF Grants

Grants by the Division of Social Sciences of the National Science Foundation to political scientists, July-September, 1969, were:

Arthur S. Banks, SUNY at Binghamton
Multivariate Analysis of Cross - National Time Series Data

Sidney S. Ulmer, University of Kentucky
Court Behavior Patterns

Heinz Eulau, Stanford University
Decision Making in Small Groups

Herbert Jacob, Northwestern University
Citizen Orientations and Contact with Government

William W. Lockwood, Princeton University
Economic Development and Political Change in Asia

William H. Riker and **Peter C. Ordeshook**,
University of Rochester
Systematic Political Theory

Aage R. Clausen, University of Wisconsin
Statistical Analysis of Influences on Voting Data

Michael K. O'Leary, Syracuse University
Collaborative Research on Comparative Voting Bodies

Robert D. Burrowes, New York University
Multivariate Longitudinal Analysis of Conflict and Cooperation

Robert E. Ward, University of Michigan
Analysis of Behavioral Data on Japan

Betty H. Zisk, Boston University
Simulation of Urban Bargaining Behavior

Steven J. Brams, New York University
Collaborative Research on Comparative Voting Bodies

Grants for doctoral dissertation research by students were received by the following: **Theodore J. Lowi**, University of Chicago; **Philip Monypenny**, University of Illinois; **Richard R. Fagen**, Stanford University; **Lawrence S. Graham**, University of Texas; **John C. Wahlke**, University of Iowa; **Heinz Eulau**, Stanford University; and **David Easton**, University of Chicago.

State Legislative Grant

The Citizens Conference on State Legislatures has received from the Ford Foundation a \$550,000 grant, in continued support of its efforts to provide technical advice and assistance for strengthening and modernizing state legislatures. A nonpartisan, not-for-profit organization established in 1964 in Kansas City by business, labor, agriculture, and civic groups, the conference responds to requests for technical assistance from state lawmakers and citizens' commissions seeking legislative reform.

Ford Election and Voting Grants

Electoral developments ranging from the mounting cost of television campaigning to why citizens fail to vote will be the subject of intensive nonpartisan analysis, research and study under grants announce by the Ford Foundation. The grants are:

– \$300,000 to the Citizens Research Foundation for studies of campaign financing in forthcoming elections, with emphasis on use of the mass media and including the rising cost of running for state and local office.

– \$109,722 to Columbia University for research on voter participation in the electoral process, with emphasis on why citizens do not vote.

The grant to the Citizens Research Foundation, Princeton, N. J., a non-partisan organization that has been specializing in research on election campaign finances since 1958, will support an analysis of the financing of the 1972 presidential campaign, of newspaper advertising costs in the 1970 congressional elections, and studies of state and local campaign costs. The group will also expand its educational programs and hold seminars on the problems of political broadcasting.

The Citizens Research Foundation has undertaken pioneering work on the subject of campaign financing in the last decade. It also serves as an information clearinghouse in this field. Herbert Alexander, the foundation's director, was formerly

executive director of the Presidential Commission on Campaign Costs.

The grant to Columbia University will support a detailed study of why millions of Americans fail to vote despite the fact that universal suffrage is a central ideal of democratic government.

Penn Kimball of the Graduate School of Journalism will survey nonvoters' attitudes toward politics and their reasons for not voting. He and his staff will evaluate voter registration efforts. The low turnout at elections will also be studied. Result of the project will be published in book form.

These grants represent a continuation of Foundation assistance for non-partisan analysis, study, and research on the American political process.

Previous grants have included support for rotating research professorships in governmental affairs, with some thirty books on politics produced as a result; for research at the University of Michigan on political communication and the presidential vote; and for an extended study of the presidential and congressional primaries and the 1968 general elections by the University of North Carolina.

Professional Conferences

Forthcoming Conferences

Lenin Centenary

Oklahoma State University has received a grant from the American Bar Association to host a conference on the occasion of V. I. Lenin's 100th birthday (April 22, 1970). The conference dates are set for April 10-April 22, 1970. In general the themes will revolve around Lenin and Leninism, both past and present, on: (1) Jurisprudence, (2) Law and the use of the courts, (3) Imperialism, (4) Wars of Liberation, (5) International relations, (6) International organization, (7) The use of terror and purges as a means of control, (8) Biography, (9) Historiography – East and West, (10) Relations and influence with other major figures such as Trotsky, Stalin, Mao, etc., (11) Revolution and world revolution, (12) Myths, (13) Marxism, (14) Leninism today, and (15) Lenin and the New Left.

Among the scholars who are to present papers at the conference are: Peter Scheibert, Philipps Universität, Marburg; Alfred Meyer, University of Michigan; Zigurds Zile, Wisconsin Law School; Darrell Hammer, Indiana University; Stefan T. Possony, Hoover Institute; Roy Laird, University of Kansas; Alfred Levin, Kent State University; Alec Nove, University of Glasgow; John Keep, University of London; Serge Utechin, University of Kansas; Leon Lipson, Yale Law School. Other invitations are now out to Lenin scholars in the Soviet Union, Europe and the United States.

All sessions will be open. For further information write to Bernard W. Eissenstat, Department of History, Oklahoma State University, Stillwater, Oklahoma, 74074.

Scholar-Diplomat Seminars in Foreign Affairs

The U.S. Department of State, in response to suggestions from a Joint Committee of the International Studies Association and the American Foreign Service Association, has initiated a new program called "Scholar-Diplomat Seminars". This program is designed to provide a better knowledge of the workings of the State Department for interested scholars and others with a professional interest in foreign affairs, and to provide the State Department with a better knowledge of the ideas of these individuals. Each seminar will last for one week, and each seminar group will consist of approximately fifteen people who will be exposed to all facets of the State Department's work on a particular geographic or functional area. Special priority will be given to younger people (under approximately 35 years of age) who have already established promising careers.

The first "pilot project" seminar took place in December, 1969, with eleven scholars in African Studies from universities in various parts of the country. The seminar's program consisted of three phases: (a) discussion of foreign policy problems and processes with senior officers of the Bureau of African Affairs; (b) participation in the daily work of geographic and functional units with the Department of State; and (c) visits to other agencies of the U.S. Government having responsibilities of interest to the scholars, for example Department of Defense, U.S. Information Agency, and AID. The experiment was considered highly successful by all who participated, both scholars and diplomats.

During the spring of 1970 more seminars are planned. The areas to be covered include *Europe, Latin America, South Asia* and the *Arab countries*. All those interested in these areas should submit letters of application immediately. All those with a special interest in other geographic or functional areas, or in American foreign policy more generally as a field of scholarly study, are also invited to write with advance applications for subsequent seminars to be held at periodic intervals during the summer and in the 1970-71 academic year. All applicants are invited to make suggestions as to how each seminar might most usefully be structured and organized in terms of the special interests of the individual applicants.

All letters of application should enclose a summary career synopsis with at least the following items of information: full name, date and place of birth, home address, business address, telephone numbers, positions held (current and previous), academic degrees (dates, institutions, and titles of theses and dissertations), publications (dates, subjects, titles, where published), current specialized interests and geographic areas emphases, time preference for the seminar.

Because this is an unbudgeted activity of the State Department, all successful applicants must cover all of their own expenses from their institutions or sources. For at least the first few seminar programs, all applicants must be U.S. citizens.

Send Applications to: Mr. Robert W. Caldwell, Education Plans Adviser, Office of Public Services, Department of State (Room 5833), Washington, D.C. 20520.

Summer Institutes in Israel

Under the auspices of the newly formed Colby College Summer Institute in Israel, two seven weeks

courses in the fields of international law and international politics and the Middle East will be conducted at the University of Israel during July and August of 1970. Further information about the program on Studies in World Affairs can be obtained from the Director of the Institute, Professor Guenter Weissberg, Colby College, Waterville, Maine 04901.

Midwest Meeting

The Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association will be held April 30-May 2, at the Sheraton-Chicago Hotel in Chicago, Illinois. James B. Cristoph of Indiana University is Program Chairman; Aristide Zolberg, University of Chicago, is Local Arrangements Chairman.

Bodin Conference

From April 1-3, 1970, the Geschwister-Scholl-Institut für Politische Wissenschaft of the University of Munich has arranged an *International Conference on Bodin*, with the support of the Fritz Thyssen Foundation, the Bundesministerium für Bildung und Forschung and the Bayerische Staatsministerium für Unterricht und Kultus.

Based on prepared papers, about thirty scientists from North America and Europe will discuss Bodin's work, his place and importance in the history of ideas in order to stimulate research on Bodin. The topics are 1. Philosophy and religion in Bodin; 2. Bodin's historical thought; 3. Bodin and the legal tradition; 4. Bodin's political philosophy in the history of ideas; and 5. Special Problems of Bodin's political theory.

For information, contact H. Denzer, Geschw. School-Inst., Ludwigstr. 22, 8 Munich 22.

German Politics Conference

The Conference Group on German Politics, a group composed of political scientists, historians and others interested in German affairs, is planning a one-day conference on April 1, 1970, in conjunction with the convention of the Western Political Science Association in Sacramento, California.

The tentative program includes two or three panels on "Political Subcultures in the Third Reich" and "Current Trends in German Politics," and a luncheon with a featured speaker. Inquiries regarding contributions to the program should be addressed to the regional chairman of the Conference Group, Peter H. Merkl, Department of Political Science, University of California, Santa

Barbara, California 93106.

Inquiries regarding local accommodations should be addressed to Dr. Manfred Wolfson, Department of Political Science, Sacramento State College, Sacramento, California 95819. Communications regarding membership in the Conference Group on German Politics are to be addressed to Dr. Charles Foster, 200 C Street S.E., Washington D.C. 20003.

Public Opinion Conference

The 1970 Conference of the American Association for Public Opinion Research, will commemorate twenty-five years of public opinion research, will be held May 21-24 at the Hotel Sagamore, Bolton Landing (Lake George), N.Y.

The central theme of the conference will be the interrelation between theory and method. Both marketing and non-marketing papers will be presented in common sessions, whenever appropriate.

Inquiries regarding the program should be directed to the Conference Chairman, Irving Crespi, The Gallup Organization, Inc., 53 Bank Street, Princeton, New Jersey 08540. All other inquiries should be addressed to Dan Cahalan, Secretary of AAPOR, 55 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10003.

Urban Computer Symposium

The fifth annual Urban Computer Applications Symposium will be held on Monday, August 31, 1970, at the New York Hilton Hotel. Sponsored by the New York metropolitan chapters of the Association for Computing Machinery, this Symposium brings together interested professionals from the computing field and from the urban problem areas, and provides a forum for the exchange of ideas, experiences, and information. This year the Symposium will be held adjacent to the ACM 1970 National Conference and Exposition, September 1-3, 1970, also at the New York Hilton.

Papers are solicited on computer applications and experiments in: urban information systems; urban planning; operations research; architecture; pollution, housing, transportation and welfare problems; education; and other areas germane to computing and urban problems. Papers are also solicited that deal with such critical questions as: is advanced computer technology being applied to urban problems? is the technology useless in attacking the fundamental problems? have the efforts, in this area, of the past five years been misdirected?

Professional Conferences

Forthcoming Conferences

Five copies of the entire paper must be submitted by April 15. All accepted papers will be published in the Symposium Proceedings. Authors will receive detailed instructions for preparing final papers for the Proceedings; these final copies will be required by June 30. If you plan to submit a paper, please promptly submit a postcard, giving the subject area and a very brief description, your name, affiliation, business address, and telephone number.

Postcard responses, papers, and requests for information should be directed to: Paul R. DiCicco, ACM Urban Symposium Chairman, Polytechnic Institute of Brooklyn, 333 Jay Street, New York, N.Y. 11201.

European Integration Course

The Europa Institute of the University of Amsterdam, Netherlands, will again offer the International Course on European Integration, a graduate course for specialized studies in European integration. In the 1969-70 course, participants include 31 students from 17 countries. The course is offered in English only. Two terms constitute the course, from September 8-November 20, 1970, and from November 24, 1970-May 13, 1971. Applications should be received by June 15, 1970. Some scholarship funds are available. The course is offered in cooperation with the Netherlands Universities Foundation for International Cooperation, from which further information is available at 27 Molenstraat, The Hague, Netherlands.

SRC Annual Summer Institute

The Annual Summer Institute of the University of Michigan's Survey Research Center is a special training session in survey research techniques held each year at The University of Michigan. The Summer Institute features the use of the sample interview survey as an instrument for the scientific measurement of human activities. During these sessions, students will become acquainted with survey methods as applied to the problems of business, public health, education, industry, and government, or as used in general social science research.

The Institute this year will offer two sequences — an introductory sequence of eight weeks, June 30 to August 21, for students with minimal survey experience; and an advanced sequence of four weeks, July 28 to August 21, for students with considerable survey or quantitative background.

Past Conferences

The program of the Summer Institute is designed to meet some of the educational and training needs of men and women engaged in business and governmental research or other statistical work, and of graduate students and university instructors interested in quantitative research in the social sciences. The program covers work in all phases of survey research methods, including study design, questionnaire construction, interviewing, coding, methods of analysis, and sampling, and computer technology.

For information and application forms, write the Director, Survey Research Center, Box 1248, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106.

Rural Middle East Conference

The International Development Research Center, Indiana University, held a conference on "Rural Politics and Social Change in the Middle East," in October, 1969. Panels were on these subjects: "The State of Empirical and Theoretical Research"; "Social Control, Regional Networks and Village Politics"; "The Changing Nature of Village Elites"; "National Mobilization and Village Response"; "Rural-Urban Communications and Migration"; and "Agrarian Reform."

Forty-one social scientists participated in the conference. Co-directors were Richard Antoun, Iliya Harik, and George Stolnitz.

German Politics Conference

The Conference Group on German Politics held its first major conference in Germany on June 27-28, 1969, at the Politische Akademie Eicholz, between Cologne and Bonn. The subject was *The West German Polity*. The conference was organized by George K. Romoser, University of New Hampshire; Charles R. Foster, U.S. Office of Education; Werner Kaltefleiter and Fritz Werr, University of Cologne. Over 100 German and American scholars attended the conference. Proceedings of the conference are reported in the Conference Group on German Politics *Newsletter*, Number 2 (September, 1969). Membership in the CGGP is \$3 annually, which includes the newsletter and a computerized bibliography of members' research compiled periodically by Jeff Fishel, American University. Conferences are held in conjunction with regional political science association meetings as well as independently. For further information, write the Secretary-Treasurer, Charles R. Foster, 200 C Street, S.E., Washington, D.C.

After the West German election, a CGGP conference was held at the City University of New York in December. Attendance was 140.

Professional Conferences

Violence Symposium

The Department of Political Science of Providence College held a symposium on "Violence and the Home of the Brave," conducted by the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions of Santa Barbara, California. The panelists included Frank Kelly, Vice President of the Center, John Cogley, a Senior Fellow of the Center, Episcopal Bishop C. Edward Crowther, and Joseph Lyford, presently President of The Fund for Education in World Order.

Northeastern Meeting

The Meeting of the Northeastern Political Science Associations was held November 6-8, 1969, in Hartford, Connecticut. Papers were delivered for panel sections on Political Theory, American Politics, and Comparative and International Politics. There were also two plenary panels on major domestic and international issues. Karl Deutsch, President of the American Political Science Association, spoke at the evening dinner.

The Program Committee was chaired by William C. Havard, University of Massachusetts. Other members were Norman Palmer, University of Pennsylvania and Kenneth N. Vines, SUNY at Buffalo. The Local Arrangements Committee was chaired by Peter K. Kreit, University of Hartford and Rex C. Neaverson, Trinity College. Gerald J. Grady, University of Massachusetts, was Secretary-Treasurer.

Dillon Lectures

"Approaches to State Constitutional Revision" was the subject of the 15th annual Dillon Lectures on Law and Government given November 14-15 at the University of South Dakota. Lecturers this year were John E. Bebout, University of Texas at Arlington; David Fellman, Vilas Professor of Political Science, University of Wisconsin; and G. Theodore Mitau, Chancellor of the Minnesota State College System. The newly established State Constitutional Revision Committee met at the University immediately prior to the lectures. Members of the thirteen member commission include: W. O. Farber, Chairman, Department of Government, University of South Dakota and J. P. Hendrickson, Chairman, Department of Political Science, South Dakota State University.

Civic Education Conference

A conference on "Education for Citizenship" was sponsored by the Department of Government at Louisiana State University in New Orleans on December 5 and 6. The meeting was designed to make important research findings in political socialization and civic education generally available to the educational community. Topics to be considered included: "Social Learning and Economic Behavior", Philip Jeffress, Department of Economics, Western Kentucky University; "Political Socialization and the Schools", Herbert Hirsch, Department of Political Science, University of Texas; "Considerations in Minority Group Civic Education", Moses Akpan, Department of Government, Southern University in Baton Rouge; "Citizenship and Civil Education", Robert J. Pranger, Department of Defense (formerly Department of Political Science, University of Washington); "Political Science and Political Education", Paul Abramson, Department of Political Science, Michigan State University; "New Approaches in Curriculum Development", Howard Mehlinger, High School Curriculum Center in Government, Indiana University. The Conference director was Robert B. Denhardt of the Department of Government.

Wisconsin Association Meeting

The Meeting of the Wisconsin Political Science Association took place in October, 1969, at Lawrence University. The Executive Committee met, panels were held in the afternoon, followed by a dinner and evening speaker. About 75 people attended. Membership in the Wisconsin Association is expected to rise from 40 to 60 members during 1969-70. Ralph K. Huitt spoke on "Congressional-Executive Relations" after the dinner.

The nominating committee submitted the following nominations: President, Lawrence Longley, Lawrence University; Vice President and President-Elect (and Program Chairman), Wilder Crane, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee; Secretary, Surender Singh, Wisconsin State University, LaCrosse; Treasurer, Gaylon Greenhill, Wisconsin State University, Whitewater. A revision of the *WPSA Directory* is being undertaken.

The 1970 Meeting will be Friday, October 16, in the Kenwood Conference Center of the University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee.

Communications

To the Editor:

This letter is being sent you to record a vigorous protest about the mail ballot that was recently sent us for voting on officers of the Association. The only part that distressed me was the insufficient choice provided the voter when he voted on members of the council. It happens that I am a vigorous opponent of the Caucus for a New Political Science, and yet I found myself in the position of being forced to vote not only for those that the Association's nominating committee had endorsed but also, if I cast an eighth vote, it had of necessity to be for another member of the Caucus. In other words, there should in the future be a provision so that every voter could have a sufficient number of candidates before him on the ballot that he might make a choice congenial to his way of thinking.

Theodore B. Fleming, Jr.

Wayne State University

To the Editor:

In recent years the problem of "multiple submissions" has emerged as a nagging issue for some editors of political science journals. The March 1969 conference of journal editors, sponsored by the APSA's Committee on Journals, emphasized the obligation of the authors to inform the appropriate editors of multiple submissions (see *P.S.*, Summer 1969, for text of the conference's report). In response to the conference's request, the APSA's Committee on Professional Ethics set forth an advisory opinion on March 29, 1969, strongly supporting this position (also in Summer, 1969 *P.S.*).

The point of this letter is that recent developments have rightly stressed the obligation of the authors but they have failed to pay sufficient attention to the reciprocal obligations of the editors. This was driven home to me just recently when a manuscript of mine was returned by one of the profession's leading journals after a period of *exactly nine months* from the date of submission. This of course is by no means an uncommon experience.

I do not, for my own peace of mind, engage in the practice of multiple submissions. But it would seem fair for another individual to conclude that he might see his article in print (or at least accepted) in nine months' time were he to submit it to three or four journals rather than just one.

The authors, to repeat, have an obligation to the editors, but do the editors have any obligation to the authors? If so, one way of operationalizing such obligation might be to set an outer limit of, say,

three months for a decision on any given manuscript. This should be perfectly feasible provided each editor impresses upon his referees *their* obligation to meet their deadlines and return any manuscripts within a reasonable time period.

Mostafa Rejai

Miami University (Ohio)

To the Editor:

I have been a member of this association for fifteen years, and up until now I have held my tongue. I can no longer do so. I think the spectacle of grown men throwing accusations at one another in the pages of the association journal and/or by letter is not only ludicrous and idiotic, but embarrassing to other members. I don't know what all the fuss is about between Herzberg and Prothro, but I do know Lipsitz, and I say to one and all: "Leave Lewie Alone!"

Caroline A. Dinegar

University of Virginia

To the Editor:

We have duly noted a letter from a professor at the University of North Carolina to the effect that Professor Donald G. Herzberg in his letter to Association members "intended to be fair [but] failed to realize the implications of his remarks."

Those of us who have known Professor Herzberg for many years were shocked and alarmed by this allegation. We have always known Professor Herzberg to be not only fair but very intelligent. Put otherwise, we found it difficult to believe that Professor Herzberg would not "realize the implications of his remarks," particularly after buying, and presumably licking, \$780 of six cent postage stamps to disseminate his views.

For this reason, the Executive Committee of the Conference for Democratic Politics studied Professor Herzberg's letter with great care in order to determine whether or not Professor Herzberg had indeed lost his senses and was guilty of a form of character assassination. More precisely, is Professor Herzberg guilty of employing a "last minute smear tactic associated with the dirtiest level of ward politics" in a "denunciatory letter" designed to unduly or unfairly influence members of the APSA?

We can summate our findings in the following manner:

(a) True or false: "Professors Kariel and Lipsitz . . . are members of the Executive Committee of the Caucus for a New Political Science."? We found this

statement to be true. It is also true that they (Kariel and Lipsitz) "are pledged to 'stand on the Caucus platform' and serve as 'spokesmen for the concerns and views of the Caucus'."

(b) True or false: "No representatives were chosen for other sub-groups."? CDP can bear witness to this fact.

(c) True or false: Out of some 14,000 individual members of the Association is it reasonable that two of the eight members nominated to the Council should be *avowed* members of the Caucus, given the fact that Caucus members number about 3% of our total membership? No comment.

(d) True or false: "... the Caucus orientation is already represented on the Council of the A.P.S.A."? Unfortunately, this statement is true.

(e) True or false: "It seems clear that the Nominating Committee did not *intend* to nominate them (that is, Kariel and Lipsitz) as representatives of a sub-group." We would say *false*. But, in so saying, we do not mean to impugn the integrity of Professor Herzberg. Indeed, we believe he was most generous and fair in putting this matter the way he did.

Our feeling is that the members of the Nominating Committee *did* intend to place more adherents of the Caucus on the Council. Either that or they were incredibly naive or stupid. Are we to believe that this committee did not know that Lipsitz and Kariel were members of the Executive Committee of the Caucus? Are we to believe that it is just coincidence that one-fourth of the "official" nominees to the Council happen to be members of the Executive Committee of the Caucus? Are we to believe that the Nominating Committee did not know that the Caucus viewpoint was already represented on the Council? *Mirabile dictu*, we don't!

Our conclusions are these: (1) Professor Herzberg deserves a sincere thanks from all of us who are interested in preserving the integrity of our profession; and (2) something drastic will have to be done with a nominating procedure which is seemingly prone to placate the whims and follies of such a small minority of our profession.

George W. Carey

Georgetown University

Chairman, Conference for Democratic Politics

News and Notes

Activities

Paul Abramson, Michigan State University, chaired the discussions of the APSA Representatives at the Grove Park meeting of the Consortium of Professional Associations for Special Teacher Training held in Asheville, North Carolina, June 10-15, and coordinated the drafting of the APSA group's report to CONPASS. He also served as the local host for the EPDA Civics Dissemination Institute held at the M.E.A. Center, St. Mary's Lake, November 2-4.

Orville Alexander, Southern Illinois University, is on sabbatical leave during the 1969-70 academic year.

Edward Azar, Michigan State University, presented a paper entitled "The Quantification of Events for the Analysis of Conflict Reduction," to the Seventh North American Research Conference, Peace Research Society (International) on November 11.

Francis A. Beer, University of Texas, Austin, is on leave during the 1969-70 academic year to serve as director of the Tunisian Program for the Experiment in International Living.

David Bell, Michigan State University, presented a paper to the annual meeting of the Canadian Political Science Association at York University in Toronto entitled, "Nation and Non-Nation: Ideological Persistence in Canadian History; The Early Nineteenth Century".

Roderick A. Bell, University of Texas, Austin, received a University Research Institute grant to complete work during the fall semester, 1969-70, on the Comparative State Elections Project and related research.

Cecil Brett, Monmouth College, received a Fulbright-Hays Fellowship and is on sabbatical leave 1969-70 while conducting research on prefectural government in Japan.

Rufus Browning, Michigan State University, presented a paper entitled, "Quality of Collective Decisions," at a Brookings Institution Computer Center Seminar, in Washington, D.C., in May; he also presented a paper entitled, "Computer Simulation of Political Bargaining," at a meeting of the Peace Research Society (International), Ann Arbor, in November.

Bryan Downes, Michigan State University, participated in the Political Violence panel of the Michigan Conference of Political Scientists, October, 1969.

Wesley Fishel, Michigan State University, gave a

lecture entitled "Strategic Background - Vietnam" to counterinsurgency students at USAF Special Operations School, Eglin AF Auxiliary Field No. 9, Florida, on May 30, 1969.

Michael J. Flack, University of Pittsburgh, gave a paper on "Status as a Factor in Non-Verbal Communication" at a NATO Research Symposium, Wadham College, Oxford University.

Thomas Greene, Michigan State University, attended a planning conference of the study of non-ruling communist parties, October 24-26 at Arden House in Harriman, New York.

Charles Hermann, Princeton University, resumes teaching duties after a year with the National Security Council Staff on a fellowship from the Council on Foreign Relations.

Paul Hiniker, Michigan State University, was one of twelve scholars who delivered papers in August at Cuernavaca, Mexico, at the International Conference on Government in China, sponsored by the Joint Committee on Contemporary China of the American Council of Learned Societies and the Social Science Research Council. Hiniker's paper was entitled, "Political Communications in Communist China: The Amassing of Social Support." He also served as visiting scholar at the Universities Service Center, Kowloon, Hong Kong, during July while conducting research on recent developments in China's Cultural Revolution.

Chun-Tu Hsueh, University of Maryland, was a senior associate member of St. Antony's College, Oxford University, for part of Michaelmas Term, 1969. He presented a paper on political change in Communist China at a conference sponsored by the Universities of Brussels and Ghent, Belgium, in November.

Robert Lineberry, University of Texas, Austin, was on leave during the fall semester, 1969-70, to complete a research project on urban fiscal policy.

Norman Miller, Michigan State University, presented a paper entitled "Agricultural Politics in Kenya," and served as a panel critic for the *Micropolitics in Africa* panel at the African Studies Association in Montreal, October 16. He also lectured at the University of East Africa in Tanzania during July and August.

Glenn G. Morgan, San Jose State College, has just returned from a month in Soviet Central Asia studying the operations of the Soviet Procuracy in that

Staff Changes

area, under research grants from the American Philosophical Society, the Reim Foundation, and the San Jose State College Foundation. He is on leave the fall semester, 1969, to study the ombudsman functions of the Soviet Procuracy.

Lawrence K. Pettit, Montana State University, has been appointed to a three-year term on Committee "R" – relations between higher education and state and federal government – of the American Association of University Professors.

Charles Press, Michigan State University, chaired a panel on the Department Chairmanship at the APSA Annual Meeting in September, 1969. He also was re-elected chairman of the Big Ten departmental chairmen at the Committee for Institutional Cooperation meeting in Chicago.

William P. Robinson, Norfolk State College, was elected to Virginia's House of Delegates. He is the first black to represent Norfolk in the Virginia General Assembly since Reconstruction.

John S. Saloma, III, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, was named one of America's Ten Outstanding Young Men for 1969, by the U.S. Jaycees. Previous recipients of the award among political scientists have been Henry A. Kissinger and Zbigniew Brzezinski.

Harold Spaeth, Michigan State University, was elected to the Board of the Michigan Conference of Political Scientists for 1969-70.

Sherman D. Spector, Russell Sage College, will conduct research in Rumania on his sabbatical during the spring of 1970. He is the recipient of a Fulbright-Hays grant at the University of Bucharest.

Carolyn Stieber, Michigan State University, has been appointed to serve on the planning committee for the 16th annual National Institute on Police and Community Relations, to be held in May, 1970.

Clarence N. Stone, University of Maryland, has been appointed director of a newly formed Urban Research Group in the Bureau of Governmental Research at the University of Maryland. The Urban Research Group will develop a series of inter-related studies bearing on the problem of effective delivery of governmentally supported service to poverty areas.

Jack Van Der Slik, Southern Illinois University, is on a one-year leave of absence to serve with the Illinois Legislative Council.

New Appointments

Jerald H. Anderson, instructor, Colorado State University.

David Bell, assistant professor, Michigan State University.

William Binning, assistant professor, Youngstown State University.

Henry P. Caulfield, Jr., professor, Colorado State University; formerly executive director, Water Resources Council, Washington, D.C.

Ralph Clark Chandler, assistant professor, University of West Florida; formerly of Columbia University.

O. B. Conaway, Jr., Benedum professor, West Virginia University; formerly dean, Graduate School of Public Affairs, State University of New York.

John Ellwood, assistant professor, University of Virginia.

James Engel, associate professor, University of South Dakota.

C. O. Fischer, editor in charge of international political and cultural affairs, Harper & Row, Publishers; formerly of Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies.

John J. Fitzpatrick, instructor, Iowa State University.

John Fremstad, assistant professor, University of South Dakota.

James Glass, assistant professor, University of Maryland, effective February 1, 1970.

Joseph Goldberg, assistant professor, University of Virginia.

Lawrence V. Grant, instructor, Iowa State University.

Roger Harned, assistant professor, University of Arizona.

Gerald Heeger, assistant professor, University of Virginia.

James Hogan, assistant professor, University of Arizona.

Henry Kerr, assistant professor, University of Virginia.

Mark Levine, instructor, Southern Illinois University.

Arthur B. Levy, assistant professor, Tulane University.

Garnes Lord, instructor, Dartmouth College.

Vincent E. McHale, assistant professor, University of Pennsylvania.

Donald W. McNemar, instructor, Dartmouth College.

David Meltz, assistant professor, Michigan State University.

Livingston T. Merchant, Jr., assistant professor, Dartmouth College; formerly of Harvard University.

Leslie J. Miller, instructor, Iowa State University.

Joan O'Byrne, lecturer, SUNY at Brockport.

Howard Park, associate professor, State University College at Buffalo; formerly of State University College at Fredonia.

Bruce Payne, instructor, Kirkland College.

William T. Pound, instructor, Colorado State University.

Elsbeth Rostow, associate professor, University of Texas, Austin.

Arthur G. Rubinoff, instructor, Dartmouth College.

Lawrence Scaff, assistant professor, University of Arizona.

William R. Shaffer, assistant professor, Purdue University.

Mario S. Spalatin, assistant professor, Georgia Southern College; formerly of Florida State University.

David Spitz, professor, Hunter College and Graduate Center, City University of New York; formerly of Ohio State University.

Arthur Stevens, assistant professor, University of Virginia.

William C. Stratmann, instructor, SUNY at Brockport.

E. Spencer Wellhofer, assistant professor, Michigan State University.

Susan O. White, instructor, University of New Hampshire, effective September, 1969.

Richard F. Winters, instructor, Dartmouth College.

Young-cheol Zeon, assistant professor, University of South Dakota.

Visiting and Temporary Appointments

Paul A. Beckett, Purdue University; professor, Ahmadu Bello University (Nigeria), 1969-71.

Cleo Cherryholmes, associate professor, Michigan State University; University of Washington.

Lewis A. Dexter, professor, Graduate School of Library Science, SUNY at Albany.

Wesley R. Fishel, Michigan State University; professor, Southern Illinois University, 1969-70.

Jean-Claude Garcia-Zamor, Brazilian School of Public Administration of the Fundacao Getulio Vargas; professor, University of Texas, Austin, 1969-70.

Peter Goudinoff, assistant professor, University of Arizona, 1969-70.

Thomas Greene, associate professor, Michigan State University; University of Southern California, 1969-70.

Don F. Hadwiger, Iowa State University; Washington instructor-coordinator, Washington Research Project, Clark College.

Chun-Tu Hsueh, University of Maryland; professor and acting head, Division of Chinese and East Asian Politics, Otto Suhr Institute, Free University of Berlin, summer, 1970.

John S. Jackson, III, instructor, Southern Illinois University, 1969-70.

Victor Jones, University of California, Berkeley; first scholar in residence, National Municipal League, New York.

Herbert McClosky, University of California, Berkeley; scholar, Russell Sage Foundation, 1970-71.

B. C. Malla, Nepal; professor, Southern Illinois University, 1969-70.

Robert Melson, assistant professor, Michigan State University; University of Illinois.

Donald Neuchterlein, University of Virginia; lecturer, Federal Executive Institute.

James K. Russell, instructor, Iowa State University.

Samuel Sharp, American University; professor, University of Virginia.

Frank Sherwood, director, Federal Executive Institute; lecturer, University of Virginia.

Bennett Steinhauer, instructor, Southern Illinois University, 1969-70.

David Temple, West Virginia University; assistant professor, University of Virginia.

John Thomas, Research Analysis Corporation; lecturer, University of Virginia.

Howard Trivers, Consul General in Zurich, Switzerland; diplomat-in-residence, Southern Illinois University.

Administrative Appointments

G. Kenneth Andeen, president, Wittenberg University.

Richard L. Bowen, president, University of South Dakota.

Frank C. Colcord, Jr., associate professor and chairman, Tufts University; formerly of Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

Roman Ferber, director, Department of City Planning, New York.

Keith M. Henderson, professor and chairman, State University College at Buffalo; formerly of New York University.

Donald L. Herman, director, Latin American Studies Program, Grand Valley State College.

H. B. Jacobini, director, Center for Viet Nam Studies and Programs, Southern Illinois University.

E. Lester Levine, director, Political Research Institute, Florida State University.

William S. Livingston, vice-chancellor for Academic Programs, University of Texas system; formerly chairman, University of Texas, Austin.

Clifford M. Lytle, head, University of Arizona.

Randall H. Nelson, chairman, Southern Illinois University.

Randall B. Ripley, professor and chairman, Ohio State University.

Carl J. Schneider, dean of faculty, Kirkland College.

Currin V. Shields, director, Institute of Government Research, University of Arizona.

R. Harrison Wagner, acting chairman, University of Texas, Austin.

Ralph Zacklin, director, International Law Program, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace; formerly of the Endowment's European Centre in Geneva.

Promotions with New Rank

James W. Dyson, Florida State University: associate professor.

David T. Kenney, Southern Illinois University: professor.

Manfred Landecker, Southern Illinois University: associate professor.

Stephen L. Wasby, Southern Illinois University: associate professor.

John M. Whitmer, Jr., Local Government Programs, Iowa State University: assistant professor.

Retirements and Resignations

Orville Alexander has resigned as chairman after nineteen years and will continue as professor, Southern Illinois University.

Correction

Ruth Jones, University of Missouri, St. Louis, was incorrectly listed as instructor in the Fall issue. Her appointment was to an assistant professorship.

Ashley L. Schiff, Associate Professor of Political Science at the State University of New York at Stony Brook, and Master of its Benjamin Cardozo College, died on October 1, 1969. He was thirty-seven years old.

Born and reared in Brooklyn, New York, and a Phi Beta Kappa graduate of Brooklyn College, Ashley Schiff's boyhood experiences in the Brooklyn Botanical Gardens deeply influenced most of his later professional life. There he developed an enduring interest in natural resources. Combining the passion of a devoted naturalist and conservationist with the scholarship of a brilliant and imaginative political scientist, he produced his first work, *Fire and Water: Scientific Heresy in the Forest Service*—an outgrowth of his Harvard doctoral dissertation published by the Harvard University Press in 1962. At the time of his death he was completing a major comparative study of Canadian and American administrative decision making in the conservation of land resources. His work had received extensive support from Resources for the Future, Inc.

Despite his creative scholarship, Ashley Schiff will be most remembered at Stony Brook for his intense and dynamic commitment to the University as a community. Soon after he came to Stony Brook in 1964 from the University of Southern California, he devoted himself to preserving and enhancing the esthetic and communal qualities of the campus, which he considered inseparable. One manifestation of this commitment was a strenuous and continuing struggle to protect its natural beauty. A grove of the campus woodlands he had fought so long to maintain intact will be preserved indefinitely in his memory and honor. Equally important was his selfless dedication to Cardozo College, which he served as Master. By careful, thorough, and, above all, imaginative devotion, he made the cultural and intellectual programs of Cardozo College not only fulfill the needs and wishes of its students but also provide a model from which other colleges took guidance.

Ashley Schiff was cited by each of two graduating classes as one in a tiny handful of people who had made extraordinary contributions to Stony Brook. Surviving him are his parents, his wife, three children, and his brother.

Merton L. Reichler
Howard A. Scarrow
Joseph Tanenhaus
State University of New York at Stony Brook

Norman Jerome Small, Scholar, Teacher, Political Scientist, Lawyer and Editor of *The Constitution of the United States of America: Analysis and Interpretation*, 1964 died on February 9, 1970 at his home in Washington, D.C. He was born in Baltimore, Maryland, August 4, 1907, and attended John Hopkins University where he received the bachelor's and Ph.D degrees in political science in 1927 and 1930 respectively. Elected to Phi Beta Kappa as an undergraduate, he undertook legal training, while simultaneously carrying on his graduate program in political science, and earned the L.L.B. degree from the University of Maryland Law School in 1932. Dr. Small served as an Assistant and later, as an Instructor in Political Science at Johns Hopkins University from 1928-1934 and also as a Research Assistant in the John Hopkins Law Institute from 1930-31. Moving to New York City in 1935, he became a Research Assistant in the Institute of Educational Research at Columbia University before becoming an Instructor in Government at Hunter College, 1937-41. His dissertation, *Some Presidential Interpretations of the Presidency*, published by the John Hopkins Press in 1932 has just been republished in 1970, by the Da Capo Press in New York.

Dr. Small joined the staff of the Legislative Reference Service, Library of Congress as an Analyst in American Government and Public Administration in 1941 and continued in that service until his death. His many studies and papers in wide areas of Congressional interest have been published in the Congressional Record and other Congressional documents and publications, particularly those in the fields of Constitutional law, banking and finance, and taxation. He became a Research Assistant in 1942 and was made an Index Analyst in the former Index to State Legislation Section in the same year. Following a promotion in 1947, he was assigned in 1949 to work on the fifth edition of *The Constitution of the United States of America: Analysis and Interpretation*, a compendium of the construction of the Constitution's provisions by the U.S. Supreme Court published intermittently since 1913.

He became an Assistant Editor of the project, under the guidance of the distinguished constitutional authority, Edward S. Corwin, in 1951, and, at its conclusion, he was transferred to the American Law Division as a Legal Analyst. Promoted to the position of Legislative Attorney in 1961, he was the Editor of the 1964 edition of *The Constitution of the United States of America: Analysis and Interpretation*.

A member of the District of Columbia Bar and the Bar of the U.S. Supreme Court, Dr. Small was involved in a wide variety of professional activities. In addition to his research work with the Library, he taught courses in government at Howard University and Catholic University. A frequent contributor to professional journals, he belonged to the American and Federal Bar Associations, the American Political Science Association, and the American Society for Public Administration.

Dr. Small will be remembered and missed by his many friends on the Library staff and by Members of Congress as an outstanding scholar in the field of constitutional law, an indefatigable worker, and a valued cooperative colleague.

Freeman W. Sharp
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Reservations are being accepted on a "first come, first served" basis. These flights are open only to members of the Association and their immediate families. Contact the Association for further information.

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Munich, Germany

August 31 to September 5, 1970

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Persons wishing to make reservations now may write directly to:
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Harvard University

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LA

The association has arranged group flights from several cities to Los Angeles for the APSA Annual Meeting, September 8-12, 1970. The group fares are the same as excursion fares, but regulations will permit individuals to return any day of the week and in less than seven days.

The fares for these flights are based on a minimum of 25 participants on regularly scheduled airlines:

New York-Los Angeles	September 7 Evening	\$238.35
New York-Los Angeles	September 8 Morning	\$238.35
Boston-Los Angeles	September 8	\$248.85
Washington-Los Angeles	September 8	\$226.80
Chicago-Los Angeles	September 8	\$170.55
Atlanta-Los Angeles	September 8	\$193.20
Seattle-Los Angeles	September 8	\$109.20

Each group is required to depart together, but passengers may return individually according to their own wishes. The only requirement is that they reserve a direct flight back on the same airline. These flights are open only to members of the Association and their immediate families. For more information and application forms, write to:

*Director, Group Flights to Los Angeles
The American Political Science Association
1527 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W.
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**Group Flights to Los Angeles
for 1970 APSA Annual Meeting
September 8-12**

TRAVEL GRANTS IPSA WORLD CONGRESS

Munich, Germany

August 31 to September 5, 1970

The Association has received a grant of \$10,000 from the National Science Foundation to assist American political scientists in travel to the International Political Science Association Congress in Munich, Germany, August 31 to September 5, 1970. Grants are limited to travel costs.

Application forms are available from the Association office. The deadline for receipt of applications will be June 1, 1970. An Association committee will make the grants and notify individuals soon after that date.

Write to: Travel Grants, IPSA Congress

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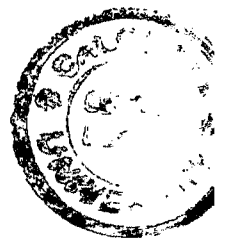
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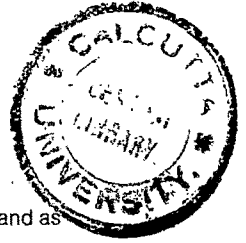
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Table of Contents

Articles

- 102 **Some Facts About Values**
 Ithiel de Sola Pool
- 107 **The Patient Needs All The Blood He Has**
 Theodore J. Lowi
- 117 **Some Reflections on Student Participation and Representation**
 John H. Bunzel
- 123 **The Persecution of Political and Social Scientists in Brazil**
 Philippe C. Schmitter

Table of Contents

Sections

129	Preliminary Program, 1970 Annual Meeting
-----	---

Teaching Notes

193	Course Grades R. J. Rummel
196	On Rummel and Grades and Learning Eugene Lichtenstein

Reports of the APSA Committees

198	Report of the Nominating Committee
200	Report of the Committee on Procedures and Agenda
206	Constitution of The American Political Science Association
209	Report of the Finance Committee

The Profession

211	Professional Notes
-----	--------------------

Association News

214	Congressional Fellowship Program
215	Black Graduate Fellowships
216	Program for the 1971 Annual Meeting of the APSA
218	APSA Committees

Research and Training Support

220	Support Available
221	Announcements of Awards

Professional Conferences

223	Forthcoming Conferences
223	Past Conferences

Communications

226	News and Notes
-----	-----------------------

Some Facts About Values

Ithiel de Sola Pool

Massachusetts Institute of Technology

Leading articles in both the current issue of *APSR* (Winter 1969-70) and of *PS* (Fall 1969) attack an identical quotation from my chapter in "The Public and the Polity" in *Contemporary Political Science*. In reply to Professor Sheldon Wolin's article in *APSR*, I wrote a short reply for he clearly misinterpreted the quotation in an otherwise serious article. Professor Surkin's piece, "Sense and Nonsense in Politics" in *PS* frustrates all my attempts at a short reply, for the issue is not the text of a particular quotation that has become a minor *cause célèbre*, but rather the central thesis of his article that is in error. His is an error that has become sufficiently widely diffused these days that it needs a serious reply.

The issue is the role of value judgments in political science. The common error is the assertion that modern political science has been non-normative and value-free, or at least has aimed at being so. The statement is usually made in criticism of so-called behavioral political science and in favor of a supposed post-behavioral revolution, which is alleged to be seeking a new concern for relevance. Professor Surkin's article is a particular variant on that theme. He states that his purpose is to show that a particular social science methodology, namely, "claimed objectivity and value neutrality" leads to a "non-objective role for social science knowledge in the service of the dominant institutions in American society". Here is an important set of allegations. To phrase them in less perjorative terms: (1) behavioral social scientists claim to be objective and value-neutral, (2) in fact they are not so, (3) by claiming to be so they actually support evil institutions.

There are at least three lines of thought (mutually inconsistent with each other) that exist in the American social science community in answer to these allegations: (1) There are a few people, but I would argue that they are very few, who would accept the goal of value-neutrality, but deny the assertion that their methodology serves the dominant institutions. (2) There are an even smaller number (indeed I can't think of any) who might accept both the goal of value-neutrality and the allegation that it serves the dominant institutions in society, but who would argue that the validity of the scientific methodology has to be judged on its own merits, and that its social effects are whatever they are. (3) The bulk of political scientists, and myself among them, would argue that the so-called value-free approach is not now and never was a goal or characteristic of political science. The attack in short, is against a figment of imagination, and what

the consequences of this figment of imagination might have been or might be, had it ever existed, is speculative and "iffy" at best.

The record of the moral concerns of the behavioral school is fairly clear. Certainly no topic in the past 30 years has received more attention from behavioral political scientists than political participation. There are studies of voting and non-voting, of community power structure, and of citizen politics. The underlying concern in all of these is with democratic values and the implicit preference is equalitarian and participatory. Even those studies that have explored the limits of effective democracy have reflected the moral anguish of those committed to a goal which they were forced to concede was not entirely within their grasp. A second major focus of the so-called behaviorists has been on political development. Again clearly there has been a deep moral commitment toward the achievement of modernization and development in the third world. Another major area of interest to the behaviorists was the operation of pressure group politics, again clearly because of a concern to achieve genuine representation. A fourth recent area of active interest has been peace research, which by its very name is clearly not non-normative. Finally, but perhaps most significant, civil rights, race and prejudice has been a persistent subject of study, and almost without exception by people whose concern was on the equalitarian side of those issues. The historical closet is almost bare of merely non-normative research.

Furthermore, the values of behavioral scientists have not been hidden. Many leading behavioral scientists have been quite explicit in their value concerns. If any one man is a symbol of behavioral political science it is Harold Lasswell, and if any social scientist's work has been value-laden it is his. In 1951 he published a book called *The Policy Sciences*, which was a kind of manifesto for those of us who were concerned with making social science useful. From the beginning Harold Lasswell saw the study of man not as a matter of idle curiosity but a tool for promoting the dignity of man. As he put it in talking about content analysis, it was important for its "contribution . . . to the special objectives of humane politics".¹ Much of Lasswell's other writings were concerned with what he calls "the developing science of democracy". He stated that "the developing science of

1 I have analyzed Harold Lasswell's concerns with the social and moral significance of content analysis in "Content Analysis and the Intelligence Function: in Arnold Rogow," ed. *Politics and Personality in Social Science in the 20th Century*.

democracy is an arsenal of implements for the achievement of democratic ideals". In another essay he wrote that "modern procedures do make it possible for the first time in history of large-scale social organization to realize some of the aims of democracy". He saw in social science an instrument for humane politics: "the aim of humane politics is a commonwealth in which the dignity of man is accepted in theory and fact."³

These are not unusual quotations pulled out of context. They are quite characteristic aphorisms that could be matched a thousand times over from most political scientists who wrote in the 1940's, 50's or 60's. Whether they talked of policy sciences, like Lasswell, or of applied social science, or more recently, systems analysis, whether they worked for the government in the war, for organizations combatting prejudice, for agencies working on international propaganda, for economic development or for peace-keeping, most social scientists have been involved in applied purposive activity of one sort or another.

Differences of opinion will, of course, exist about these activities. Mr. Surkin and those who feel as he does will of course regard many, if not most of them as on the wrong side. That, however, is a very different statement than the one that they were passing under the guise of non-normative objectivity.

What accounts for the widespread acceptance of Surkin's obviously ahistorical stereotype of the claims of behavioral science? It is easy enough to brush the stereotype aside as nonsense, but it is more fruitful to ask how such a stereotype gained its hold. As with most popular myths, if one looks closely one can find a kernel of badly distorted truth. The discovery of that kernel is more worthwhile than the nailing of any distortions.

There are two truths, logically unrelated though historically related, that underlie the current misperception of so-called value-free social science. The first is an empirical observation about the personality traits that make for effectiveness as a scientist or other user of knowledge; the second is

a logical proposition about the evidential basis for empirical vs. non-empirical statements.

(1) Highly charged emotional states of various kinds restrict cognitive skill. Thus excessive involvement in one's own value preferences may inhibit accurate observation. It certainly does not follow that the scientist or other knowledge-using professional must avoid having preferences. Consider the surgeon. He has a highly valued goal, the saving of the life of his patient. He is a more skillful surgeon, however, if his personality or training make him cool and detached enough to permit him calmly to cut or not cut, and to sleep despite grim facts of failure and death. So it is for everyone in a knowledge-using activity (that is to say a profession) whether he is a social worker, a general, a political campaign manager, a lawyer, or a scientist. He will do his job better if he is personally capable of a measure of temporary suspension of passion in the process of achieving his highly-valued goals. It is that psychological capability which is referred to by the terms "objectivity" and "detachment", and they are certainly essential for a good social scientist.

(2) The other truth often confused with the psychological one is the proposition that irreducible value judgments have a different evidentiary status in logic than do empirical statements of fact. In modern logic two classes of statements are distinguished; those in which the evidence is sensory observations and those which rest upon postulation and analysis. In the latter class belong mathematics, logic itself, definitions, and also irreducible value judgments. The statement "I consider X . . . Y to be the basis for evaluating something good", stands logically in the same situation as the statement "I define word N as meaning X . . . Y." Clearly neither is a statement to be subjected to experimentation for verification. Clearly both are in that sense arbitrary or postulational decisions by the analyst.⁴ To say that, however, is not to denigrate them any more than to say that mathematics and logic are analytical rather than empirical disciplines is to denigrate them. Nor do these distinctions make it illegitimate for the researcher to use a value

2 L. D. White, ed., *The Future of Government in the United States: Essays in Honor of Charles E. Merriam* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1942); reprinted in R. D. Lasswell, *The Analysis of Political Behavior* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1947), p. 1, and "The Relation of Ideological Intelligence of Public Policy," *Ethics*, 53 (1942): 27; reprinted in Lasswell, *Analysis of Political Behavior* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1947), p. 122.

3 Harold D. Lasswell, ed., *Language of Politics* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1965), p. 51.

4 Of course a logical distinction of this sort is not to be confused with a differentiation in natural language. The meaning of any statement in natural language is a confused mixture of statements of various sorts arising from the multiple denotative meanings of words, their connotations, accent, emphasis, context, and sheer ambiguity. Thus the statement "Americans love apple pie" may be a pure report of facts drawn from a dietetic survey or if said by an American in an affective context it may be a normative expression of identification, or in many cases it may be a little of each in some indeterminate ratio.

Some Facts About Values

statement any more than he is excluded from using a definition, a principle in logic or a mathematical method. He may feel that he is less skilled as a moralist than as an empirical researcher, in the same way as he may feel his inadequacy as a logician or a mathematician. That, however, is a psychological and factual statement about an individual. It does not lead to the conclusion that he should not apply normative statement about his goals (as every medical researcher does when he discusses a cure) any more than it precludes him from introducing logic, mathematics, and definitions where he needs them.

These two quite distinct and valid conclusions about the psychology of knowledge on the one hand and about the structure of evidence on the other have been intertwined in the intellectual history of what Surkin mislabels non-normative social science. A brief sketch of the history might be helpful in putting some of the ideas in perspective.

In the modern world it was Karl Marx who initiated that detachment from values among social scientists which has made it possible for them to stand off from values and look at them as social facts to be explained, rather than as part of the explanatory theory itself. In turning Hegel on his head and formulating the concept of historical materialism, Marx denied to ideas and values any inherent truth of their own, treating them as mere ideologies expressing the stage of development of the productive forces and the interests of the resulting classes. Marxist social scientists therefore claimed to have a way to look at values objectively from the point of view of scientific knowledge of the historical facts. They for the first time carried out what claimed to be a value-free analysis of historical developments based upon an objective material reality that the Marxist historian knew. (It is ironical that the nearest thing to fitting the new left stereotype of value-free social science was the social science of the old left, of whose history the new left, it must be recognized, is profoundly ignorant).

Of course it would be highly misleading to fail to recognize Marx's hidden values. He was a revolutionist and a crusader committed to changing society. Nevertheless, he railed incessantly against those of his utopian socialist colleagues who claimed that their reason for wishing to change society was that the socialist society would be better in some moral sense. Marx was willing to describe the communist future as representing a higher stage of development, meaning by that

further down some sequence of necessary historical law. He was willing to make such factual statements as that it represented expanded levels of productivity. But the irreducible value statement that it was better was to Marx pure ideology, even if, in this case the ideology of the new proletarian class, rather than that of the bourgeoisie. Marx as a social scientist would never permit himself such indulgence in normativeness.

Out of such Marxist and semi-Marxist objective analysis of society came much of the significant sociology of the 19th and early 20th Century. This kind of detached analysis of values is represented for example in Mannheim's *Ideology and Utopia*. It is also represented in a significant way in Max Weber, who more than any other social scientist formulated the prevailing orthodoxy regarding facts and values in the social sciences. Just as Marx had stood Hegel on his head, so Weber stood Marx on his head, and sought by partial incorporation to retain what he saw as the merits of Marxist analysis on behalf of liberal values. Weber, in his discussion of the ethic of the scientist and of the role of values in social science, said in effect to the Marxist school: Yes one can look at values in a value-free way as a sociologist, but one does not therefore have to deny that values shape history just as much as do the material forces of production. Thus he preserved for social science the intellectual power gained by a detached willingness to look at values as ideology without at the same time accepting the incubus of a clearly inadequate historical law that denied to values the casual significance that they often have.

The Marxist-Weberian trend of sociological detachment in looking at the evolution of thought was in turn reinforced by developments in the history of philosophy and logic, specifically, logical positivism in its various manifestations including logical empiricism. Historically, there was substantial interaction between Marxist materialism and logical positivism as evidenced, for example, in Lenin's *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism*. The Marxists found reinforcement in their rejection of so-called idealism and their embrace of materialism (meaning by that in this context assignment of truth value to physical observables) in the positivists' attack upon metaphysics and their analysis of validation as arising from empirical confirmation. The logical empiricists made the sharp distinction whose validity we accepted above between that class of statements which were subject to empirical confirmation and that class such as those in mathematics, logic, evaluation, and definition, which were not empirically testable. In their more extreme phase in the

1930's some of the successors of the Vienna School tended to call these other kinds of statements non-sense, and it must be conceded for a period treated them with substantial scorn as mere metaphysics incapable of proof. It is some time since such scorn was in fashion in philosophic circles. What remains is a fairly indisputable logical distinction.

It must be recognized that not only critics stemming from the so-called New Political Science, but also many self-designated behaviorists have tended to confuse the scientific norm of maintaining a mood of detachment and objectivity with a logical distinction between analytic and empirical statements. Researchers in any science are seldom very clear about the logical status of what they are doing. That is an exercise left to philosophers of science. Thus the kernel of truth that one can concede to Professor Surkin and to others who rant against supposedly value-free social science is that these various psychological and logical notions that we have just been reviewing did get wound up in the day-to-day frame of thought (or ideology if you wish) of practicing social scientists into a highly useful set of liberal professional norms.

The social scientist has a hard job to do. He conducts research on topics that are extremely sensitive and emotionally charged. He looks at situations full of human passions, of love and hate, conflict and ambition. He is a human being as he looks at them. In that respect he as a scientist is not unique, but belongs in a large class of professions that must be able to suspend judgment enough to understand, while at the same time being able to judge. The psychotherapist must have the same qualities; he must learn enough discipline not to fall in love with his patient. The journalist, to do a good reporting job, must also have such qualities; so must the social worker or politician. They are, in short, the qualities required by anyone with a role where he must be involved in human problems, but open to questioning and change. It is a legitimate question for social scientists to ask "What were Stalin's personal relations like?" or "What does it feel like to be a peasant in a contested Vietnamese hamlet?" To answer such questions one needs traits of personality and learned habits of discipline that both permit empathy and prevent oneself from becoming so emotionally involved that one can no longer perceive reality. One must learn to conduct oneself at three levels simultaneously: One at which one empathizes with the perceptions of the person observed, one in which one can be detachedly critical of those perceptions and place them into

some theoretical context, and a third in which one can apply one's own value standards to them. These are not easy skills to learn, and they are not learned by militants who think that the test of truth is the passionateness with which one describes evils.⁵ It is because of such difficult and somewhat unnatural professional norms of scientific behavior that behavioral social science shocks the "true believer", first because it coolly looks at his beliefs as a datum to be explained, and second because it recognizes logical constraints on its ability to "prove" or "disprove" those beliefs by its ordinary scientific tools, and thirdly, and most importantly, because it takes temporarily a calm and reasoned approach to even the most repulsive aspects of the human experience. None of that, however, is the same as saying that the behavioral sciences have been value-free and non-normative.

One is bothered by the glib assertions to the contrary that are appearing with increasing frequency among political scientists, not so much because the statement is wrong, (it shares that with a lot of other widely-believed statements) but because of the extraordinarily low standard of evidence and scholarship revealed by those making the allegation. Surkin's article is a case in point. The quotation from me which led to this reply appeared in *Contemporary Political Science*, a book containing the plenary session papers of the 1966 convention of the APSA. That book is a codification of what a number of leaders of the profession, all of them in what roughly might be called the behavioral persuasion, saw as the relationship between political theory and contemporary empirical political science. It is a mystery that any scholar claiming to write about behavioral political science would not have examined that volume, yet the quotation Surkin uses is picked up second-hand from Noam Chomsky, whose remarkable work in linguistics is matched by his generally recognized chronic incapacity to quote accurately anyone who disagrees with him. As a result, Surkin ends up with some extraordinary interpretations; for example, he quotes indirectly from an article I wrote in *Asian*

5 Many scientists, of course, make sharp distinctions between their thoughtful and critical behavior in the laboratory and their behavior in such other realms as religion and politics. There is no *a priori* reason why a man's values should be maintained consistently across these different realms of life. One cannot exclude either the empirical existence of or the normative validity of such disjointed ways of life. Nonetheless, there is some psychological congruity between liberal values in general and the kind of scientific liberalism involved in being willing to listen to evidence and accept the conclusions on the basis of the evidence. It is therefore, understandable that most scientists in most societies tend (with many obvious exceptions) to a generally liberal persuasion.

Some Facts About Values

Survey, dealing with possible post-war settlements in Viet Nam, and advocating certain policies that generally go under the name of accommodation (clearly that was policy-advocacy and not value-free). There, in stating the alternatives that I was going to discuss I said, "I rule out of consideration here a large range of viable political settlements," specifically, those that involve "the inclusion of the Viet Cong in a coalition government, or even the persistence of the Viet Cong as a legal organization in South Viet Nam." What I was discussing was how a successful non-communist government of Viet Nam might proceed "despite the persisting great political power of the Viet Cong." These passages quoted by Surkin from me via Chomsky led Surkin to say "Social scientists deny that this sort of analysis is ideological, claiming instead that these studies conform to the scholarly objective rigor of his discipline. This is sheer nonsense. Take for example, the following proposition by Professor Pool on restructuring government as an empirical formulation." He then proceeds to the above quotations. Clearly no one who reads the original could have interpreted those introductory sentences restricting the range of alternatives that I was going to analyze as an "empirical formulation" or for that matter as a finding of any kind. Indeed I characterized other alternatives as also "viable"—the only empirical statement in the quote. Mr. Surkin may not be much interested in those alternatives whereby the Government of Viet Nam could establish a peaceful society under its rule. That is his privilege. It is also my privilege to be interested in that range of questions, but it is nobody's privilege, not even a Chomsky's or a Surkin's, or some combination of distortions arising out of a two-step process of quotation to take a simple statement limiting the subject of an article, and to treat it as if the author thought that these were empirical statements about the external world.

It is only by such processes of lack of attention to what in fact the original sources say that Surkin is enabled to establish a supposed distinction between the three methodological approaches to science which he calls (1) The New Mandarin (of which I am supposed to be an example), (2) The public advocate, and (3) The persuasive neutralist. While he attacks all three, he insists on some imaginary distinctions between them based upon whether the "professed mission" of the social scientist is "to serve the public good" or to serve "the government or the corporation". Clearly, the purpose of all of us is to serve the public good.⁶ Equally clearly, that goal is sometimes served by helping governments and corporations and some-

times by criticising them. To talk as though there was a choice between seeking to improve the institutions of which society consists, and seeking to help the people who are that society is not radicalism but inanity.

It must be conceded that in appealing to the facts, I am not answering Mr. Surkin's argument fully for he explicitly renounces liberal standards of scientific evidence. He says that "to plead for reason, detachment, objectivity or patience in the face of abject poverty, political repression or napalmed women and children is absurd". After making his analysis of the nature of modern society he says that "to argue to the contrary is of no avail, since this generation has experienced . . . its own poverty, powerlessness, alienation". In this view, in his words "the Wallacites and the new left, right extremists and left extremists, and other so-called social deviants have correctly perceived the insane world of reason from which they rebel". Against such arguments there is no reply for there is no common ground of rational premises from which to proceed.

Why then pay any attention to such an untenable position or to some of the historical myths that are used to bolster it? The answer is not clear. The anti-intellectual theses of which the attack on supposedly non-normative social science is a part raise the age-old fundamental question of how seriously a liberal scientific discipline needs to address itself to the claims of a mysticism which challenges its fundamental premises. How seriously should chemistry take alchemy? How seriously should psychology take parapsychology? The challenge to contemporary political science from the anti-scientists raises exactly the same questions. As a liberal intellectual I must concede that I do not know the answer. The scientific philosophy of knowledge recognizes that there is never any absolute or final disproof of any theory, no matter how low it ranks on the junkheap of discredited miasmas. We will continue to listen and to discuss but we are hardly likely to be persuaded by people who do not look at the facts carefully enough to describe even the last two decades of history accurately.

6 The Persuasive Neutralists are supposed to be at the opposite end of some scale from the New Mandarins, yet I as the ostensible representative of the latter, can find nothing in the extensive quotations from Heinz Eulau, the ostensible representative of the former, with which I'm not in 100% agreement.

The Patient Needs All The Blood He Has

Theodore J. Lowi
University of Chicago

Life is paradoxical. The more responsive the public has been in providing and expanding educational opportunities the more the universities seem to be threatened by hostile forces and instability. The faster the educator and the education-oriented politician run after their constituencies, the more their constituencies seem to feel alienated. So clear has been this relationship between the expansion and the instability that one is tempted to say that the effort was the cause.

This is a distinct possibility. Our remarkable ability to provide physical plant, teachers and quality courses for higher education is admired and emulated the world over. Compared to Europe, the quality is high even as measured by access to professors, despite the complaints one hears. The crunch does not come, therefore, from insufficient response or poor quality. The crunch comes from the change in substantive outputs of the university. That is to say, higher education in America has been undergoing a revolution in the character of its activities.

This revolution in substance or output cannot be attributed to the demands for more education. Demands on the scale of thousands and millions are simply not that specific. Changes in the nature and function of the university were made by donors, legislators, and college administrators. But the primary influence has been that of educational philosophers and educational policy-makers located in the college presidencies and the upper regions of the large bureaucratized philanthropies. Surprisingly enough, business executives have not been that specifically influential. For their special needs, they can and do train their own people. One might get the impression from critics and from administrators that universities have been responding to the "educational needs" of capitalism. But these needs are largely mythical, created not so much by the business people as by eager college recipients according to Friedrich's "rule of anticipated reactions." The revolution in investment and expansion became a crisis, therefore, not because of the expansion itself, but because of the unexamined but parallel revolution in the definition of the university. During the course of the expansion, educational philosophers and policy-makers re-defined the university in theory and in practice in ways that made the crunch against the established university way of life inevitable. And the crunch would have come regardless of the unexpected

pressures of the Viet Nam War or of the race revolution. The crunch has more to do with the inherent problems of the university than it does with any environmental factors, however important those factors may be.

Students were the first to see the critical issues. They articulated their problems badly, and their excellent analyses were further confused by the stupidity of many of the reforms they proposed. Nonetheless, underneath all of the childish rhetoric was an astonishingly appropriate analysis.

Quiet Politicization

The students were first to see, for example, that the functions around which the universities expanded were biased. They were the first to see and to articulate the fact that all services rendered by the university, including the service of producing graduates, involve the university in collective, institutionalized commitments to society. The students were first to perceive that institutional commitments unavoidably involve the entire university in directions that seem unmistakably to favor the status quo. They were the first to see that services in the contemporary university are essentially policies, that policies involve collective choices, that collective choices involve advantages and disadvantages in the struggle for rewards that society has to offer, and that such struggles involve power, which is the very opposite of the ideal of education.

Little wonder that students increasingly resorted to such slang charges as "the name of the game is power," during the revolutionary expansion of higher education. Little wonder that students are trying to politicize the university. It was clear to them that the university had in its own quiet way already become politicized. Little wonder that many radical students demanded the right to use the university as a sanctuary from which they could make raids upon society. Already the university centers and the service institutes represented exactly that pattern. Little wonder that students demanded participation in university decision-making. Increasingly, universities are making essentially governmental decisions when they perform their services; and when universities act like governments, it is consistent for students to demand their citizenship. The demand for some form of representation will crop up wherever power over society is being exercised.

Finally, it is no wonder that students cry for "decentralization" in the university, despite the fact that the organizational structure of all univer-

The Patient Needs All The Blood He Has

sities is already overwhelmingly decentralized. In their own innocent way, students have actually been trying to hold the university to its own pretensions. In doing so they have revealed the nauseating degree to which the universities have prostituted themselves. And in their clamor, they hold out the possibility that this prostitution was not inevitable nor, in the future, unchangeable.

Dynamic Stalemate

But the students are by and large a mere reflection of the revolution and neither a cause of it nor a channel for the ultimate resolution of its problems. One need only examine the demands being made by the student leaders and their faculty fellow travelers to see that their way is not significantly different from the established ways of the Establishment. They have taken their educational models and philosophies from the Establishment philosophers, have generally accepted them, and have simply demanded a new Establishment and services to a new set of masters. This is a dynamic stalemate. The sides have agreed on the terms of discourse and disagree on who shall rule. This means that any serious concession involves a change of regime as well as a change of policy. Nothing is more rigid or terrifying than a political situation in which regime and policy are at issue at the same time.

Trying their best to get us out of this box, the peacemakers of the university world have posited some comfortable but false alternatives. Most of their discussion takes the form of choices among three functional alternatives. For some of them, the question is between the university which teaches and the university which serves. For others the choice involves a mix among teaching, research, and service. For most peacemakers, the question is simply one of establishing a "balance" between and among these functions. The "balance" is easily seen as one in which each of the corners of this triangle receives about equal emphasis in the life of the university. These are the false alternatives, whether one uses them to make peace or to make war inside the university.

A proper analysis of the politics of the university must begin with clarification of the function of the university or, better, its corporate identity. And the best way to do that is to identify and then discard the definitions of the leading contemporary educational philosophers. The inadequacy of contemporary attempts to define the university can be illustrated by posing a debate between Clark Kerr and Jacques Barzun. There is always some surface

validity to the words of Dr. Barzun, and his expressions of concern following the Columbia crisis are a case in point: "I have nothing against the university studying social problems or commenting on what is going on out of its fund of knowledge. But the university is getting to resemble the Red Cross more than a university, with direct help to whoever is suffering." But Dr. Kerr's type of response is also extremely meaningful: "People who say we should offer no service to society through the modern university overlook that the earlier universities to which they refer provided another, old type of service – to the aristocracy and to some of the elite professions." Dr. Kerr then urged, in a manner that seems on its face quite consistent, that we simply turn from one type of service to another, providing some of the lowest classes with a few more of the highly prized services of the university.

This brief debate between Barzun and Keer illustrates how easily even the most experienced college administrators fall into the habit of talking about university outputs in the simple terms of service versus teaching and research. But more important still, it underscores the *impossibility of establishing a university that does not have a systematic bias toward one set of social interests rather than another.*

Dr. Barzun falls into the trap of assuming that the university can be free of all services, and Dr. Kerr very correctly points that out. Barzun's whole career represents the case rather well. In his work and in his writings, he represents a liberal arts ethic. This is clearly only one definition of what universities have been or have done in the past 100 years. Moreover, a close look at such universities performing such functions will reveal an extremely close affinity between them and the old middle classes, whether we are speaking of 75 years ago or today. Some 15 years ago Dr. Barzun argued that *his* kind of educated man would happily pay for admission to Yankee Stadium just to talk to others like himself. This is a marvelous image of the type and character of education Dr. Barzun has in mind. And one certainly cannot say that such an output is neutral. It is not a service in any contractual sense, but it is certainly a service in the sense of functional interdependence.

The proper ethic of the liberal arts college is a *consumer* ethic. The notion of education in such an institution is a form of dilettantism, which is admirable for those who wish to afford it, but which fails to inspire the mass of ex-plebes who

constitute the overwhelming majority of students today.

University and Social Interest

Fortunately, Dr. Barzun's notion of a university is only one of several possibilities, and more fortunately still, Dr. Kerr's opinion does not represent the only alternative to Dr. Barzun's. The accompanying diagram may help to put the issues in a new and productive context. It shows how limited is the Barzun ideal; but it also shows the Kerr alternative to be complete sophistry and rationalization.

relationship is rather one between a service provider and a service demander, or between an agency and a clientele. A university will take root and prosper if it has a social base, and it will wither away and disappear if it does not.

The British civil service offers a dramatic representation of the connection between an educational system and dominant social interests. In the 1850's Lord Macaulay instituted a rudimentary merit system in order to modernize the service and eliminate patronage. In 1870, fifteen years after its establishment, the Civil Service Commission had succeeded in imposing competitive examinations

Educational Systems and Class Interests

Educational Norm	Educational Ethic	Social Interest Represented
Classical Education [Classic Church Education]	Consumer Ethic -- "Knowledge for its own sake" [Knowledge for personal discipline]	Aristocracy
Liberal Arts Education	Consumer Ethic -- "Renaissance man" "Genteel erudition"	Old Bourgeoisie
Disciplinary Education	Producer Ethic -- "The Ph. D." "The major"	New Middle Classes -- Professional Salaried
Practical Education	Training Ethic* -- "A & M" "Experience"	Working Classes
Technocratic Education	Problem-solving Ethic "The multiversity" "Service"	Regimes

*De-emphasized in the late 19th Century and now being re-activated through the community college movement, many black studies courses, and the romantic commitments of the young left.

It shows, for example, that the notion of service that Kerr has in mind is not at all the same thing as the notion of service implied in the liberal arts tradition, and that quite clearly the Kerr definition is intimately shared by the large business and government technocracies and by the new left militants.

The diagram is simply a list of primary university functions, the type of man who would be oriented toward each type of university, and the dominant social interest that is most consonant with each system. This is not to suggest that the dominant social interest in question determined or in any other way "caused" each educational system. The

as the normal mode of entry. However, this brought about very little change in class composition among higher civil servants because the examination reflected the type of education that one could only acquire at Oxford or Cambridge. That indeed was higher education in Britain. Many years passed before the symbiotic relationship between education and the upper classes was altered.

In the United States a similar pattern is discernible although never so clear, because dominance by one or two schools is never so clear, and because social class stratification was never so well established. Nonetheless, it is no coincidence that exclusive preparatory schools like St. Paul's, St. Mark's and Groton emerged only as an upper class of some size and national standing emerged. And, although attacked as early as 1830, the Greek and Latin admission requirements persisted in the East for many years, right along with the practice

The Patient Needs All The Blood He Has

of classifying students by year only, putting them up for degrees year by year without any standard except perhaps the social graces. Harvard, Yale, and Princeton, as well as most of the colleges in the West and South that the latter two helped found, held quite officially to the orthodox classical view. Only Virginia was experimenting before mid-century, and it is significant that the Democrat Jefferson organized his college not according to the principle of the practical arts but according to rudimentary disciplines: ancient languages, modern languages, mathematics, natural philosophy, natural history, anatomy and medicine, moral philosophy, and law. The anticipated by many years the pattern which was ultimately to become dominant in America. But until that time, the classical education, reinforced and guided in the United States by a clear view of the Biblical and sacred basis of education, fought to maintain its dominance. And its support by and in the established upper classes is unmistakably clear.

As the colleges of the late 19th century began to expand, they seemed to shrug off two important tendencies – or at least to de-emphasize them. Looking at this effort reveals most clearly the relationship between any educational output and important class interests. One of the tendencies was the classical norm, which made no sense to the new universities like Cornell and Michigan, founded and expanded on the basis of a new egalitarian spirit. It was during this period that classical and theological emphases were beginning to be cast off at Harvard. Yale was to follow still later after a bitter battle. Also de-emphasized was the principle of practical education that had begun to take root in the new university but seemed to get nowhere. Despite all of the incentives provided by the Morrill Act of 1862, schools based upon this principle felt, according to Handlin, "the pressure to change their purposes almost as soon as they opened. Their students did not aspire to careers as farmers or mechanics; nor were the faculties content to teach the skills of field or shop." Thus, any turn toward the practical arts or higher education for the working classes was clearly premature.

Colleges did not become uniform during the late 19th century, but there does seem to have been uniform emphasis among their various efforts at reform. This was probably signalled by the election of Charles W. Eliot to the presidency of Harvard in 1869 and his attempt to tear away at the classical curriculum. Eliot was one famous man among many reformers; science was the primary instrument and thrust of his as well as other efforts. Science

and scientism pulled university emphases together from both ends – the classical extreme and the practical extreme – toward an undefined center. As Harvard challenged its own orthodoxies so did Illinois Industrial University become The University of Illinois, so did the proposed A & M of Ohio become Ohio State, and so did enrollment in agriculture courses at Vermont and Wisconsin vanish. In 1873, Cornell, only in its fourth year of operation, was simultaneously (1) attacked for debasing classical studies and (2) investigated for neglecting agricultural and mechanical studies.

Despite many variations, the middle to which the colleges were being drawn was represented by Andrew Dickson White, co-founder and first president of Cornell University. This was the ideal of the university that would serve scholarship in a spirit of free and universal inquiry, and one in which all studies would be equal as well as equally available. To go along with White's ideal, there developed an entirely new institutional type, emerging first at John Hopkins (1886), then at Clark (1889), and in fullest bloom, at Chicago (1892). The principle of equality among organized and institutionalized subjects quickly attached itself as a prevailing emphasis at such places as Cornell and Michigan, then slowly but surely at Harvard and Yale, then ultimately at virtually every state university and private university in the land. This was a commitment to an American variation of the German university. It meant the Ph.D., and it meant the marrying of the practical to the theoretical with a never-ending emphasis on the "spirit of inquiry." It meant quite clearly a fusion of teaching and research, a fusion that has resisted all efforts by such people as Clark Kerr to crack it. It was on the ground of this German or disciplinary or science norm that the aristocrat-reformer Eliot of Harvard could meet his contrasting type, the Democratic, radical Angell of Michigan.

Discipline and Department

These new principles were institutionalized in the academic discipline, and the principle of university organization was the department.

From the few basic departments anticipated by Jefferson, the pattern proliferated until it reached the proportion of the early University of Chicago. Political Economy became Economics, Political Science, and Sociology. (Anthropology was a later split.) Languages were sub-divided into separate departments. Biology, once established as a discipline, tended to become as many as five departments. At the graduate and professorial levels

the department became a way of life. Each discipline became professionalized. For each, a national society developed and became a primary means of diffusing knowledge as well as creating a market and a uniform standard of reward for professors and professorial output. In a sense this was an organizational effort to approximate the truth. It was an effort to represent in the most concrete form the idea that knowledge was a producible and organizable commodity. There is little question that the entire posture of this kind of education, this kind of an attitude toward learning and knowing, is characteristic of a very distinctive class.

Another central tendency between the extremes of the classical and the practical was the liberal arts. Though strong in its own right, it tended to maintain itself as a reaction to scientism and departmentalization of knowledge. Perhaps it was inevitable that the most grandiose effort at real organizational revolt against departments and professionalized knowledge came in the College at Chicago where Robert M. Hutchins, with his great books and his faith that knowledge is unified and timeless, presided over a university which had helped adapt German principles to American education.

The Hutchins experiment did not outlast his own presidency, nor was it widely copied despite being universally studied. For all his good intentions, the Hutchins experiment was a throwback to the pattern of schools-in-service to higher classes. The liberal arts student possesses a consumer ethic, an orientation toward genteel erudition that did not match the discipline for broad appeal among the newly professionalizing classes, and especially among those who aspired to less than, or had too little talent for, universality. The liberal arts reaction also failed to dominate because it could be so easily accommodated to the disciplinary principle of organization. The disciplines can co-exist with classical and liberal arts orientation by *departmentalization*. The admirable refinements can continue to exist admirably as "majors." But not so the other way around. To the classicist or the humanist, Plato cannot be departmentalized. The disciplinary system, seated in departments, could, therefore, on the one hand accommodate the notions of science and producible and organized knowledge and on the other hand live easily enough with other approaches to learning and other principles of knowing. Other classes, powerful but small, could be accommodated without any longer having their own universities.

Technocratic Service

It is only when one gets to the newer, technocratic system of education that one finds novel notions of service and alien principles of organization. Clearly, the first three educational norms – the classical, liberal arts, and disciplinary patterns – perform "services" only in the sense that they are in basic consonance with certain class interests. This is service in a sociological or functional sense. It implies merely that there is a section of society in which a certain kind of educational output can find a home. In contrast, the technocratic system means service in a direct, institutional and deliberate sense. It means service as a matter of conscious policy, as in a master-servant relationship. Service in this sense is clearly not the same as in the other, and yet thousands of college administrators and faculty, like Kerr, continually refer in a pseudo-sophisticated manner to university activism and commitment as though all services have the same significance.

As a matter of sheer survival universities and colleges have always performed some of these master-servant type services. But traditionally these were feared, and were usually kept within separate centers attached to the general institution or in centers housed in separate institutes, such as extension services within agriculture schools otherwise run along departmental lines. Or these services have been contracted on an individual rather than institutional basis, as illustrated by Harvard's rule of not accepting on a corporate basis grants or contracts involving "classified research" while leaving individual faculty free to engage in such work if they so desire.

Technocratic education is the latest thing in the universities, and may well come to dominate all other norms. It is a cousin of disciplinary education, but its patterns and purposes are very different. In a disciplinary context, the utility of knowledge is based largely upon whether it makes an advance in knowledge already possessed by the discipline and defined by the prevailing theories and frameworks within the discipline. The criterion would be advances in cognitive order, whether that be measured by increased predictive power or an intuitive satisfaction that one thing makes several other things fit somewhat better. Utility in a technocratic education is measured by the capacity of a body of knowledge to solve a problem in the real world. In a discipline the question is whether reality behaves like the model. In the problem-solving, technocratic context, the question is

The Patient Needs All The Blood He Has

whether the model behaves like the real world. In the technocratic university, there is even a lot of impressive talk about combining disciplines and training people in "inter-disciplinary ways" that makes them better than the old kinds of specialists. Behaviorally that may be true, but the purpose of this combining is quite different from the actual effort to combine. The purpose is to make the conceptual apparatus, the very questions of inquiry, fit as closely as possible the lines of operation that are experienced in the real world. Those who are coping with the real world design their problems in a certain way. The purpose of a technocratic education is to define academic knowledge in a way that is as closely parallel as possible to the definitions of those who are actually doing the coping.

It is this parallelism of definition that helps to define the character of the social interest that is served by technocratic education. And this is where the technocratic norm is so different from the others. For, upon examination it seems clear that the social interest is not a class in the ordinary sense of the word. The social interest is whatever class or non-class is at the moment the dominant interest of the regime. The technocratic education, focusing as it does on real social problems and real physical problems, puts the university in an intimate functional relationship with regime, whatever regime one has in mind – federal, local, or some non-governmental or social regimes – because problem-solving is a means of maintaining established order, in every sense of the word. If problem-solving is the primary purpose of the regime and the educational system, there is a basis for a high degree of consonance and mutual reinforcement. Moreover, since a regime, unlike a class, can have a consciousness and a policy, here for the first time we have the basis for the kind of conscious, institutional service-rendering that the word service has come to imply in dialogues involving the university. Surely this is why the word service has become such an important element in the rhetoric of education philosophies.

This is a relatively new educational form, but it accounts for most of the growth in the colleges and universities of the past decade, and more than anything else explains away any paradox in the relationship between expanding educational opportunities and expanding student alienation. This new technocratic norm with its service ethic has begun to derange at least the first three alternative principles of education. It perceives the educational process *itself* as part of the conscious

service ethic. It tends to define and judge this process in terms of outputs geared to needs in the society rather than in terms of whether knowledge has been expanded. That is, teaching comes to be viewed as one more problem-solving technique. In our present era, French students were first to perceive the true meaning and significance of this aspect of the problem-solving orientation although they articulated it rather badly. The 22nd of March Movement at Nanterre, which ushered in the 1968 revolution in France, was tipped off by this issue. Many students had been discouraged away from sociology, toward economics, law and other subjects that were more in tune with contemporary national direction as defined by the state examinations. These examinations plugged the educational systems and the students into the prevailing definition of needs as handed down by government bureaucracy and major corporations. Classroom obstruction began over objections to the "technocratization of intelligentsia" and the putting of the university in the "service of capitalism." (It seems fairly clear that they really meant the regime, the Establishment, the Contemporary Order, rather than the specific capitalist enterprises.)

This is a fundamental reason, too, why students from the center as well as from the left sought accord with the French workers. All of them felt that there was a basis for class solidarity between students and workers when students need to be treated as merely workers-to-be in the new job-oriented and problem-solving orientation of the university. (It should be noted that at the "radical" new Vincennes, extensive student participation in decision-making is unmistakably leading to the American disciplinary pattern of departments, courses, and majors. It is extremely interesting and significant that they are turning to disciplinary pattern as their antidote for the technocratization of the curriculum.)

From this it follows rather obviously to any politically oriented analyst that the technocratic norm of education can only expand vis-a-vis the other norms of education. Deliberate service to a regime is a market relation of never-ending profit on both sides. One can anticipate the results by looking at a completely different market, the New York Port Authority. Charged in 1921 with building a transportation system, the Authority ended up with highways because no resistance was offered to them. This led to a completely unbalanced system in the entire New York area, despite the fact that no policy-maker ever preferred bankrupt railroads.

The University in Mesh

There are many dangers inherent in these patterns, but the greatest danger of all threatens when the new technocratic definition of the purpose of education becomes part of a general movement toward modern totalitarianism without terror. The university was something that was supposed to be out of mesh with the rest of society. If this is the case, the technocratic norm is the end of the university. The problem-solving university, even when the service is supposedly "in balance with research and teaching," is an institution *in mesh* with all of the other institutions in society. This is in fact never denied by the proponents of the service university. For example, shortly upon leaving his post as Commissioner of Education, Harold Howe warned that it is "at the peril of our society that we seek a return to former isolation. . . ." Inevitably, public servants who are under pressure to do more than their best to solve real problems come to perceive the university as one of their best resources. They are most comfortable when the interchange with scholars is "on the basis of the same vocabulary." They celebrate the emergence of the new Schools of Public Affairs, Urban Institutes, and so on. Inevitably, the way of the public servant and the corporate executive is made easier when inside the university this problem-solving approach is made systematic and is accepted as virtuous. But that only helps define with special clarity the degree to which traditionally in the United States, government and the university have been "on opposite sides of the market." Defining the condition of being *in mesh* as a virtue is something new. Governments with good intentions – along with faculty and students with their good intentions – become far greater dangers to academic freedom than anti-intellectual attacks from the lunatic fringe.

In the midst of controversy over education and what kinds we should espouse, it is amazing how quickly faculty and educationists abandon their roles of educators and assume a role of politician. When their own policies and positions are at stake, they quit being teachers and give up trying to use an educational model to overcome this particular type of controversy even as they continue to use educational models to overcome intellectual controversies in which they themselves are *not* at issue. But turning to a political model for solving issues involving the educational institution itself almost inevitably involves espousal of a problem-solving, technocratic approach, despite the fact that this has been a major contributor to the very crunch the educators find themselves in.

Since the universities have been caught red-handed performing all kinds of unsavory services for reactionary interests, it is much easier to agree on a principle of *universal* service than it is to insist on severing the services already being performed. It seems both sophisticated and realistic to admit that that is the name of the game, even though to do so is to abandon any notion of academic freedom and university autonomy.

And the crunch that affects the university across the board also affects the individual disciplines. The response by leaders of disciplines and departmental chairmen has tended to be the same as that of the university-wide administrators and educational philosophers. That is to say, undergoing an identity crisis within their own disciplines, many departmental members abandoned their education role for a political role, therefore agreeing to the general dismantling of their discipline.

Political Science

Political science is as good an example as any. Traditionally, political science experienced the strain of competing educational norms, because of the long tradition of classical and liberal approaches competing with the emerging dominance of the disciplinary definition of the field. Generally this has been a useful and productive interchange, in which the very independence of the discipline was maintained. But in recent years, the cry for relevance and the competition for research monies have combined to favor the emergence of a technocratic element. On the Establishment side of the field, there is talk of schools of public affairs, of urban and other problems, and of the various methods that might make political science a better servant to the making of decent public policy. On the other side, there is the complaint about relevance, meaning relevance to sets of interests in society that would not necessarily be well served by the kinds of adjustments that the established elders in the field might have in mind.

The discipline is now suffering some serious intellectual disorders because both sides to the controversy, while disagreeing at a superficial level, are agreeing on one fundamental adjustment, and that is to the expansion of the technocratic aspect of the field. There is no difference in principle between a public affairs school that would serve the government and a school for revolutionists that would serve the next government. Modeling, budgeting, decision-making, and computerization are the technocratizing elements of the established political science, while action research, black

The Patient Needs All The Blood He Has

studies, and various efforts to convert the APSA into an interest group are the equivalent features of the new left demands. Caught in the middle, and having learned that political models are to be preferred over educational models for settling disputes, the political science leadership will ultimately embrace both sides. The number of problems that any discipline can deal with, if it wishes, is unlimited. At some point along the way, the discipline will have disappeared, but by that time so will the university within which the discipline once operated – unless there is a serious and detached re-examination of the character of the contradictory educational norms and an actual decision to which ones shall become the central organizational principle of the discipline.

This is an era of bitter irony for the independent university. It is ironic that the attack comes from among friends rather than among enemies of the intellect. It is ironic that the defense will just as surely as the attack destroy the university. It is ironic that the crisis has come at the very time when American society can finally afford an institution that is *out of mesh*. It is all the more ironic that as the university succeeded in freeing itself from domination by narrower upper classes and their regimes it may buckle under and lose its identity to a more democratic, permissive, and less class-bound regime. All of this is happening during a period in which the political norm of pluralism is stressed on the one hand while the other hand is suppressing the one best social counterpoise, the alienated intellectual. The final irony is that the alienated intellectual is being suppressed more from within than from without, within himself and within his institution. He is not being suppressed involuntarily at all. He is being suppressed by the ethic of service.

However, ironic as it may be, such an analysis can help clarify the issues, leading to a clarification of the positions to be taken by university policy-makers and governmental officials.

The analysis should make unmistakably clear that once society's own legitimacy begins to crumble, the university will also be implicated. The tie between university and society is simply too close to have it otherwise. But the message is not coming through yet. The universities have been wrong in the manner of their identification with society in our day. They have been caught red-handed, but nonetheless they have gotten the wrong message. The direction of the response

cannot be in terms of a political model in which success is measured by peace and the degree to which students and other opponents have been co-opted into currently decadent university ways. But clarification of what kind of institution a given university is could lead to the kind of commitment out of which a real *educational* approach to the crisis and to the defense of the university can be devised.

Government policy should be derived from the same analysis, although the problem is different, since governments are not universities. The first principle should of course be that government shore up universities rather than exploit them. But this needs clarification, because most government people feel that shoring up is what they are doing now.

Support as Reinforcement

Government demands for university services, even when purchased generously enough to allow a lot of piggy-back "pure" research, should be seen simply as a more sophisticated version of century-old agrarian demands for courses in pickle-packing and cherry pie. That ought to be clear enough.

But there is still another element of governmental activity that is less explicitly service-oriented but yet may be even more corrosive of the independent university. This is a policy of blanket and unconditional grants for higher education. An example of this is the recent request of a Carnegie Report designing a national program toward the year 2000 (chaired by the perennial Dr. Clark Kerr). The panel expressed eloquently a series of very important sentiments, regarding the elimination of race and class barriers and the general desirability of universal access to higher education. But its concerns were entirely with the composition of the student body and the general level of educational quality available both in the universities and in preparatory programs. The implication, as in most other such reports, is that whenever governments are not involved in highly specific contracts for services, their policies should be kept general and permissive so as to avoid interference. The trouble with this, like any other general delegation of power and resources to an agency or to a private institution or group, is that such a blanket delegation merely reinforces and exaggerates the status quo. Thus, a general and permissive policy of "improving and expanding higher education" is a ticket for total transformation for those universities that are already in a state of transformation from the disciplinary to the technocratic norm.

A policy of "no policy" toward universities is in effect a very important policy, because it is an espousal of every compromise and every scheming decision that every governing university faction is making for its university.

The Moral Basis

Violence in and to the universities, and incessant demands for decentralization, will not end as long as there are students who feel that the university and the regime are in cahoots. This is a prescription for a cure, however, as well as a proposition of cause and effect. Students have succeeded to a great extent because they have been essentially correct in their complaint. They have also succeeded in so far as they have restored the need of providing a moral basis for action. That is all that they can be expected to do, and respect for this part does not lead to acceptance of any program that students might be proposing. Students lack the capacity to state precisely what the moral basis for action should be, but in any case this is a job for America's elites. No elite can possibly be supported if its leaders cannot provide a plausible moral basis for action. An appeal for our support on the grounds that they can roll with the punches better than anybody else, and that bargaining is sufficient moral basis in and of itself, is far more corrupt than the refusal of students and dissident faculty to enter into to such a bargaining process. University elites have already proven time after time that the results of a wide open bargaining process are not necessarily acceptable. Yet college presidents, for example, have rejected a peacemaker role in favor of a real effort to state that essence of the university that cannot be negotiated. It is no wonder that students are ignorant of the nature of the university if those in power in a university are either unwilling or unable to enunciate what it is.

Rather than face the university crisis by bargaining, and risk further loss of legitimacy, it would be far better to try to restore the university to essential principles on which all can agree. Seeking decentralization and participation under present conditions is a solution akin to bleeding by mediaeval physicians. The patient needs all the blood he has. The only lasting way to solve the so-called power problem is by severance. But, if severance, on what terms?

APSA and "Balance"

To anticipate the answer, the APSA might be taken as a concrete case in point. Some members of the Association are opposed to using the

Association either to serve or to reward service to Congress, state legislatures, or the current programs of given administrative agencies, including the Department of Defense. But what good will the Association do if it placates those dissidents by simply adding services to the favorite interests of those dissidents? Would it not be better for all concerned if the Association reached for a more essential principle than that of co-optation and placation and severed the old activities while resisting new ones? What a great stroke for academic integrity it would be if the Association took itself out of Washington, and took itself out of those activities that commit the Association to rewarding certain kinds of public service.

The APSA problem only emphasizes what can hardly be emphasized too strongly, that no solution will ever be found through efforts to alter the balance among interests served or the balance among "research-teaching-service." This analysis has already shown clearly, it seems to me, that service, in this new and technocratic definition, is by and large an unnecessary evil. The analysis also should expose the sophistry of those who talk about research and teaching as though they are separable activities? Research for what? Teaching for what? The question takes us back to the five norms of education identified in the diagram. In its most ordinary and dull sense, there is research going on in the normal pursuit of each of the ethics identified earlier. Research in the classics might be poring over and rote learning of languages in ancient texts. In the humanities, it may be the prodigious reading of men, the incessant consumption of their ideas, and the endless search for where those ideas came from. In the problem-solving area, research is usually the building of a case much as a lawyer would build a case. In the area of practical education, research usually takes the form of experience – field trips and the like, or what the new left likes to call "radical research." In the disciplines, research is usually the testing of an X against a Y, derived in the latest theoretical fashion. Obviously the question of creating or altering a balance between research and teaching is irrelevant until the emergence of the technocratic norm. Research and teaching are taken as a dichotomy by service- and practice-oriented educators because it is only in these latter two types of systems where such an issue, particularly leading to the *separation* of research and teaching can ever occur. Within the three traditional norms of education – the classical, the liberal arts, and the disciplinary – the idea of research as separate from teaching is absurd. Both

The Patient Needs All The Blood He Has

are mere aspects of the process of higher learning. The separation being complained about these days comes from the fact that when the problem-solving professors are doing their "research" they are literally off the campus operating as consultants, in which case they are "teaching" someone other than their students and their colleagues.

If we are deprived of the opportunity of finding the solution to the education crisis by a mere re-ordering of these three pseudo-variables, the remaining alternative is to re-examine basic educational functions themselves. Such a re-examination would, it seems to me, inevitably lead to a severe de-emphasis of practical and technocratic educational ethics. These ethics not only militate against intellectual life itself but also against the lower classes. That is, in impact, these systems are basically reactionary. The reactionary aspect of the technocratic education has already been identified. The reactionary aspect of the practical arts education is equally easy to perceive. To the lower classes the university is a vastly important channel of mobility as well as a channel of access to historic knowledge. To equip the lower classes with agricultural and other lesser mechanical skills is simply to equip them all the better to remain in their original class position. It is one thing to offer practical courses for older adults, quite another to offer it on a general community college basis to vast numbers of white and black working classes.

A Way to Independence

This leaves only the first three educational norms within which to develop a proper principle of the university as an independent educator. Of those, the third, disciplinary education, seems to be the strongest choice, despite the fact that it leaves a great deal to be desired. First, it can accommodate the other two traditional educational patterns through *departmentalization*. Secondly, it is sociologically consonant with the largest educated class. Third, that class is the one into which the more mobile lower classes climb when they move up. Finally, the disciplinary norm is consonant with modern society yet is not in service to it or any particular regime. The disciplinary norm is modern because it works with organized, differentiated, knowledge rather than the dilettantish knowledge associated with the classic and the liberal arts education. It is on the other hand generalistic in contrast to the action and service programs, which are by nature particularistic. Therefore, the disciplinary norm is no more a servant to the regime than are the liberal arts or

the classical norms. Its opposition to or independence of regimes is reinforced by the fact that scholarship is long-run while regime needs are short-run. The purpose of scholarship is cognitive ordering while the purpose of action is short range utility. Disciplinary education equips the individual to serve regimes if he wishes, but it is not *institutionally* committed to a service concept. Therefore, society pays a minimal price for the long-run, non-particularistic, professionalized character of disciplinary education. In contrast, the service or technocratic norm is the intellectual counterpart of the neutral civil servant, for it may serve *any* regime and, further, it has no meaning except in terms of being defined by its service to some regime.

As long as universities as corporate entities serve in this modern sense, there will always be demands to have it serve "some other master." This also means that there will be competition both for resources and for power, and that the measure of success will be in terms of net growth. It will take a tremendous amount of courage to right the wrongs of recent years by redressing this kind of imbalance and returning to earlier definitions of the independent university. Most of all, it will take tremendous courage to admit that after Viet Nam, the sudden resurgence of the public's fear into domestic affairs may be the worst thing that ever happened to higher education in America. We must learn to define the great university president in terms of the number of grants he turns down. For, unless standards of restraint are established – *based upon a proper sense of what the university must be* – the competition for access to available public monies for education will end up in one of the most disgusting scrambles the country has ever experienced.

Some Reflections on Student Participation and Representation

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The issue of student participation in departmental affairs may first come to the attention of the faculty on the day a front-page story appears in the student newspaper:

"Eighty-five concerned political science majors and minors held a meeting Wednesday to decide whether or not they wanted to have a voice in the affairs of the political science department.

There was not much debate but there was a lot of discussion in trying to decide the answers to such questions as: Do we want merely a voice on the different faculty committees? Do we want a vote on the different committees? Do we feel we should participate on all committees, including the hiring, firing and tenure committee?

It was nearly unanimously decided that the bargaining committee should strive for no less than one-half the vote on ALL committees, including the hiring, firing and tenure committee."

Or the opening shot in the battle for "participatory democracy" may be fired by way of a mimeographed hand-out:

"The emergence of an undergraduate organization in the political science department is indicative of student recognition of and concern for problems in both the content of courses and in the processes whereby decisions in this department are made. . . . We do not feel that accepting advisory roles on existing committees is a satisfactory method for implementing such change. We must be the spokesmen for our own interests, and that means being our own representatives. Any legitimacy demands a share in decisions concerning our work and our education, and a share equal to that held by faculty. To deny such a share in decision-making is to deny us our legitimate place in the educational process. Decisions must be made in a public way, involving all people concerned . . ."

On many campuses this year the issue that has replaced black studies or the Viet Nam War is the demand of students for representation in the governance of the academic departments in which they are majoring. In light of the fact that there is as yet no extensive body of literature which addresses itself to this whole question, I would like to share some exploratory thoughts of my own. I trust they will not be faulted for being more random than systematic.

Several inter-related assumptions on which my position rests need to be made clear at the outset:

1 An academic community, whether this be the university or a given department, is not a natural democracy. (There will be those who will dismiss my argument by calling it "anti-democratic" or "elitist" or some such thing, but that kind of response is more demagogic than illuminating.) I know of no system of government I find more tolerable or desirable than a political democracy, especially where the conditions for its successful operation exist. And that is precisely the point. I seriously question whether all of these same conditions necessary for democracy exist or should exist in a college or university. I take it for granted that in a political democracy there should be full equality for every citizen, each of whom would have an equal voice in community affairs because of his equality of status. This is certainly the theory if not always the practice. But I would argue (and not defensively) that the relationship between students and faculty is not completely or inherently equal, nor should it be. If the university were to follow the democratic principle of treating students and faculty alike on a one-man, one-vote basis, the students would (should) then have majority control.

2 It is a gross distortion to identify political (e.g. electoral) with educational institutions. Notwithstanding the fact that there are political overtones to a wide variety of relationships and decisions on any college campus, the differences between political and educational institutions are far more revealing and important. It is clearly the responsibility of political leaders (the government) to represent the people and to attend to the affairs of state – in short, to govern. It is just as clear that this is not the primary function of the university. This is not a minor observation or consideration. The university is in the business of the pursuit of truth, the transmission of knowledge, and the development of powers of criticism and judgment. Whatever else may be said about academic decision-making, it would amount to a serious debasement of its special purposes and qualities if it were to be confused or equated with political decision-making.

3 It has become a commonplace to say that what is happening on our campuses cannot be separated from what is taking place in the rest of society. The university, it is said, cannot be divorced from the problems and tensions of society and the world. I shall pass over the deceptive simplicity and partial truths of this argument. The more important point is that the academic community is not and should not be viewed as simply a microcosm of the larger political society. This is particularly true when questions of academic authority

Some Reflections on Student Participation and Representation

and responsibility are at issue. Or is one supposed to conclude that because students enjoy certain political and legal rights in our society they are therefore entitled to equal voting rights with the faculty on every decision-making committee in the university? As H.L.A. Hart's *University of Oxford Report* says, "No theory of legal and political rights for the conduct of a society as a whole, not even democratic theory, is transferrable to the government of distinctively academic activities."

There are other derivative concerns. For example, there is the complex matter of jurisdiction. It is sometimes said that students have the right to vote in department meetings because the decisions may affect them. There are many things wrong with that argument, including its facile view of democracy. (Is it perhaps a spin-off of the kind of righteousness one often hears today to the effect that no one should have to obey laws or regulations unless he participated directly in their making? One does not have to be an Edmund Burke to realize that this activist imperative would make a hash of the Constitution and the Bill of Rights.) Applied to academic decisions the argument has even less force. I do not have a vote in the department of Black Studies (or any other department) on who is to be hired or given tenure, and the operative principle here is basically sound: Such decisions will be made by academic peers who, by virtue of study and training in their discipline, are more qualified and competent. Yet I certainly know that I may very well be affected in one way or another by the decisions which are made. Stated another way, it should not be assumed that the responsibility for making academic policy can be apportioned between faculty and students on the basis of democratic principles, as if somehow the presumed democratic character of the "new community" would make it possible first to expunge the inherent inequalities of knowledge, experience and continuity and then have them redistributed on an equal basis.

I am merely restating what others have said in different ways – namely, that the jurisdictional question of who should vote on what questions cannot be resolved by adopting the student argument advanced above. There is a straight line connecting this point with what Professor Arval A. Morris, Professor of Law at the University of Washington, has in mind when he says that one of the requirements for democracy to be appropriate and effective as a form of government is that there must be a definite community of some kind so that one can clearly identify who is and who is not a member

of that community having a right to participate in it. Surely we would agree with him that a college or university is not solely a single community, but many communities, i.e., the faculty, foreign students, graduate students, etc., plus a variety of other groups ranging from the campus newspaper to political and social groups each of which should have the power to decide its own affairs democratically within each community. The controversy arises over which questions are the primary business of which communities. I do not pretend to know the full answer, but I am persuaded that one of our essential tasks (is it too much to suggest that perhaps political scientists have a special responsibility here?) is to identify the particular principles we should follow when responding to students who demand a vote in departmental decision-making.

If everything is not completely clear, some things are not entirely clouded. I am prepared to defend the proposition that it is the major responsibility of the faculty to make decisions about and maintain control over academic matters. I know this view is not universally shared, perhaps because those who disagree do not assign the same priority I do to faculty competence. I do not wish to argue the point here, except to say I agree with the contention that faculty competence is not merely an "acquired skill" which students, through exposure and practice, can "pick up." Experience, knowledge, years of study and reflection, the sense of proportion necessary to make discriminating judgments on complex matters – these are but a few of the qualities which help to make academic decisions responsible (but not infallible). Professor Morris is right: we owe our students and ourselves this kind of honesty.

But this should be only the beginning of our concerns. Because I would not support any motion to give students an equal vote in departmental faculty meetings does not mean that I do not believe they have an important role to play in the deliberations of the department. The distinction is an important one. Students have legitimate interests in a number of academic areas, e.g., teaching effectiveness, curriculum, etc., and I see no reason why they should not serve on the department committees which deal with these matters. They can provide information and opinion that can come from no other source. But having an effective voice does not translate automatically into having a vote equal to that of a faculty member. Furthermore, the whole question of voting rights for students has too often been badly stated and given far more atten-

tion and importance than it warrants, as students will quickly discover for themselves when they get put on various committees. Like many other issues of our time, the issue of voting gets swept up in a self-generating symbolism which is then used to mobilize student sentiment. The real issue is influence, and the sole measure of influence is not just the right to vote. One could meet every evening with the President of the United States, quietly, unobtrusively and without "voting" any place, and have considerable influence on his thinking, particularly if he found the counsel worth listening to. Influence in a department is the opportunity to have important ideas carefully organized, presented and considered – in short, the chance for those who are genuinely concerned with the welfare of the department to make thoughtful and helpful contributions in areas where they are qualified or interested.

There are one or two other variations on this general theme which deserve at least a word in passing. I do not reveal any secrets when I say that the appropriation of participatory democracy by the radicals of the student Left too often simply means the sharing of power among themselves. (For others it may reflect a more serious and broadly based concern.) One thing about the student radicals, perhaps their great virtue: they are volunteers, which is to say self-chosen. They represent themselves, which is why any serious talk about participatory democracy must be paralleled by a concern for representative democracy. Otherwise the political activists seeking radical change, taking advantage of conditions which suit their purposes, will convert participatory democracy into plebiscitary democracy and, with great manipulatory skill, proclaim themselves the spokesmen for the passive majority.

Consider the experience in one department of political science at a major university. The decision was made to permit students on the undergraduate and graduate curriculum committees. According to the chairman, they quickly ran into difficulties arising out of the problem of selection and representation. Out of some 400 majors, 20 or so took part in the procedures by which student "representatives" were chosen. Predictably, they were the political radicals. In retrospect, the chairman feels the faculty made a mistake in not insisting on a more sound and appropriate system of representation.

In its application to academic decision-making bodies the whole notion of representation poses special considerations. Kingman Brewster, Presi-

dent of Yale University, maintains that representation is not "the clue to university improvement, indeed that if carried too far it could lead to disaster." He feels that most students are not sufficiently interested in devoting their time and energies to the running of the university "to make it likely that 'participatory democracy' will be truly democratic." Besides, he says, most students would prefer the faculty and administration rather than their classmates to make the policies of the university. He believes that the proper response to legitimate demands from students that they be protected against incompetence and unresponsiveness "is not formal representation in all matters. It is administrative accountability," by which he means "full disclosure of the process by which decisions are made, the right of petition by those affected by decisions, and some regular, understood process whereby reappraisal of the competence of the administration and the community's confidence in it can be undertaken without waiting putsch or rebellion." There is much good sense here. Whether or not it is communicable in the highly charged atmosphere that frequently surrounds the debate over student representation is less clear.

But there is another concern of even more pressing importance. In recent years we have witnessed the intrusion of politics onto the campus and the enormous strains and tensions it has created. In my own view this is the most alarming development in the academic community and the most crucial issue. Time that might better be invested in rethinking our educational programs and problems is being used in political activities one of whose major consequences is the deepening of hostilities and divisions. It is against the backdrop of this increasingly politicized climate that one must consider some of the ramifications of student representation.

One example may illuminate my anxiety about increasing "the political component in academic decisions." When we serve as faculty members on a department committee, we are not and should not be there "representing" any political faction or interest group. The fact is that as committee members we normally represent no one but ourselves. We have no political obligations and are not hostage to any political constituency. For better or worse, we are there (usually with great reluctance) simply as individuals, uninstructed and, more often than not, unnoticed. A major concern, expressed most eloquently by Martin Trow, is that students, elected through some political

Some Reflections on Student Participation and Representation

process, will see themselves as representing constituencies with firm attitudes and interests, and this, "coupled with the continuing fear of every student politician of being outflanked on the left, makes their position highly resistant, if not impervious, to change through reasoned argument in the ordinary give and take of committee discussion." Academic committees, in other words, are not likely to prosper in a politicized environment.

Let me turn to some of the more specific or concrete dimensions of the problem. Assume for the moment that the faculty has agreed that majors in political science should have a voice in the affairs of the department. Let us also assume that it is felt that their role should be an important one because they have something of value to contribute. If this is a reasonable *description* of the faculty's position, it cannot in any sense be considered a *prescription* of what to do or how to proceed. It is precisely here that the problem becomes complicated. How are students to be selected? How are the majors in political science to be identified and legitimated? Will graduate and undergraduate students be regarded as one constituency or given separate but equal status? What principle and/or practice of selection and representation should be required? Should students vote in faculty department meetings, and, if so, how many? Should they have a vote on any department committees, all committees, or just some committees? These are complex questions. There are no quick or pat answers.

There are some who say that students should "be" on department faculty committees. Many of them do not say much more than that. The following list of practices and procedures by which undergraduate majors might be selected is neither definitive nor exhaustive. It is intended to be suggestive of what there is to think about.

- 1 One method is to have the faculty pick the students, using any method or criteria it deems fair. In one political science department a sign-up sheet was posted for students who had an interest in serving on a given committee. The faculty members on the committee then selected two or three students from the list.

- 2 Another method is to have the faculty conduct an election among majors in the department. A mail ballot is used, thereby assuring everyone a chance to vote.

- 3 A different practice is to have some ad hoc

organization of student majors, at a specially called meeting, nominate those who are to represent the majors in political science. But there is an important difference between this method and a mail ballot. Many students will detect any ideological coloration which might infuse certain types of organization "meetings" and for this reason refuse to attend. The mail ballot removes this problem, especially if it is supervised in some measure by the faculty who, incidentally, may have to underwrite the financial cost.

It should not go unmentioned that majors in political science do not always, much less inevitably, constitute a natural community. Many of them do not know each other and have no built-in way of getting the kind of information and knowledge necessary for an intelligent vote. In fact, the whole student body in a real sense is much more of a community in that it at least has a way of telling people about each other through the campus newspaper and other organizations involved in the multiple affairs of campus life. This is not the case with undergraduate majors. (Certain aspects of a community are much more likely to be present among graduate students.) This train of thought leads to still another possibility.

Some randomizing device could be used to pick students. For example, every major might be assigned a number, then drawn by lot, and phoned to see if he would be willing to serve. Numbers would be drawn and students phoned until the needs are fulfilled. The particular advantage of this procedure is that every major has an equal opportunity of being chosen.

None of these alternative plans (and others suggested by them) is without defects. But a more serious mistake would be our unwillingness to give them careful consideration in an attempt to determine how best to accommodate our own situation.

I wonder if part of the difficulty in trying to arrive at some agreement on the whole question of student participation has something to do with the way we have formulated the problem. I refer again to the tendency to be more preoccupied with structural concerns (e.g., who is to vote) than with how to get the best and most efficient work done on the substantive policy matters facing the department. The experience in one Law School is instructive. Last year some of the students were concerned about grading policies. There was, of course, a faculty committee reviewing policy in

this area. No student served on the committee. Instead, the chairman urged those students who had expressed a special interest in the problem to present to the committee some ideas and suggestions of their own. The result was impressive. The students researched the problem fully, taking many weeks to draft a report which reflected their grievances and offered thoughtful recommendations leading to changes in grading policy that not only met with faculty approval but went beyond their own. As the chairman put it, "They did a lot of homework because they really cared. And we all profited from it, far more so than if we had simply added one or two students to our own committee."

There are many who believe that the encouragement of parallel student committees, working on a given substantive issue and serving in an advisory capacity to the department, is an especially responsible procedure.

I come back to what is an irreducible minimum: That faculty control over all academic decisions must not be compromised. (In this connection, students should not be members of the tenure and promotion committees of the department. One important reason is the faculty's need to preserve and safeguard the principle of confidentiality.) In the Harvard Law School students serve on the curriculum committee, participate in its discussions, and the weight of their advice is given serious attention. But there are two important understandings: a) The curriculum committee concerns itself with broad policy matters, e.g., should there be more emphasis on social science in the law curriculum. It does not make specific decisions, e.g., what courses should or should not be offered or removed from the curriculum; and b) the committee's recommendations are not binding on the full faculty which alone makes all final decisions.

It follows from what I have attempted to develop here that students should not vote in faculty meetings of the department. Some will say that perhaps the students can have one vote. I find this unsatisfactory. One vote, it seems to me, is patronizing, and yet two, three or more votes may very well be crucial. As an alternative, should students be permitted to *attend* department faculty meetings (without the right to vote) on a regular basis? If so, how many students? Or should faculty meetings be closed to students? Or should they attend only upon special invitation and for pre-arranged purpose? Experience suggests that this is a most likely area for faculty and students to work out some "compromise position." But the question

persists: Can an accommodation be reached without increasing the level of political activity and conflict? (An incident that took place at a large university a year ago may be of some interest. Hundreds of students attended a department meeting, seating themselves among the faculty members who, without much choice, were scattered throughout the auditorium. As one professor later described it, "The students did not participate in the meeting. They just hissed and booed and generally made their views known to those members of the faculty who felt they wanted to speak under those conditions." The experience was not regarded as especially valuable. There has been no faculty enthusiasm to repeat it.)

I have been talking about matters of governance and decision-making in the department. There is no presumption on my part of complete assurance about everything that has been said. I have simply threaded my way through a number of ideas and considerations in the hope that one man's attempt to grapple with them will strike a responsive chord in others who may also be trying to enlighten their own understanding. Of one thing I am certain: anyone who becomes deeply involved in the debate over increased participation by students in departmental affairs will find that as layer after layer of the problem is peeled back, he will be forced to confront and articulate his own private schema of values and how they bear on his conception of what a university is for. The problem at issue is that fundamental. In some cases it may even introduce a constitutional crisis in a department of considerable magnitude. The question then becomes: At what cost?

Faculty members should be prepared to discover that their arguments, no matter how cogent or persuasive they may seem to be, may carry little or no weight with many students. Very likely they will be turned upside down and used against them. Example: Rousseau wrote about "transient interests" as over against something that approximates a more "permanent" interest. So have others. Many of our faculty colleagues make the point that by the very nature of things students have a kind of transient interest in the affairs of the department. In more contemporary terms, they are saying that the "time horizon" of students is different. As members of the faculty they believe that experience, knowledge and continuity are necessary and important qualifications for making academic decisions. But the radical students of the Left, who want not representative democracy but "direct" democracy, easily convert qualifications into dis-

Some Reflections on Student Participation and Representation

qualifications by proclaiming that the students' transient interest in the university is precisely what gives them special credentials and therefore a "right" to share in the control of academic policy. Why? Because (the language is from the University of Oxford Report) "The short years of a student's stay are far more important to him than the same years of the permanent staff . . . the faculty member enclosed in the prevailing orthodoxies of his time is blind to the radical alternatives to existing policies and methods of which the young, the ignorant, and the inexperienced have an undimmed vision." Thus everything is inverted. To quote from "The Meaning of the Student Revolt" in *Student Power*, the students "have a much greater interest in the institution and its courses than the teaching staff . . . it follows that students have just as much right to power and control in universities and colleges as staff."

I return to my principal concern -- namely, the consequences which will accrue to an academic community (in this case a department) when its members are increasingly forced to make decisions and choices in a heightened political atmosphere. When educational concerns get transferred into political issues, the first casualty is the consensual basis on which a department rests and depends. It quickly gets shattered as passion, partisanship and power replace mutual trust, reason and civility. The reaction of many of our faculty colleagues is predictable: not having the thirst for political engagement, they will seek to make and withdraw to their own enclaves of teaching, research and scholarship. But as Professor Trow reminds us, this works only if those who *are* interested in politics share the basic values of the faculty and remain committed to the protection of the fragile environment in which those values are nourished. Given the present direction of much student and faculty sentiment, the outlook remains in doubt.

The Persecution of Political and Social Scientists in Brazil

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In recent issues of *PS*, American political and social scientists have been accused – by their colleagues – of *subservience* to the established order. Of equal concern to the profession should be the paradoxical plight of their Brazilian colleagues who, while pursuing much the same goals and utilizing many of the same techniques of inquiry, find themselves accused – by their government – of *subversion*, and very actively persecuted for this charge.

The following is a description of the situation of Brazilian social scientists since December 1968. Official censorship, self-imposed prudence and the understandable propensity for foreign journalists to concentrate on the more spectacular and horrifying aspects of Brazil's current regime, e.g. torture, assassination by "political police" or vigilante group, arbitrary arrest and loss of political rights by prominent politicians, make it difficult to obtain reliable documentation. Much of the information I gathered personally during a three week stay in Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo and Pôrto Alegre in May of 1969. This has been updated with the help of Brazilian scholars resident in the United States. For obvious reasons I cannot recognize their efforts personally. I would, however, like to thank Mr. William Wipfler of National Council of the Churches of Christ and Professor Ralph Della Cava of Queens University who are preparing a comprehensive dossier on civil rights violations for proximate publication. Peter Bell, formerly with the Ford Foundation in Rio, has been particularly helpful with information and criticism.

In April of 1964 Brazil experienced a military coup – to the immediate and obvious satisfaction of authorities in Washington.¹ Many regarded it as providing an expedient caretaker to correct the inflationary, "demagogic" excesses of the previous Goulart regime and pave the way for a rapid return of democratic normality. They were destined to be sorely disappointed as the military openly proclaimed their intention of exercising a much more prolonged, tutelary role. The first "Revolutionary Government" (Castello Branco, 1964-67) swept away the previous party system, deprived over eight hundred persons of all political rights for ten years,² purged much of the civil service, periodically shut down the Congress and left in its wake an immense quantity of decreed legislation, not the least of

which was a new constitution. There was widespread hope that his successor, General Arthur da Costa e Silva, the former War Minister, would "humanize" the policies of the "Revolution" and respect the new constitution which, while institutionalizing strong authoritarian rule, at least might have eliminated some of its more arbitrary manifestations.

The Fifth Institutional Act. This prospect was abruptly cancelled by the promulgation of the Fifth Institutional Act on December 13, 1968. The immediate "provocation" for the Act was the refusal of Congress to waive the immunity of one of its members who had dared to speak out against the military after their invasion of the University of Brasília and who was, therefore, accused of "publicly inciting animosity between the armed forces." But the resultant act was entirely out of proportion to the intensity of the Deputy's speech or the Congress' refusal to exorcise itself of him. It was in fact much less a specific counter-measure by the Government than a reaction by the "Hard Line" faction within the military to what they perceived as an alarming drift in Brazil toward political accommodation and liberalization. In the clearest language possible a determinant group of military officials announced to the Brazilian people that it would not tolerate even a return to the oligarchic, "bourgeois republican", norms of the post-war period, especially those concerning tolerance of civil and political liberties. Following its promulgation, the Government disbanded the Federal Congress and several state legislatures, retired from the Supreme Court several of its judges, suspended the political rights of dozens of politicians and former political activists, arrested still dozens more after summary procedures, and engaged in extensive censorship of mass media. It did not immediately attack members of the academic profession, but concentrated on purges within the "political class."

Ominous signs, however, appeared during the early months of 1969. The *Ato*, itself, removed constitutional guarantees concerning Federal employment and empowered the President of the Republic to "dismiss, remove, retire or make available (*disponível*) any (federal, state, municipal, or territorial) employees . . . with salaries proportional to their term of service." Since a vast majority of

1 For descriptive and interpretive material on the March 30-April 1, 1964 Coup see Richard R. Fagen and Wayne A. Cornelius (eds.), *Political Power in Latin America: Seven Confrontations* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1970), pp. 155-227.

2 According to a recent article by Joseph Novitski in the *New York Times* (February 9, 1970) there were approximately 1,116 "non-persons" whose political rights had been suspended for ten years by the three "revolutionary" regimes.

The Persecution of Political and Social Scientists in Brazil

Brazil's scholars are publicly employed, the potential threat to their tenure and freedom of expression was obvious. Even more ominous were the provisions suspending *habeas corpus*, judicial review of executive decisions made under the Act, and permitting the President to decree further *Atos* at his discretion.

In a climate of widespread apprehension – stimulated by rumors of dismissals of professors and personal vendettas at provincial universities (the censored newspapers carried no mention of these events) – the Government issued Decree-Law no. 477 (February 26, 1969) which “defines disciplinary infractions practised by professors, students, employees, and workers of public and private teaching establishments.” Barring strikes and stoppages, the *organization* of subversive movements, parades, marches, etc. and the production, distribution, or storage of subversive material “of any type” as well as other activities, the decree added a particularly sinister innovation by making the director of the school personally responsible for initiating an inquiry in the event of a complaint and for disciplining the accused within 48 hours “by summary procedures.” Punishments are to run from a five-year prohibition of employment in the case of teaching and administrative personnel to a three-year expulsion for students with fellowship aid to be denied for five years. “In the case of foreign fellowship students, immediate expulsion from the country” is the stated punishment.

A subsequent regulation of the decree gave a more prominent role in the initiation of accusations to the Division of Security and Information of the Ministry of Education, a quasi-military, secret police unit within the Ministry. It also invited “any other authority or person” to file complaints!³ All investigations are to pass through this Division which will exercise, in conjunction with the Minister, ultimate authority over judgement and sentencing.

The Forced Retirement of Professors in Rio and São Paulo. In the midst of public relations campaigns intended to “tranquillize spirits,” promote a “return to political normality,” and appeal to Brazilian scholars abroad to repatriate themselves, the Rio de Janeiro newspapers of April 26, 1969

carried almost without comment a list of 44 “public employees” who had been (involuntarily) retired with pay proportional to their time of service. With few exceptions, these consisted of university professors. On this first list were such prominent professors as Florestan Fernandes, José Leite Lopes, Roberto Accioli, Manuel Maurício de Albuquerque, and Eulália Maria Lannayer Lobo.

Four days later (April 30) a second and much longer list was promulgated, this one containing mostly politicians and diplomats, along with 24 professors at the University of São Paulo (USP). Again the primary target seemed to have been social scientists, e.g. Caio Prado Junior, Fernando Henrique Cardoso, Octavio Ianni, Paula Beiguelman and Paulo Singer, although it also contained a number of very prominent scholars in the physical sciences and medicine.

In neither case were any specific accusations levied against the dismissed professors and researchers, nor were they given the slightest opportunity to defend themselves before or after “sentencing”. The decisions came abruptly and arbitrarily – without warning to those involved and without explanation to the public at large.

The analysis of the process, motives, and consequences – to say nothing about predictions of likely future behavior – is bound to be excessively speculative in an *ambiente* such as Brazil is currently experiencing. Fragmentary data, allusions, rumors, supposition, and pure guesswork substitute for the systematic juxtaposition of multiple observations. The almost complete censorship of the newspapers insures incomplete information on the part of Government officials, as well as the affected parties and outside observers.

From a series of informal interviews and what has been available publicly, I can offer the following speculations as to process, motive, and consequences.

Process. There were significant differences in the way in which the two lists of “retirees” were elaborated. The first was, in the opinion of all, “badly done.” In at least one case, the victim (Bolívar Lamounier, a Ph.D. candidate at UCLA currently working with the Candido Mendes Research Institute), was fired from a Federal position which he had never occupied. Others seemed to have been similarly irrationally accused or selected. The principal target, however, was the teaching and research staff of the Instituto de Filosofia e

3 This system of institutionalized denunciation within educational establishments operates somewhat independently of the other national security services – all of which also have their agents posted in classrooms. I was told of one professor in São Paulo who was fired when he publicly protested the frequent interruption of his classes by political police agents arresting students!

Ciências Sociais (IFCS) of the Federal University of Rio. (Formerly, when I taught there in 1965-66, it was called the Instituto de Ciências Sociais da Universidade do Brasil.)

The initiative apparently came from the investigating commission inside the Ministry of Education composed of a General and two professors, one of whom is a retired colonel. Accusations were reportedly filed against their colleagues by various radical rightist professors within the Institute and the University who had the necessary contacts with military officials and could thereby eliminate their political and personal opponents within these institutions.

The second (São Paulo) list also bears the stamp of a personal vendetta rooted in faculty politics. The then Minister of Justice, Luiz Antônio da Gama e Silva, was the former rector of USP and the victims read suspiciously like a list of his personal opponents, a group of younger professors devoted to university reform. Whereas the first list appeared suddenly, a presidential decree with little or no prior collegial evaluation, the second issued from an elaborate and publicized meeting of the National Security Council (CSN) and followed what might be called the "normal" channels of repressive policy-making.

The point to be made here is that the decisional process in contemporary Brazil has become extremely erratic and unpredictable. In some cases to get a repressive decision it suffices simply to get the ear of a highly placed military official. In other cases an elaborate formal procedure is followed involving deliberation by the whole Cabinet, although inside information on the CSN meeting indicated that none of the civilian Ministers dared question Gama e Silva's list and that the meeting itself was a mere formality. It is widely believed that civilian ministers and state governors even within their specific policy sector or geographic area, are not capable or influential enough to prevent repressive initiatives emanating from military sources. The Minister of Education was reliably reported not to have known of the first list before it was published in the papers; the Governor of São Paulo was informed of the second list by the radio report.

Motives. From the preceding description, it would appear that private objectives rooted in internal faculty disputes played an important role. Nevertheless, certain interesting "coincidences" suggest other possible motives. The "retired" professors

had two characteristics in common: (1) They were almost invariably among the most popular with students; (2) They were strongly committed to and active in university reform. As a group they certainly could not be (and indeed were not) accused of flagrant leftism or subversion. There is no evidence of any organizational links with opposition groups or radical ideological convictions on the part of the group as a whole. The presence of a certain number of scientists of well-known *apolitical* learnings but who "suffered" from their popularity with students and their interest in modernizing their respective faculties confirms in the minds of many observers what seemed to be the ulterior motives behind the repressive acts. Also many more obviously leftist professors who were less popular or active in university reform were unscathed by the purge.

The fact that social scientists were especially hard-hit has convinced many that the military are especially wary about undergraduate instruction in these disciplines. One informant reported knowledge of an internal report in the Superior War School which concluded that social science was too "intoxicating" for undergraduates and, therefore, should not be taught, although no objections were raised against research or graduate instruction.

The initial concentration of effort on the Instituto de Filosofia e Ciências Sociais in Rio de Janeiro was also a clear indication of the Government's intention to punish professors sympathetic to student protest demands. Students of the IFCS had been particularly active in the demonstrations of last year; its directory had been periodically harassed by accusation, military interrogation, and even a bomb explosion in front of their building in Botafogo, largely on the vague grounds of promoting student political activism. It was, not jokingly, accused of being the "Nanterre Carioca."

Consequences. Of course, the most immediate one has been the stoppage of much of the country's important research in the physical and medical sciences, the complete collapse of the Social Science Institute in Rio de Janeiro, and the paralysis of the Faculty of Philosophy in São Paulo. In the latter case, students spontaneously went on strike (without, of course, calling it such). A Committee for the Defense and Autonomy of USP was formed with the ludicrously cautious assertion that it was "with apolitical character." In Rio de Janeiro the response has been less concerted and more anomic – a sort of diffuse feeling of anger, fear, and helplessness.

The Persecution of Political and Social Scientists in Brazil

The Probable Future. The dreariest scenario suggested that these events were only the tip of an iceberg – the first move in a carefully calculated, “salami-slicing,” tactic aimed ultimately at destroying the independent academic life of the country, especially in the social sciences, by eliminating one group of scholars after another. Based on a meticulous “cost-benefit” analysis, the hard line military would single out a certain marginal set of victims, remove them while the others who remain relatively unaffected by the first slice simply wait their turn. Backing this interpretation were some of the ideological pronouncements and expressions of objectives put out by the military, the statement of the Justice Minister that “the punishments have no quantitative limit and are going to reach all sectors of national life”; the failure of the Governor of São Paulo to appoint as new rector of USP the name most voted on by the University Council as traditionally had been the case, and the strange notices that military officers have been insisting on their right to enter the universities to take courses and degrees without taking the usual entrance examination.

The second scenario depicted the Costa e Silva regime as exceedingly narrowly-based, vulnerable to military factionalism, hopelessly confused, following contradictory and self-defeating policies (e.g. publicly promoting an elaborate university reform bill and then expelling most of the professors interested in the reform; attempting to close the technological gap à la Servan-Schreiber and then forcing the most dynamic and original researchers to resign), and completely lacking a predictable, logical decision-making structure. Decisions emerged from a variety of sources based on a puzzling combination of individual initiative, personal vendetta, military support, and infighting between cliques within the regime – with no apparent method or madness. The President, Costa e Silva, was viewed as basically a weak figure who had to permit a great deal of delegation of decisional autonomy, (although the President must ultimately sign all decrees) and who was kept deliberately ill-informed by a tight circle of rightist military advisors and a bland, thoroughly censored press.

In either scenario, the future of academic freedom and original research in Brazil seemed grim. Whether they came as part of a careful plan or as the result of vengeful, isolated initiatives, everyone anticipated further “retirements” of university personnel. A sense of impending doom coupled with helplessness, but so far not accompanied by

panic, penetrated all areas of intellectual endeavor. For a country with an enviable past record for tolerance and the protection of civil liberties, it was a sad tale. For a researcher who was returning to Brazil for the first time in three years, it had been a shocking experience.

Epilogue. The remaining months of the Costa e Silva regime⁴ unfortunately confirmed the pessimistic prediction that the April-May events of 1969 were only the beginning of an attempt to destroy independent intellectual inquiry in Brazil. As the President's grip on executive decision-making weakened steadily, the number and variety of repressive acts by the military and “political police” increased. The two major university centers spared in the first round of “retirements” were purged. In Minas Gerais, over a dozen professors lost their positions, including Júlio Barbosa, head of the Political Science Department and director of the Ford Foundation's Minas project.⁵ In Rio Grande do Sul, twenty-eight were forcibly retired, again without charges or chance to defend themselves. In fact, the “crime” of eight of these was merely to have signed a letter expressing their solidarity with the twenty victims of the first purge list. Again, the director of the Ford Foundation sponsored political science program, Leônidas Xausa, was dismissed. Even the pattern of dismissal was similar: no warning, a politically heterogeneous list which included acknowledged conservatives and *apoliticals*, mostly promoters of university reform who had been popular with students and a heavy emphasis on social scientists.

Personal denunciations to military authorities again played a crucial role. In addition to these collective purges, individual scholars such as Rio sociology professor and labor lawyer, Evaristo de Moraes Filho, have been suddenly and involuntarily retired. Rumors of similar acts against professors at less accessible universities (e.g. Paraná and Goiás) are rife but difficult to document. Now that the faculties have been purged of their tenured dissidents, the subservient remainder have begun to refuse to rehire younger, non-tenured professors. All new hirings reportedly must be preceded by security

4 Costa e Silva suffered an incapacitating heart attack. After a tense and prolonged interregnum by *junta*, the Armed Forces High Command managed to agree on a candidate, General Emilio Garrastazu Médici, and imposed him as president on October 1969, constitutional provisions to the contrary notwithstanding.

5 Frank Bonilla of Stanford University was visiting professor at the Minas project. In solidarity with his colleagues he formally resigned his post, although he continues to reside and work informally with students in Belo Horizonte.

clearances and several recently returned students with Ph.D.s from American universities have found these difficult to obtain, although at least two finally were appointed.

Nor did the Fifth Institutional Act put an end to new repressive decrees aimed at the academic community. One major source of initial ambiguity was whether or not the government would prevent "retired" professors from teaching in private institutions or doing research on projects with public funding. The Complementary Act No. 77 (October 22, 1969) put an end to uncertainty and barred them from all teaching positions, public or private, and from all projects which receive government support or which "concern national security." This apparently has had an impact on hiring at the supposedly independent Fundação Getúlio Vargas in Rio, although some private universities and research institutions continue to hire and contract "retired" scholars.

With the coming to power of General Medici in October of last year another wave of optimism swept the country. He initially promised an effort to return Brazil to democracy by the end of his term of office (1974) and publicly admitted what everyone knew privately, that police torture had become commonplace, and announced his intention to put a stop to it. Nevertheless, Medici refused to discuss an amnesty or to rescind the Fifth Institutional Act thereby restoring rights of *habeas corpus*, with the argument that "the coexistence of (the constitutional and exceptional) juridical orders is indispensable." Instead, he prohibited all comment and reporting on torture cases in December 1969 and decreed a very strict Censorship Law in February 1970.⁶ Although a later regulation of the Law exempted "philosophic, scientific and pedagogical books" from *prior* censorship, it is not yet clear how effectively this distinction will be maintained. I can testify from personal experience that book publishers are very reluctant to take chances on social science texts and monographs. Finally, to put a definitive end to optimistic speculation about liberalization, after four months in office, he publicly

retracted his earlier promise and announced that "The revolutionary state will last as long as it takes to implant the political, administrative, juridical, social and economic structures capable of raising all Brazilians to a minimum level of well-being."⁷

Since General Medici's ascent to office, there has been something of a lull in the persecution of academics. Of course, much of the dirty work had been done feverishly in the months before and the "revolutionary government" can now rely on the prudence and subservience of those left in senior positions to purge dissident *assistentes* and deny access to "unreliable" newcomers.⁸ Nevertheless, purged scholars have been permitted to work, provided they have no contact with students and refrain from tackling controversial national issues. In fact, their "collaboration" has been welcomed in such innocuous areas as city planning. Financially, one of them confided to me, they are better off in private *consultorias* than previously in poorly-paid university positions, but it was frustrating not to be able to work on the problems they wanted to.

A particularly portentous decision is currently (March 1970) shaping up over the trial, by military tribunal, of Caio Prado Junior, an eminent economic historian. For the first time, the regime is persecuting a university professor beyond "mere" loss of employment. He is being charged with a crime against national security not for his latest book, *A Revolução Brasileira*, but for an interview he gave to a student newspaper defending this work against ultra-leftist attacks! Dr. Prado, who is 63, could be sentenced to from one to three years in jail. A group of American social scientists has formed to defend him,⁹ as did a similar group when the purges began in the spring of 1969. So far, however, the Brazilian military have shown no sensitivity to such appeals from international public opinion.

Independent inquiry in the social sciences stands officially accused in Brazil of exerting a subversive

6 Verified and detailed accounts of torture began pouring out of Brazil in late 1969. For examples, see *The New Republic*, August 2, 1969; *Newsweek*, December 8, 1969; *Le Monde*, October 2, 1969 and October 16, 1969; *Der Spiegel*, December 15, 1969; *Mensaje* (Santiago de Chile), January-February 1970; *New York Times*, March 5, 1970. The latter incident occurred five months after Medici was inaugurated. By far the best single account of the intellectual climate in Brazil is José Iglesias "Report from Brazil: What the Left is Saying", *New York Times Magazine*, December 7, 1969. Iglesias specifically describes the repressive situation at the Instituto de Filosofia e Ciências Sociais in Rio.

7 *New York Times*, March 2, 1970.

8 An informant told me of one instance when the remaining tenured personnel were so afraid that no candidate was forthcoming for the post of the "retired" rector of the faculty. He had been such an acknowledged conservative that no one, regardless of his political views, felt safe in the job. The Rector of the University had to call them into his office and threaten them all with denunciation before they managed to come up with a candidate.

9 Stanley J. Stein of Princeton, Richard M. Morse of Yale, Charles Wagley of Columbia and Thomas Skidmore of Wisconsin have solicited support from other American scholars in an attempt to convince the Brazilian government of the injustice of the charge against Caio Prado Junior.

The Persecution of Political and Social Scientists in Brazil

influence on the minds of the citizenry. Its best practitioners have been persecuted; its emerging teaching and research capacity has been partially destroyed.¹⁰ Ironically, the military rulers are well aware of the need for the sort of data and analytical skills which only social scientists can provide in order to attain their twin goals of "national security" and controlled modernization. They have even commissioned a great deal of research to be done – while persecuting those who are best equipped to do it.

One possible way out of this dilemma, a way to obtain the information without incurring the political costs of training potentially non-subservient scholars, is to hire outsiders, i.e. foreigners, to do it. It is in this light that one might interpret Decree No. 65057 (August 26, 1969) instituting for the first time in contemporary Latin America, *y compris* Cuba, a comprehensive system of controls over *all* research carried out in the country. All persons, national or foreign, must apply for permission to the National Research Council (CNPq) which in turn must seek the approval of the National Security Council (CNS) in all cases ambiguously related to "national security". Foreigners must make a very detailed application 180 days in advance, mentioning the project's objectives, research methods, persons to be consulted or interviewed, Brazilian collaborators, etc. If approved (and several applications have been stalled with demands for further information), the Research Council will designate a Brazilian national to "supervise" the project.¹¹ Final results of all projects must be turned over to the government.

Were this a different regime, one might applaud certain aspects of the decree as a means for curbing much of the excessive, unilaterally exploitive practices of many Americans who have mined Latin American data for export only. In the hands of this regime, it is likely to mean that whole areas of the country, e.g. the Amazon basin and other "zones of national security," will be placed "off limits" and that numerous topics of political or social sensitivity will be simply banned. Obviously, collaborative work with "retired" scholars is not

likely to be tolerated. Until it becomes clear how Brazilian counterparts will be chosen, e.g. they may be selected from the country's large supply of "asesores pedagógicos" who act as police informers within the university, and what is meant by "final results," e.g. it might be extended to include confidential interview notes or survey questionnaires, not much research of social significance is likely to be initiated. I hope I am correct in assuming that there are few American scholars who would become party to a scheme designed to replace "national subversives" with "subservient foreigners."

10 Partially, only because surprisingly few Brazilian intellectuals have gone into exile – unlike Argentines in 1965. Most have chosen to stay, working in private organizations and quasi-public research institutions where possible. Stepped-up support, especially from the Ford Foundation, has been very important in keeping research and teaching from collapsing completely.

11 The Decree instructs all government officials to denounce "to the relevant authorities" (read political police) all cases in which researchers deviate from their originally approved design.

A PREFACE TO THE PROGRAM FOR THE 66TH APSA ANNUAL MEETING

The quarter century since the end of World War II has witnessed remarkable changes in the political science profession no less than in the world of politics that political scientists study. The United States no longer stands unchallenged at home and abroad in its political supremacy and motives. Americans have turned their energies to the solution of longstanding problems such as racial relations, to a concern with environmental control and other issues which a few had foreseen but still fewer did anything about, and even to the development of means to send men to the moon. Political scientists, for their part, have kept abreast of these changes while at the same time keeping their eyes on the central issues of politics which have preoccupied men since the days of ancient Greece and Rome. Moreover, they have opened up new fields of study, developed new concepts and methodologies to aid in their research, and, withal, proliferated mightily.

The program for the 1970 APSA Annual Meeting aims in part at a retrospective view of politics and political scientists in these past twenty-five years. The very program itself reflects some of these trends:

- In response to the growing numbers of political scientists and their scholarly productivity, the program is larger than ever before. At the time the preliminary program went to press in early April, it listed a total of 160 panels, roundtable discussions, workshops, and demonstrations, in which over 700 scholars will participate. The final program, it is expected, will comprise over 160 sessions and a thousand participants.
- The growing specialization of political science accounts for the diversity of the 26 fields into which the panels are organized. Most deal with general subject-matter fields, such as "politics and education" or "political leadership." Another set focuses upon decision making and current public policy: critical issues in American politics such as poverty, Chicanos, environmental control, and the responsibilities of the press; the Vietnam issue; and the antiballistic missile issue.
- The profession's increased interest in methodology and, particularly, in modes of gathering and analyzing data with the aid of highspeed computers led to a continuation of the workshop and demonstration sessions initiated last year. These range from a workshop on policy science education, to a demonstration on the use of computers in the interactive mode for the temporal and spatial display and analysis of urban information, to a demonstration of computer-assisted explorations of the future.
- The trend toward research at once cross-disciplinary and cross-national also finds its place throughout the various fields. One special field devotes itself almost wholly to questions of cross-national comparison.

In addition, papers in practically all fields review the developments and problems of this past quarter century; and in some instances entire panels focus on the initial consequences and lasting impact of some of its more important research projects or intellectual movements. In this sense the 1970 program as a whole seeks to contribute to the study of the political science profession itself.

By the same token, the Program Committee asked political scientists to look ahead to the next twenty-five years. How will our various political systems and processes look? What political issues are likely to be salient then? To what extent can we use past developments in our own and other professions to project the future of political science? We were not overwhelmingly successful in achieving our aim. At the present time, it seems, political scientists seem less concerned with long-range projections than with those for the immediately foreseeable future. The preliminary program nonetheless reveals an interest, which we hope is growing, in finding means to project and evaluate the consequences of alternative future. In this sense, perhaps, the 1970 program may stimulate greater scholarly concern with the not-so-immediate future.

RICHARD L. MERRITT
Program Chairman

GENERAL INFORMATION

Registration

Registration desks will be maintained in the Galeria of the Biltmore Hotel. They will be open during the following hours:

Monday, September 7—12:00 noon to 6:00 p.m.

Tuesday, September 8—9:00 a.m. to 6:00 p.m.

Wednesday, September 9—9:00 a.m. to 9:00 p.m.

Thursday, September 10—9:00 a.m. to 5:00 p.m.

Friday, September 11—9:00 a.m. to 5:00 p.m.

Saturday, September 12—9:00 a.m. to 12:00 noon

Persons arriving on Monday and Tuesday are urged to register promptly and thereby avoid the heavy registration periods later in the week.

The registration fee will be \$5.00 for APSA members and \$7.50 for non-members. Social studies teachers attending only the APSA-NCSS meetings are not expected to register. Checks will be accepted only if made out to the American Political Science Association for the exact cost of the registration fee.

At registration each person will be given an official annual meeting badge and a copy of the annual meeting Program. The badge must be displayed upon entering all panel meetings and general sessions.

Location of Meetings

All panel meetings, general sessions and special meetings will be held in either the Biltmore or the Los Angeles Hilton Hotel unless otherwise noted. The room locations of all meetings will be indicated in the annual meeting Program.

APSA Membership and Services

A membership desk will be located next to registration for the convenience of those desiring to join the Association. Membership rates are \$15.00 for annual members and \$6.00 for student members.

Information about the Association's membership services, including travel programs, insurance programs, and personnel service may also be obtained from the desk in the registration area.

Professional Placement Service

The APSA will maintain a professional placement service for its members in the Galeria Room (near the APSA registration area). It will be open throughout the meeting. It is not necessary to be a member of APSA's personnel service to use the Convention Placement Service. For further information and details concerning the placement service, see page 237 of this program.

Press Room

A press room will be located in Conference Room 5 on the Conference Level of the Biltmore Hotel. Typewriters and telephones will be available for use by members of the press only. Copies of papers delivered at the meetings will also be available.

Panel Papers

Papers presented at the meeting will be available for sale in Conference Room 2 on the Conference Level of the Biltmore Hotel.

Exhibits

Exhibits will be located in the Rex Room of the Biltmore Hotel, two floors below the Galeria Level.

Hotel Accommodations

The Biltmore Hotel is the official headquarters hotel of the annual meeting. The Biltmore offers a flat rate for all rooms: \$14.50 single; \$18.50 double or twin. A

reservation card for securing hotel accommodations is enclosed with this program. Members should make their room reservations promptly if they wish accommodations in the headquarters hotel. When the room capacity of the Biltmore Hotel is exhausted, reservations will be forwarded to nearby hotels where the same room rates will be in effect.

Diplomatic Registration and Information Desk

For the convenience of members of foreign embassies and legations attending the meeting, a registration and information desk will be maintained near the main registration desk on the Galeria Level.

Telephone Messages

A Telephone Message Center will be provided at the 1970 Annual Meeting as a courtesy service of the Pacific Telephone Company. Members wishing to leave telephone messages for people attending the annual meeting should telephone:

(A.C. 213) 629-6416
during registration hours.

SUMMARY OF PROGRAM

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 7

9:00 A.M. to 12:00 noon; 2:00 P.M. to 5:30 P.M.—Council Meeting, *The American Political Science Association*

12:00 noon to 6:00 P.M.—Registration

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 8

9:00 A.M. to 12:00 noon—Council Meeting, *The American Political Science Association*

9:00 A.M. to 6:00 P.M.—Registration

12:00 noon—Special Meetings

1:30 P.M.—Panel Meetings

4:00 P.M. to 6:30 P.M.—Business Meeting I, *The American Political Science Association*

6:00 P.M.—*American Political Science Review*, Editorial Board Dinner

6:00 P.M.—1971 *APSA* Annual Meeting Program Committee Dinner

8:30 P.M. to 10:00 P.M.—Plenary Session

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 9

9:00 A.M. to 9:00 P.M.—Registration

9:00 A.M.—Panel Meetings

12:00 noon—Special Meetings

1:30 P.M.—Panel Meetings

4:00 P.M. to 6:30 P.M.—Business Meeting II, *The American Political Science Association*

6:00 P.M.—Receptions

8:00 P.M. to 11:00 P.M.—Business Meeting III, *The American Political Science Association*

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 10

9:00 A.M. to 5:00 P.M.—Registration

9:00 A.M.—Panel Meetings

12:00 noon—Special Meetings

1:30 P.M.—Panel Meetings

4:00 P.M. to 6:30 P.M.—Business Meeting IV, *The American Political Science Association*

6:00 P.M.—Receptions

8:45 P.M. to 10:30 P.M.—Presidential Address and Presentation of Awards

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 11

9:00 A.M. to 5:00 P.M.—Registration

9:00 A.M.—Panel Meetings

1:30 P.M.—Panel Meetings

4:00 P.M. to 6:30 P.M.—Business Meeting V, *The American Political Science Association*

8:30 P.M. to 10:00 P.M.—Plenary Session

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 12

9:00 A.M. to 12:00 noon—Registration

9:00 A.M.—Panel Meetings

12:00 noon to 2:00 P.M.—Plenary Session

SCHEDULE OF PANELS AND PLENARY SESSIONS

Panel Meetings

Each panel is identified according to general subject area and time of presentation. The general subject area is indicated by *number*; the *time* of presentation by letter, as follows:

<i>General Subject Area</i>	<i>Section Number</i>	<i>Time of Presentation</i>	<i>Letter</i>
American Political Science: Growth and Prospects, 1945-1970-1995	1	Tuesday afternoon, 1:30 p.m.	A
Political Knowledge and Policy		Wednesday morning, 9:00 a.m.	B
Decisions	2	Wednesday afternoon, 1:30 p.m.	C
Formal Political Theory	3	Thursday morning, 9:00 a.m.	D
Philosophical Analysis and Politics	4	Thursday afternoon, 1:30 p.m.	E
Data and Analysis	5	Friday morning, 9:00 a.m.	F
Politics and Education	6	Friday afternoon, 1:30 p.m.	G
Public Policy and Decision Making: Critical Issues in American Politics	7	Saturday morning, 9:00 a.m.	H
Public Policy and Decision Making: The Vietnam Issue	8		
Public Policy and Decision Making: The Antiballistic Missile Issue	9		
Patterns of International Interaction	10		
International Community-Building	11		
Conflict and Peace Research	12		
International Political Communication	13		
Cross-National Comparison	14		
Comparative Communist Systems	15		
Comparative Foreign Policy	16		
Political Development	17		
Domestic Turmoil and Internal War	18		
State and Local Government	19		
Urban and Metropolitan Affairs	20		
Political Socialization	21		
Parties and Politics	22		
Political Leadership	23		
Legislatures and Legislative Behavior	24		
Administrative Behavior	25		
Judicial Systems and Behavior	26		

Plenary Sessions

Plenary Session I—Tuesday, 8:30 p.m.

Plenary Session II—Friday, 8:30 p.m.

Plenary Session III—Saturday, 12:00 noon

Special Meetings

Special Meeting I—Wed., 12:00 noon

Special Meeting II—Wed., 12:00 noon

Special Meeting III—Wed., 12:00 noon

Special Meeting IV—Thurs., 12:00 noon

Special Meeting V—Thurs., 12:00 noon

Special Meeting VI—Fri., 12:00 noon

Special Meeting VII—Fri., 12:00 noon

Special Meeting VIII—Fri., 12:00 noon

Special Meeting IX—Sat., 12:00 noon

Richard L. Merritt, *University of Illinois*

Chairman, Program Committee

I. American Political Science: Growth and Prospects, 1945-1970-1995

Austin Ranney, University of Wisconsin

Panel 1-A. Seminal Research Projects Revisited: Parties and Elections—
1:30 p.m., Tuesday

Panel 1-B1. Seminal Research Projects Revisited: Legislatures—9:00 a.m.,
Wednesday

Panel 1-B2. Emergent Possibilities for Political Science (Organized by the
Caucus for a New Political Science)—9:00 a.m., Wednesday

Panel 1-C. Cognitive Value Orientations and Black Community Research—
1:30 p.m., Wednesday

Panel 1-D. A Comparative Socio-Political Analysis of Black and White
Political Scientists in the United States—9:00 a.m., Thursday

Panel 1-E1. Colloquium on the Scholarly Role of Political Scientists: The
Relative Emphasis on Explanation and Evaluation—1:30 p.m.,
Thursday

Panel 1-E2. Has American Political Science Failed to Provide Political
Education? (Organized by the Conference for Democratic Poli-
tics)—1:30 p.m., Thursday

Panel 1-F. Colloquium on the Social Role of Political Scientists: Ethical
Issues—9:00 a.m., Friday

Panel 1-G1. Colloquium on Political Science and the Exchange of Scientific
Information—1:30 p.m., Friday

Panel 1-G2. Political Science: Profession or Vocation (Organized by the
Caucus for a New Political Science)—1:30 p.m., Friday

Panel 1-H. Radicalism in the Social Sciences (Organized by the Caucus for
a New Political Science)—9:00 a.m., Saturday

II. Political Knowledge and Policy Decisions

Davis B. Bobrow, U.S. Department of Defense

Panel 2-B. Policy Knowledge vs. Political Science Research—9:00 a.m.,
Wednesday

Panel 2-C. "The Policy Sciences" in Retrospect and Prospect—1:30 p.m.,
Wednesday

Panel 2-D. The Use of Computers in the Interactive Mode for the Temporal
and Spatial Display and Analysis of Urban Information—9:00
a.m., Thursday

Panel 2-E. Aggregative Research in a Policy Context—1:30 p.m., Thursday

Panel 2-F. Science Policy Revisited—9:00 a.m., Friday

Panel 2-H. Political Knowledge and Budget Decisions: Defense and Con-
gress—9:00 a.m., Saturday

III. Formal Political Theory

Hayward R. Alker, Jr., Massachusetts Institute of Technology

Panel 3-B. Quantitative Political History—9:00 a.m., Wednesday

Panel 3-C. Contemporary Formal Theory—1:30 p.m., Wednesday

Panel 3-E. Formal Analysis of Concept Formation—1:30 p.m., Thursday

Panel 3-F. Mathematical Futures—9:00 a.m., Friday

IV. Philosophical Analysis and Politics

Judith N. Shklar, Harvard University

Panel 4-A. Liberalism and its Critics—1:30 p.m., Tuesday

Panel 4-B. World War Two: Was it a Just War?—9:00 a.m., Wednesday

Panel 4-C. Anarchism in the History of Political Thought—1:30 p.m., Wednesday

Panel 4-D. Contemporary Analytical Philosophy and Political Theory—9:00 a.m., Thursday

Panel 4-E. A Meeting with Eric Voegelin (Organized by the Conference for Democratic Politics)—1:30 p.m., Thursday

Panel 4-F. The Future of Conservatism (Organized by the Conference for Democratic Politics)—9:00 a.m., Friday

Panel 4-G. Legitimacy: Law or Ideology?—1:30 p.m., Friday

Panel 4-H. Federalism (Organized by the Conference for Democratic Politics)—9:00 a.m., Saturday

V. Data and Analysis

Elinor C. Ostrom, Indiana University

Panel 5-A. Biological Factors in Political Behavior—1:30 p.m., Tuesday

Panel 5-B. The Analysis of Problems of Public Choice (Organized in Conjunction with the Public Choice Society)—9:00 a.m., Wednesday

Panel 5-C. Analysis of Public Policy Data: I—1:30 p.m., Wednesday

Panel 5-D. Analysis of Public Policy Data: II—9:00 a.m., Thursday

Panel 5-E1. The Epistemological Foundations of the Science of Politics (Organized by the Conference for Democratic Politics)—1:30 p.m., Thursday

Panel 5-E2. Workshop on Social and Political Indicators—1:30 p.m., Thursday

Panel 5-F1. Measurement and Measurement Technique—9:00 a.m., Friday

Panel 5-F2. Computer Applications for Political Inquiry: Using *SPSS* under *URSA*—9:00 a.m., Friday

Panel 5-G. Computer Applications for Political Inquiry: Using *FASD* under *URSA*—1:30 p.m., Friday

Panel 5-H. Computer Applications for Political Inquiry: Resource Allocation over a Network—9:00 a.m., Saturday

VI. Politics and Education

Robert H. Salisbury, Washington University, St. Louis

Panel 6-A. The Pre-Collegiate Curriculum—1:30 p.m., Tuesday

Panel 6-B. Workshop Concerning the Future Role of Teaching in Political Science (Organized by the Caucus for a New Political Science)—9:00 a.m., Wednesday

Panel 6-C. What do we Teach our Students: Post-Behavioral Political Science—1:30 p.m., Wednesday

Panel 6-D. The University as a Political System—9:00 a.m., Thursday

Panel 6-E. *Plato* and the Teaching of Political Science—1:30 p.m., Thursday

Panel 6-F. Education and the Political Environment—9:00 a.m., Friday

Panel 6-G. Revolution in the Classroom: Teaching vs. Learning (Organized by the Caucus for a New Political Science)—1:30 p.m., Friday

Panel 6-H. Consequences of Different Kinds of Teaching (Organized by the Caucus for a New Political Science)—9:00 a.m., Saturday

VII. Public Policy and Decision Making: Critical Issues in American Politics

Charles O. Jones, University of Pittsburgh

Panel 7-A. The Politics of Welfare—1:30 p.m., Tuesday

Panel 7-B. Political Science and the Chicano—9:00 a.m., Wednesday

Panel 7-D. The Politics and Administration of Environmental Control—9:00 a.m., Thursday

Panel 7-E. Pollution and Politics (Organized by the Caucus for a New Political Science)—1:30 p.m., Thursday

Panel 7-F. The Responsibilities of the Press—9:00 a.m., Friday

Panel 7-G. The Press and Politics (Organized by the Conference for Democratic Politics)—1:30 p.m., Friday

Panel 7-H. Student Radicalism and Ethnic Studies (Organized by the Caucus for a New Political Science)—9:00 a.m., Saturday

VIII. Public Policy and Decision Making: The Vietnam Issue

Raymond Tanter, University of Michigan

Panel 18-B. Effects of Wars of National Liberation: Vietnam—9:00 a.m., Wednesday

Panel 8-E. Vietnam and the Policy Sciences—1:30 p.m., Thursday

Panel 8-F. Reporting and Analyzing the Vietnam War—9:00 a.m., Friday

Panel 8-G. Costs of Continuation and Extrication from Vietnam—1:30 p.m., Friday

Panel 8-H. How did the United States get into Vietnam?—9:00 a.m., Saturday

IX. Public Policy and Decision Making: The Antiballistic Missile Issue

Jeremy J. Stone, Council on Foreign Relations

Panel 9-A. Legislative Maneuvering—1:30 p.m., Tuesday

Panel 9-D. Lobbies and Vested Interests—9:00 a.m., Thursday

Panel 9-E. Signals Emitted—1:30 p.m., Thursday

Panel 9-G. Bureaucratic Perspectives—1:30 p.m., Friday

X. Patterns of International Interaction

Ole R. Holsti, University of British Columbia

Panel 10-A. The Future International System—1:30 p.m., Tuesday

Panel 10-B. International Relations Theory: Growth and Prospects—9:00 a.m., Wednesday

Panel 10-D. The Middle East Crisis (Organized by the Conference for Democratic Politics)—9:00 a.m., Thursday

Panel 10-E. Studies in Patterns of Interaction—1:30 p.m., Thursday

Panel 10-F. Neo-Imperialism (Organized by the Caucus for a New Political Science)—9:00 a.m., Friday

Panel 10-G. Approaches to the Systematic Analysis of Foreign Policy Outputs—1:30 p.m., Friday

XI. International Community-Building

Ernst B. Haas, University of California, Berkeley

Panel 11-A. Regional Community-Building: Theory, Concepts, Methods—1:30 p.m., Tuesday

Panel 11-C. The Future International System: Are Rapid Changes in the Environment of the U.N. Outstripping the Capacity of the U.N. to Become a Regulating Mechanism?—1:30 p.m., Wednesday

Panel 11-F. The Future International System: Interplay Between Technological and Social Change in the Environment with Effects of the U.N.'s Agencies to Channel or Control Such Change—9:00 a.m., Friday

Panel 11-G. The Future International System: Is the Role of Non-Governmental Efforts Growing?—1:30 p.m., Friday

XII. Conflict and Peace Research

Bruce M. Russett, Yale University

Panel 12-C. Status, Satisfaction, and Aggression—1:30 p.m., Wednesday

Panel 12-D. Escalation and Negotiations—9:00 a.m., Thursday

- Panel 12-E.** The Initiation, Protraction, and Termination of War—1:30 p.m., Thursday
- Panel 12-F.** Attributes, "Distance," and Alignments—9:00 a.m., Friday
- XIII. International Political Communication**
 Richard L. Merritt, University of Illinois
- Panel 13-C.** People at Home and Events Abroad: Interaction Approaches—1:30 p.m., Wednesday
- Panel 13-D.** The Study of International Communication: Past Trends and Future Needs—9:00 a.m., Thursday
- Panel 13-E.** Foreign Intervention and Induced Political Change—1:30 p.m., Thursday
- Panel 13-F.** International Flows of People and Transactions—9:00 a.m., Friday
- Panel 13-H.** The International Economy as a Communications System—9:00 a.m., Saturday
- XIV. Cross-National Comparison**
 Samuel H. Barnes, University of Michigan
- Panel 14-A.** Elite Analysis in Comparative Politics—1:30 p.m., Tuesday
- Panel 14-B.** Cross-National Survey Research—9:00 a.m., Wednesday
- Panel 14-C.** Contemporary Politics and Area Studies: The Case of Japan—1:30 p.m., Wednesday
- Panel 14-D.** Aggregate Data in Comparative Analysis—9:00 a.m., Thursday
- Panel 14-E.** Comparative Politics and Social Stratification—1:30 p.m., Thursday
- Panel 14-F.** The Two Germanies: Polity and Society in Transition—9:00 a.m., Friday
- Panel 14-G.** Comparative Political Studies: Did the SSRC-Sponsored Revolution Devour its Own Children?—1:30 p.m., Friday
- XV. Comparative Communist Systems**
 Jan F. Triska, Stanford University
- Panel 15-A.** Comparative Political Schemes: Eastern Europe—1:30 p.m., Tuesday
- Panel 15-C.** Comparative Foreign Policy: Eastern Europe—1:30 p.m., Wednesday
- Panel 15-D.** Workers' Decision Making in the Communist Countries—9:00 a.m., Thursday
- Panel 15-E.** Communist China and Soviet Russia in Comparative Perspective (Organized by the Conference on Communist Studies)—1:30 p.m., Thursday
- Panel 15-F.** Political Leadership under Communist Rule—9:00 a.m., Friday
- Panel 15-H.** Law and Social Change in Communist Systems—9:00 a.m., Saturday
- XVI. Comparative Foreign Policy**
 Wolfram F. Hanrieder, University of California, Santa Barbara
- Panel 16-B.** The Foreign Policy Process: Concepts and Approaches—9:00 a.m., Wednesday
- Panel 16-E.** Foreign Policy in Communist Systems—1:30 p.m., Thursday
- Panel 16-G.** Foreign Policy in the Third World—1:30 p.m., Friday
- Panel 16-H.** Interaction Between Western Europe and the United States—9:00 a.m., Saturday
- XVII. Political Development**
 Martin Kilson, Harvard University
- Panel 17-A.** Interest Articulation in Developing Systems—1:30 p.m., Tuesday
- Panel 17-B.** A Comparison of Political Development in Thailand and the Philippines (Organized by the Conference for Democratic Politics)—9:00 a.m., Wednesday

- Panel 17-C.** Political Development and Economic Aid—1:30 p.m., Wednesday
- Panel 17-D.** The Grassroots in Political Development—9:00 a.m., Thursday
- Panel 17-E.** Empirical Theories of Political Development—1:30 p.m., Thursday
- Panel 17-H.** Development and Political Processes in the British Commonwealth; Persistent and Changing Patterns—9:00 a.m., Saturday
- XVIII. Domestic Turmoil and Internal War**
 Raymond Tanter, University of Michigan
- Panel 18-A.** Effects of Turmoil and Internal War Across Nations—1:30 p.m., Tuesday
- Panel 18-B.** Effects of Wars of National Liberation: Vietnam—9:00 a.m., Wednesday
- Panel 18-C.** Political Repression in the 70's (Organized by the Caucus for a New Political Science)—1:30 p.m., Wednesday
- Panel 18-D.** Effects of Student Protest—9:00 a.m., Thursday
- Panel 18-F.** Effects of Black Protest—9:00 a.m., Friday
- Panel 18-G.** The Revolutionary Option, Pro and Con: Modernizing China and Japan (Organized by the Society for Asian and Comparative Philosophy)—1:30 p.m., Friday
- XIX. State and Local Government**
 Thomas J. Anton, University of Michigan
- Panel 19-B.** Comparative Community Politics—9:00 a.m., Wednesday
- Panel 19-C.** Governing Urbanization: A Comparison of Sub-National Systems—1:30 p.m., Wednesday
- Panel 19-D.** The Politics of the New Federalism—9:00 a.m., Thursday
- Panel 19-F.** New Dimensions in Comparative State Politics—9:00 a.m., Friday
- Panel 19-G.** Black Political Power: North and South—1:30 p.m., Friday
- Panel 19-H.** The Next 25 Years in State-Local Research—9:00 a.m., Saturday
- XX. Urban and Metropolitan Affairs**
 Robert R. Alford, University of Wisconsin
- Panel 20-A.** Leadership and Power among Urban Elites: Cross-National Studies—1:30 p.m., Tuesday
- Panel 20-B.** Federal Urban Programs: Effectiveness and Resistance—9:00 a.m., Wednesday
- Panel 20-C.** The Social Bases of Urban Political Conflict—1:30 p.m., Wednesday
- Panel 20-E.** Education and Housing: Urban Policy Making—1:30 p.m., Thursday
- Panel 20-G.** Urban Decentralization and Community Participation—1:30 p.m., Friday
- Panel 20-H.** Policy-Making in Cities: Paradigms and Cases—9:00 a.m., Saturday
- XXI. Political Socialization**
 Fred I. Greenstein, Wesleyan University
- Panel 21-B.** Theoretical Approaches to the Study of Political Socialization (Jointly Sponsored with the National Council for the Social Studies)—9:00 a.m., Wednesday
- Panel 21-C.** Analyses of Intra-System Variation in Political Socialization: The United States—1:30 p.m., Wednesday
- Panel 21-D.** Cross-National Variation in Political Socialization—9:00 a.m., Thursday
- Panel 21-F.** Socialization and Political Activists—9:00 a.m., Friday
- Panel 21-G.** New Departures in Political Socialization Research—1:30 p.m., Friday

XXII. Parties and Politics

Theodore J. Lowi, University of Chicago

Panel 22-A. The Ideological Bases of Parties in Developed Countries—
1:30 p.m., Tuesday

Panel 22-B. Parties in the 1970's: Restored or Revolutionized?—9:00 a.m.,
Wednesday

Panel 22-D. Toward a New Group Theory—9:00 a.m., Thursday

**Panel 22-E. Party Functions and Socioeconomic Bases: Comparative Ap-
proaches—**1:30 p.m., Thursday

Panel 22-G. At the Crossroads: The Presidential Election Process—1:30 p.m.,
Friday

Panel 22-H. Third Parties (Organized by the Conference for Democratic
Politics)—9:00 a.m., Saturday

XXIII. Political Leadership

James David Barber, Yale University

Panel 23-B. Political Recruitment—9:00 a.m., Wednesday

**Panel 23-C. The Military as Political Elites in Asia: A Review of Perform-
ance—**1:30 p.m., Wednesday

Panel 23-D. Leadership Change at the National Level—9:00 a.m., Thursday

Panel 23-E. Local Leaders as Political Middlemen—1:30 p.m., Thursday

Panel 23-F. The Possibilities and Impossibilities of Mayoral Leadership—
9:00 a.m., Friday

Panel 23-G. Approaches to Political Biography—1:30 p.m., Friday

Panel 23-H. Training for the Public Service—9:00 a.m., Saturday

XXIV. Legislatures and Legislative Behavior

G. Robert Boynton, University of Iowa

**Panel 24-C. Legislative Roles and Relationships to the External Environ-
ment—**1:30 p.m., Wednesday

Panel 24-D. Recruitment, Socialization, and Legislative Norms—9:00 a.m.,
Thursday

Panel 24-F. Committees, Voting, and Power in the Legislature—9:00 a.m.,
Friday

Panel 24-G. New Findings in Legislative Research—1:30 p.m., Friday

XXV. Administrative Behavior

Robert T. Golembiewski, University of Georgia

Panel 25-A. Student Demands and Administrative Responses—1:30 p.m.,
Tuesday

Panel 25-C. Acculturating Forces and Administrative Processes—1:30 p.m.,
Wednesday

Panel 25-E. Quantitative Approaches to Administrative Processes—1:30 p.m.,
Thursday

XXVI. Judicial Systems and Behavior

Stuart S. Nagel, University of Illinois

Panel 26-A. Law and Judicial Roles at the Trial Court Level—1:30 p.m.,
Tuesday

Panel 26-B1. Law, Judges, and Social Change—9:00 a.m., Wednesday

**Panel 26-B2. Academic Freedom and the Interpretation of the First Amend-
ment by the Supreme Court** (Organized by the Conference for
Democratic Politics)—9:00 a.m., Wednesday

Panel 26-C. Law and Poverty—1:30 p.m., Wednesday

Panel 26-D. Law in Political Science: Its Scope and Method—9:00 a.m.,
Thursday

Panel 26-E. Police, Prosecution, and the Law—1:30 p.m., Thursday

Panel 26-F. The Effects of Alternative Legal Policies—9:00 a.m., Friday

Panel 26-G. Law and Multi-National Comparisons—1:30 p.m., Friday

THE DAILY PROGRAM

(Meetings, special events, titles of panel papers, and names of panel participants are indicated whenever this information was available at the time of the printing. Full information, including room locations of each function will appear in the annual meeting Program. Morning panels must be over by 11:00 a.m. and afternoon panels must be concluded by 3:30 p.m. so that the meeting rooms may be prepared for subsequent sessions.)

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 7

9:00 a.m. to 12:00 noon; 2:00 p.m. to 5:30 p.m.—Council Meeting,
The American Political Science Association

12:00 noon to 6:00 p.m.—Registration

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 8

9:00 a.m. to 12:00 noon—Council Meeting, *The American Political Science Association*

9:00 a.m. to 6:00 p.m.—Registration

11:30 a.m. to 1:30 p.m.—Inter-University Consortium for Political Research
Workshop

1:30 p.m.—Panel Meetings (Group A)

PANEL MEETINGS (Group A)

1:30 p.m. Tues., Sept. 8—American Political Science

SEMINAL RESEARCH PROJECTS REVISITED: PARTIES AND ELECTIONS

1-A

Chairman: AUSTIN RANNEY, University of Wisconsin

Papers: **"The Report of the APSA Committee on Political Parties"**
EVRON M. KIRKPATRICK, American Political Science Association

"The Report of the APSA Committee on Political Parties"
GERALD M. POMPER, Rutgers University

"The Survey Research Center's Election Studies"
*KENNETH PREWITT, University of Chicago

Discussant: *WARREN E. MILLER, University of Michigan

TUESDAY AFTERNOON, SEPT. 8

1:30 p.m. Tues., Sept. 8—Philosophical Analysis

LIBERALISM AND ITS CRITICS

4-A

Chairman: DAVID KETTLER, Ohio State University

Papers: **"Liberalism as Bourgeois Ideology"**

RICHARD ASHCRAFT, University of California, Los Angeles

"Santayana's Critique of Liberalism"

MARK N. HAGOPIAN, American International College

"What is Living and What is Dead in Liberalism"

DONALD W. HANSON, University of Wisconsin

"Liberty, Equality, and the Rule of Law in Eighteenth Century France"

NANNERL O. HENRY, Swarthmore College

"Liberalism in Transition: The Political Thought of Herbert Spencer"

WILLIAM T. MCCLURE, JR., Purdue University

1:30 p.m. Tues., Sept. 8—Data and Analysis

BIOLOGICAL FACTORS IN POLITICAL BEHAVIOR

5-A

Chairman: *ALBERT SOMIT, State University of New York, Stony Brook

Papers: **"Drugs and Social Behavior"**

DEAN JAROS, University of Kentucky

"Physiological Manifestations of Psycho-Political States"

DAVID C. SCHWARTZ, University of Pennsylvania

Discussants: LEONARD BERKOWITZ, University of Wisconsin

JAMES C. DAVIES, University of Oregon

JOHN C. WAHLKE, University of Iowa

1:30 p.m. Tues., Sept. 8—Politics and Education

THE PRE-COLLEGIATE CURRICULUM

6-A

(Organized by the APSA Committee on Pre-Collegiate Education)

Chairman: FRED I. GREENSTEIN, Wesleyan University

Papers: **"A High School Course in Political Behavior"**

HOWARD MEHLINGER and JOHN PATRICK, High School Curriculum Center in Government, Indiana University

"Political Scientists and Teacher Education"

LEE F. ANDERSON, Director, APSA Political Science Education Project

Discussants: ROBERT ANGELL, Director, Sociological Resources for the Secondary Schools

EUGENE ASHER, Director, American Historical Association History Education Project

TUESDAY AFTERNOON, SEPT. 8

1:30 p.m. Tues., Sept. 8—Critical Issues in American Politics

THE POLITICS OF WELFARE

7-A

Chairman: JAMES L. SUNDQUIST, Brookings Institution

Paper: **"Poverty, American Values, and Change"**

DOROTHY B. JAMES, City University of New York, Herbert H. Lehman College

Discussant: ROBERT LEVINE, RAND Corporation

1:30 p.m. Tues., Sept. 8—The Antiballistic Missile Issue

LEGISLATIVE MANEUVERING

9-A

Chairman:

Papers: **"Opportunities Missed: Political and Strategic"**

ALTON FRYE, Office of Senator Edward W. Brooke

"Coalition-Building in the Senate"

WILLIAM MILLER, Office of Senator John Sherman Cooper

1:30 p.m. Tues., Sept. 8—Patterns of International Interaction

THE FUTURE INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM

10-A

Chairman: OLE R. HOLSTI, University of British Columbia

Papers: **"Technology and the Future International System"**

BERNARD BRODIE, University of California, Los Angeles

"Ideology and the Future International System"

HERBERT S. DINERSTEIN, Johns Hopkins University

"Population and the Future International System"

ROBERT C. NORTH, Stanford University

"Race and the Future International System"

GEORGE W. SHEPARD, JR., University of Denver

Discussants: DAVID J. FINLAY, University of Oregon

TILDEN J. LEMELLE, University of Denver

1:30 p.m. Tues., Sept. 8—International Community-Building

**REGIONAL COMMUNITY-BUILDING
THEORY, CONCEPTS, METHODS**

11-A

Chairman: LEON N. LINDBERG, University of Wisconsin

Papers: **"The Comparative Study of Regional Integration: Standard Variables and Indicators"**

JOSEPH S. NYE, JR., Harvard University

TUESDAY AFTERNOON, SEPT. 8

"Can the Transactional and Decision-Making Approaches be Combined in a Single Model? Examples from the Study of West European Integration"

DONALD J. PUCHALA, Columbia University

"The Effects of Regional Integration on the Conduct of Professional Groups: Examples from the Behavior of Lawyers and the Evolution of Regional Law in Western Europe"

STUART A. SCHEINGOLD, University of Wisconsin

1:30 p.m. Tues., Sept. 8—Cross-National Comparison

ELITE ANALYSIS IN COMPARATIVE POLITICS

14-A

Chairman: JAMES B. CHRISTOPH, Indiana University

Papers: **"Determination and Location of Elites: A Comparative Analysis"**

FREDERICK W. FREY, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

"Studying Elite Political Culture: The Case of 'Ideology' "

ROBERT D. PUTNAM, University of Michigan

"The Political Consequences of Elite Competition"

DONALD D. SEARING, University of North Carolina

Discussants: GIUSEPPE DI PALMA, University of California, Berkeley

BADI G. FOSTER, Rutgers University

1:30 p.m. Tues., Sept. 8—Comparative Communist Systems

**COMPARATIVE POLITICAL SCHEMES: EASTERN EUROPE
A Roundtable**

15-A

Chairman: JAN F. TRISKA, Stanford University

Papers: **"East Germany"**

RANDAL L. CRUIKSHANKS, University of New Mexico

"Poland"

ANDREW KORBONSKI, University of California, Los Angeles

"Romania"

LADIS K. KRISTOF, University of Waterloo, Ontario

"Albania"

NICHOLAS PANO, Western Illinois University

"Hungary"

PETER A. TOMA, University of Arizona

"Czechoslovakia"

OTTO ULC, State University of New York, Harpur College

"Bulgaria"

WILLIAM WELSH, University of Iowa

"Yugoslavia"

M. GEORGE ZANINOVICH, University of Oregon

TUESDAY AFTERNOON, SEPT. 8

1:30 p.m. Tues., Sept. 8—Political Development

INTEREST ARTICULATION IN DEVELOPING SYSTEMS

17-A

Chairman:

Papers: **"Zambia"**

ROBERT H. BATES, California Institute of Technology

"Comparative"

JAMES A. BILL, University of Texas

"Bolivia"

LEONARD CARDENAS, JR., Louisiana State University

"Tanzania"

CLYDE R. INGLE, University of Tennessee

Discussants: HENRY BIENEN, Princeton University

ROBERT F. MELSON, Michigan State University

ROBERT O. MYHR, University of Washington

1:30 p.m. Tues., Sept. 8—Domestic Turmoil and Internal War

EFFECTS OF TURMOIL AND INTERNAL WAR ACROSS NATIONS

18-A

Chairman: IVO K. FEIERABEND, San Diego State College

Papers: **"Effects of Turmoil and Internal War on Social Change"**

DOUGLAS P. BWY, University of Hawaii

"Effects of Turmoil and Internal War on Foreign Policy Behaviors"

RAYMOND TANTER, University of Michigan

"Effects of Turmoil on Irregular Government Change"

CHARLES L. TAYLOR, Yale University

Discussant: GEORGE D. DAMIEN, University of Pennsylvania

1:30 p.m. Tues., Sept. 8—Urban and Metropolitan Affairs

**LEADERSHIP AND POWER AMONG URBAN ELITES:
CROSS-NATIONAL STUDIES**

20-A

Chairman: FRANCINE F. RABINOVITZ, University of California, Los Angeles

Papers: **"Decision-Making in Soviet Cities"**

B. MICHAEL FROLIC, York University, Toronto

"Consequences of the Loss of Power: The Turkish Urban Elite after a Ruralizing Election"

LESLIE L. ROOS, JR., Northwestern University

"Urban Elites and Economic Development in Latin America"

JOHN WALTON, Northwestern University

Discussant: MARK KESSELMAN, Columbia University

TUESDAY AFTERNOON, SEPT. 8

1:30 p.m. Tues., Sept. 8—Parties and Politics

THE IDEOLOGICAL BASES OF PARTIES IN DEVELOPED COUNTRIES 22-A

Chairman:

Papers: **"The Composition of Democratic and Republican Parties in the United States, 1930-1970"**

EVERETT C. LADD, JR., University of Connecticut

"The Attempted Unification of the French Left, 1963-1968"

FRANK L. WILSON, University of California, Los Angeles

"Popular Support for British Parties"

RAYMOND E. WOLFINGER, Stanford University

1:30 p.m. Tues., Sept. 8—Administrative Behavior

STUDENT DEMANDS AND ADMINISTRATIVE RESPONSES 25-A

Chairman: GEORGE S. PARTHEMOS, University of Georgia

Papers: **"Administrative Responses from an Administrator's Perspective"**

OTTO BUTZ, Sacramento State College

"Participatory Administration in American Universities and Student Disorder"

JOHN N. COLLINS, Michigan State University

"University Goals and Academic Power"

PAUL V. GRAMBSCH, University of Minnesota

"College Curriculum and Student Protest"

JOSEPH J. SCHWAB, University of Chicago

Discussants: JOHN H. BUNZEL, San Francisco State College

DAVID B. TRUMAN, Mt. Holyoke College

LAW AND JUDICIAL ROLES AT THE TRIAL COURT LEVEL 26-A

Chairman: JOEL B. GROSSMAN, University of Wisconsin

Papers: **"Relationships, Role Conceptions, and Discretion among the District Court Judges of Colorado"**

WILLIAM M. BEANEY, JR., University of Denver

"Federal District Judges in the 7th Circuit: Trial Judge Roles in the Courtroom and the Court System"

BEVERLY BLAIR COOK, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee

"The Roles of Witnesses, Lawyers, and Judges in the Court System of the District of Columbia"

JAMES R. KLONOSKI, University of Oregon, and ROBERT I. MENDEL-SOHN, Wayne State University

Discussants: C. DONALD ENGLE, Temple University

HENRY SANTO, Judge, Denver District Court

PHILIP SHUCHMAN, University of Connecticut

KENNETH A. WAGNER, California State College, Los Angeles

TUESDAY EVENING; WEDNESDAY MORNING

4:00 p.m. to 6:30 p.m.—Business Meeting I, (Constitution)
The American Political Science Association

6:30 p.m.—Dinner Meetings
Editorial Board, *The American Political Science Review*
Program Committee, 1971 *APSA* Annual Meeting

8:30 p.m. to 10:00 p.m.—Plenary Session I

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 9

9:00 a.m. to 9:00 p.m.—Registration

9:00 a.m.—Panel Meetings (Group B)

PANEL MEETINGS (Group B)

9:00 a.m. Wed., Sept. 9—American Political Science

SEMINAL RESEARCH PROJECTS REVISITED: LEGISLATURES 1-B1

Chairman: BARBARA HINCKLEY, University of Massachusetts

Papers: "The 'Legislative System' "

MALCOLM E. JEWELL, University of Kentucky

"The *APSA* Committee on Congress (1945) and the *APSA* Study of Congress (1965-1969) Studies"

DONALD R. MATTHEWS, Brookings Institution

Discussant: HEINZ EULAU, Stanford University

EMERGENT POSSIBILITIES FOR POLITICAL SCIENCE 1-B2
(Organized by the Caucus for a New Political Science)

Convenor: HENRY S. KARIEL, University of Hawaii

Papers: GILBERT Y. ABCARIAN, Florida State University

PETER BACHRACH, Temple University

ARNOLD KAUFMAN, University of California, Los Angeles

MULFORD Q. SIBLEY, University of Minnesota

9:00 a.m. Wed., Sept. 9—Political Knowledge

POLICY KNOWLEDGE vs. POLITICAL SCIENCE RESEARCH 2-B

Chairman: JAMES A. ROBINSON, Ohio State University

Papers: "Relevance, Attention, and the Policy Process"

LEWIS A. DEXTER, Dalhousie University

"How to be Relevant and Read"

VICTOR K. HEYMAN, Cresap, McCormick and Paget, Inc., Washington, D.C.

WEDNESDAY MORNING, SEPT. 9

"Problems in the Evaluation of Policy Impact"

MARTIN A. LEVIN, Brandeis University

Discussants: JAMES D. CARROLL, Ohio State University
WALTER GOLDSTEIN, State University of New York, Albany
PETER KOBRAK, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee

9:00 a.m. Wed., Sept. 9—Formal Political Theory

QUANTITATIVE POLITICAL HISTORY

3-B

Chairman: JOHN F. MANLEY, Brookings Institution

Papers: **"Legislative Careers and Seniority: A Computer Simulation"**

H. DOUGLAS PRICE, Harvard University, and HAYWARD R. ALKER, JR.,
Massachusetts Institute of Technology

"A Statistical Analysis of U.S. Congressional Elections, 1952-1960"

HENRI THIEL, University of Chicago

9:00 a.m. Wed., Sept. 9—Philosophical Analysis

WORLD WAR TWO: WAS IT A JUST WAR?

4-B

Chairman: HERBERT J. SPIRO, University of Pennsylvania

Papers: RICHARD A. FALK, Princeton University

"Aggression, Justice, and the Second World War"

RICHARD S. HARTIGAN, Loyola University, Chicago

"When is War Just?"

ROBERT W. TUCKER, Johns Hopkins University

"Was that War Different?"

MICHAEL L. WALZER, Harvard University

9:00 a.m. Wed., Sept. 9—Data and Analysis

THE ANALYSIS OF PROBLEMS OF PUBLIC CHOICE

5-B

(Organized in Conjunction with the Public Choice Society)

Chairman: VINCENT OSTROM, Indiana University

Papers: **"Bargaining and the Quality of Group Decisions"**

RUFUS P. BROWNING, Michigan State University

"Special Competition under Constrained Choice"

OTTO A. DAVIS and MELVIN HINNICH, Carnegie-Mellon University

9:00 a.m. Wed., Sept. 9—Politics and Education

**WORKSHOP CONCERNING THE FUTURE ROLE OF TEACHING
IN POLITICAL SCIENCE**

6-B

(Organized by the Caucus for a New Political Science)

Chairman:

WEDNESDAY MORNING, SEPT. 9

9:00 a.m. Wed., Sept. 9—Critical Issues in American Politics

POLITICAL SCIENCE AND THE CHICANO

7-B

Chairman: CHARLES ORNELAS, University of California, Santa Barbara

Papers: **"Chicano Politics: New Research Directions"**

CARLOS MUÑOZ, JR., Pitzer College

"Chicano Politics: Past and Current Research"

RAYMOND A. ROCCO, University of Minnesota

Discussants: MARIO BARRERA, University of California, Berkeley

ALFREDO CUELLAR, University of California, Los Angeles

9:00 a.m. Wed., Sept. 9—Patterns of International Interaction

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS THEORY: GROWTH AND PROSPECTS 10-B

Chairman: FRED SONDERMANN, Colorado College

Papers: **"International Relations Theory: Prospects (1970-1995)"**

PHILIP M. BURGESS, Ohio State University

"International Relations Theory: Growth (1945-1970)"

K. J. HOLSTI, University of British Columbia

Discussant: GEORGE MODELSKI, University of Washington

9:00 a.m. Wed., Sept. 9—Cross-National Comparison

CROSS-NATIONAL SURVEY RESEARCH

14-B

Chairman: LESTER MILBRATH, State University of New York, Buffalo

Papers: **"Determinants of Partisan Identification in France and Italy"**

ROY PIERCE and SAMUEL H. BARNES, University of Michigan

ROBERT SOMERS, University of California, Berkeley

"Explaining within System Differences: Political Systems as Residual Variables"

HENRY TEUNE, University of Pennsylvania, and KRZYSZTOF OSTROWSKI, Polish Academy of Sciences

Discussant: GIACOMO SANI, Ohio State University

9:00 a.m. Wed., Sept. 9—Comparative Foreign Policy

THE FOREIGN POLICY PROCESS: CONCEPTS AND APPROACHES 16-B

Chairman: KENNETH N. WALTZ, Brandeis University

Papers: CHARLES F. HERMANN, Princeton University

*EUGENE J. MEEHAN, University of Illinois

Discussants: ALAN C. ISAAK, Western Michigan University

WARNER R. SCHILLING, Columbia University

WEDNESDAY MORNING, SEPT. 9

9:00 a.m. Wed., Sept. 9—Domestic Turmoil and Internal War

EFFECTS OF WARS OF NATIONAL LIBERATION: VIETNAM 18-B

Chairman: SAMUEL P. HUNTINGTON, Harvard University

Papers: **"Effects of Insurgency on Vietnam Pacification"**

ROBERT KOMER, RAND Corporation

"Political, Economic, and Social Effects of the Vietnam War"

ANTHONY RUSSO, Social Engineering Technology, Los Angeles

Discussant: THOMAS C. SCHELLING, Harvard University

9:00 a.m. Wed., Sept. 9—State and Local Government

COMPARATIVE COMMUNITY POLITICS 19-B

Chairman: DELBERT C. MILLER, Indiana University

Papers: **"Urbanization and Secularization in Two Chilean Communities"**

LUCY C. BEHRMAN, University of Pennsylvania

"Decision-Making Systems in 36 Swedish Communes—A Comparison"

JÖRGEN WESTERSTAHL, University of Gothenburg, Sweden

Discussants: GEORGE S. BLAIR, Claremont Graduate School

JOSEPH ZIKMUND, Albion College

9:00 a.m. Wed., Sept. 9—Urban and Metropolitan Affairs

FEDERAL URBAN PROGRAMS: EFFECTIVENESS AND RESISTANCE 20-B

Chairman: BERTRAM M. GROSS, Wayne State University

Papers: **"The Federal Delivery System: Impact on the Community"**

DOUGLAS MONTGOMERY, U. S. Department of Commerce

"The Poverty and Model Cities Programs in Detroit and Chicago"

ALLAN ROSENBAUM, University of Chicago

"New Careers in the Conquest of Poverty: A Detroit Case Study"

MURRAY SEIDLER, Wayne State University

"Federal Welfare Programs: Present and Proposed"

GEORGE WILEY, National Welfare Rights Organization, Washington D.C.

Discussants: WENDELL M. BEDICHEK, Lamar State College of Technology

SEYMOUR Z. MANN, City University of New York, Hunter College

9:00 a.m. Wed., Sept. 9—Political Socialization

**THEORETICAL APPROACHES TO THE STUDY OF POLITICAL
SOCIALIZATION 21-B**

(Jointly Sponsored with the National Council for the Social Studies)

Chairman: ROBERTA A. SIGEL, State University of New York, Buffalo

Papers: **"A Perceptual Approach to Political Socialization"**

RICHARD M. MERELMAN, University of Wisconsin

WEDNESDAY MORNING, SEPT. 9

"A Learning Theory Approach to Political Socialization"

IRA S. ROHTER, University of Hawaii

Discussant: DAVID O. SEARS, University of California, Los Angeles

9:00 a.m. Wed., Sept. 9—Parties and Politics

PARTIES IN THE 1970'S: RESTORED OR REVOLUTIONIZED? 22-B

Chairman:

Papers: **"The Functioning of the Parties in the 1960's"**

JOHN S. SALOMA, III, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

"The Ecology of Dissent: Wallace Vote"

ROBERT ALAN SCHOENBERGER and JOEL D. ABERBACH, University of Michigan

"The Emergence and Persistence of Republicanism in the Rim and Deep South"

LOUIS M. SEAGULL, University of Pennsylvania

9:00 a.m. Wed., Sept. 9—Political Leadership

POLITICAL RECRUITMENT 23-B

Chairman:

Papers: **"Comparative Political Recruitment: A Model and Research"**

LESTER G. SELIGMAN, University of Oregon, and MICHAEL KING, Pennsylvania State University

"Recruitment and Political Risk"

ROLAND E. SMITH, Texas Technological College

Discussant: DONALD S. ROTHCHILD, University of California, Davis

9:00 a.m. Wed., Sept. 9—Judicial Systems and Behavior

LAW, JUDGES, AND SOCIAL CHANGE 26-B1

Chairman: NATHAN HAKMAN, State University of New York, Harpur College

Papers: **"Law and Social Revolution"**

MICHAEL BARKUN, Syracuse University

"The Role of Law in the Development of Nations"

WALLACE MENDELSON, University of Texas, Austin

"The Longitudinal Behavior of Hugo Black and Environmental Change"

S. SIDNEY ULMER, University of Kentucky

Discussants: JONATHAN D. CASPER, Yale University

WILLIAM J. DANIELS, Union College

ROBERT G. SCIGLIANO, State University of New York, Buffalo

WEDNESDAY MORNING, SEPT. 9

**ACADEMIC FREEDOM AND THE INTERPRETATION OF THE FIRST
AMENDMENT BY THE SUPREME COURT:**

26-B2

A Symposium

(Organized by the Conference for Democratic Politics)

Chairman: FRED KORT

Participants: DAVID ADAMANY
VALERIE EARLE
*DAVID FELLMAN
WILL HERBERG
C. HERMAN PRITCHETT

11:30 a.m. to 1:30 p.m.—Inter-University Consortium for Political Research
Workshop

12:00 noon, Wed., Sept. 9—Special Meeting I

THE DEPARTMENT CHAIRMANSHIP: An Open
Meeting for Graduate School Department Chairmen

Chairman: SAMUEL KRISLOV, University of Minnesota

Participants: ROBERT T. GOLEMBIEWSKI, University of Georgia
JAMES R. KLONOSKI, University of Oregon
DUANE LOCKARD, Princeton University
ROBERT H. SALISBURY, Washington University, St. Louis

Special Meeting II

THE DEPARTMENT CHAIRMANSHIP: An Open
Meeting for Department Chairmen of
Schools Offering no Graduate Programs

Special Meeting III

**WOMEN IN THE PROFESSIONS:
A Comparison**

(Organized by the Women's Caucus for Political Science)

Chairwoman: KATHERINE M. KLOTZBURGER, New York University

Papers: **"Women in Political Science"**
VICTORIA SCHUCK, Mt. Holyoke College
"The Position of Women in Anthropology"
PEGGY GOULD, Stanford University
"Women in Library Science"
ANITA SCHILLER, University of Illinois
"The Professional Status of Women in History"
BERENICE CARROLL, University of Illinois

WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON, SEPT. 9

1:30 p.m. Wed., Sept. 9—Panel Meetings (Group C)

1:30 p.m. Wed., Sept. 9—American Political Science

**COGNITIVE VALUE ORIENTATIONS AND BLACK COMMUNITY
RESEARCH**

1-C

(Organized by the Committee on the Status of Blacks in the Profession)

Chairman: *RUSSELL L. ADAMS, Federal City College

Discussants: FRANK L. MORRIS, Massachusetts Institute of Technology
*WILLIAM P. ROBINSON, Norfolk State College
ALEX WILLINGHAM, University of North Carolina

1:30 p.m. Wed., Sept. 9—Political Knowledge

**"THE POLICY SCIENCES" IN RETROSPECT AND PROSPECT:
A Roundtable**

2-C

Chairman:

Papers: JOHN E. BRANDEL, University of Minnesota
ERNEST HILGARD, Stanford University
DANIEL LERNER, Massachusetts Institute of Technology
"Social Science and the Sources of Policy"
DUNCAN MACRAE, JR., University of Chicago

1:30 p.m. Wed., Sept. 9—Formal Political Theory

CONTEMPORARY FORMAL THEORY

3-C

Chairman: PETER G. ORDESHOOK, University of Rochester and Carnegie-Mellon University

Papers: ROBERT G. SAMBERG, State University of New York, Albany
KENNETH SHEPSLE, Washington University, St. Louis

1:30 p.m. Wed., Sept. 9—Philosophical Analysis

ANARCHISM IN THE HISTORY OF POLITICAL THOUGHT

4-C

Chairman: GEORGE KATEB, Amherst College

Papers: "Anarchism and Liberation"
BENJAMIN R. BARBER, Rutgers University
"Rousseau Anarchist?"
ANNE M. COHLER, University of Chicago
"William Godwin's Anarchism"
ISAAC KRAMNICK, Yale University
"The Relation of Anarchism to Liberal and Socialist Theory in the
Nineteenth Century"
ALAN RITTER, University of Virginia

WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON, SEPT. 9

1:30 p.m. Wed., Sept. 9—Data and Analysis

ANALYSIS OF PUBLIC POLICY DATA: I

5-C

Chairman: DONALD M. FREEMAN, University of West Florida

Papers: **"Implications of the Theory of Public Goods for Policy Research"**

PHILLIP M. GREGG, University of Michigan

"The Measurement of Policy Output: The Poverty Program in California"

LOUIS F. WESCHLER, University of Washington

Discussants: RALPH GUZMAN, University of California, Santa Cruz

DOUGLAS VANHOUEWELING, Cornell University

1:30 p.m. Wed., Sept. 9—Politics and Education

**WHAT DO WE TEACH OUR STUDENTS:
POST-BEHAVIORAL POLITICAL SCIENCE**

6-C

Chairman: EDGAR LITT, University of Connecticut

Papers: **"Political Science: Nineteenth Century Myths and Twentieth Century Technology"**

MARIANNE GITHENS, Goucher College

"A Critical View of Political Science"

DAVID HOROWITZ, *Ramparts* Magazine

"Professional Dynamics and Political Inquiry: Vocational Knowledge in a Scholarly Association"

PHILIP H. MELANSON, University of Connecticut

1:30 p.m. Wed., Sept. 9—International Community-Building

**THE FUTURE INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM: ARE RAPID CHANGES IN THE
ENVIRONMENT OF THE U.N. OUTSTRIPPING THE CAPACITY OF THE U.N.
TO BECOME A REGULATING MECHANISM?**

11-C

Chairman: PAUL SEABURY, University of California, Berkeley

Papers: **"Present and Future Capacity of the U.N. to Make Regulative Norms"**

WILLIAM COPLIN, Wayne State University

"Past and Future Patterns of Maintaining Collective Security"

MARK W. ZACHER, University of British Columbia

Discussants: ROBERT O. KEOHANE, Swarthmore College

ORAN J. YOUNG, Princeton University

1:30 p.m. Wed., Sept. 9—Conflict and Peace Research

STATUS, SATISFACTION, AND AGGRESSION

12-C

Chairman: BRUCE M. RUSSETT, Yale University

Papers: **"International Dynamics, 1870-1970"**

NAZLI M. CHOUCRI, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON, SEPT. 9

"On the Future Role of Non-Territorial Actors"

JOHAN GALTUNG, International Peace Research Institute

"The Onset of International War, 1820-1965"

MICHAEL D. WALLACE, University of British Columbia

Discussant: MANUS MIDLARSKY, University of Colorado

1:30 p.m. Wed., Sept. 9—International Political Communication

**PEOPLE AT HOME AND EVENTS ABROAD:
INTERACTION APPROACHES**

13-C

Chairman:

Papers: **"International Crises and Berlin Morale"**

HAROLD HURWITZ, Free University of Berlin

"Interest Groups and Foreign Policy: British Entry into Europe"

ROBERT J. LIEBER, University of California, Davis

"Public Opinion and Foreign Affairs: The Mediating Influence of Educational Level"

ALVIN RICHMAN, Purdue University

"The Press in Foreign Policy: The Definition of the Situation"

SUSAN KAY WELCH, University of Illinois

Discussant: SVENNIK HØYER, University of Oslo

1:30 p.m. Wed., Sept. 9—Cross-National Comparison

**CONTEMPORARY POLITICS AND AREA STUDIES: THE CASE OF JAPAN
A Roundtable**

14-C

Chairman: ROBERT E. WARD, University of Michigan

Participants: KARL W. DEUTSCH, Harvard University

LEE W. FARNSWORTH, Brigham Young University

DON HELLMAN, University of Washington

DOUGLAS L. JOHNSON, Stanford University

AKIRA KUBOTA, University of Michigan

WILLIAM E. STESLICHE, Columbia University

JOJI WATANUKI, University of Iowa and University of Tokyo

1:30 p.m. Wed., Sept. 9—Comparative Communist Systems

COMPARATIVE FOREIGN POLICY: EASTERN EUROPE

15-C

Chairman: FREDERIC J. FLERON, JR., State University of New York, Buffalo

Papers: **"Sources of Variation in Communist Foreign Policy"**

VERNON V. ASPATURIAN, Pennsylvania State University

"East European Foreign Policy Leadership, 1964-1970: A Comparative Study"

R. BARRY FARRELL, Northwestern University

WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON, SEPT. 9

"Internal and External Restraints on Eastern European Foreign Policies"

CHARLES GATI, Union College

Discussants: JAMES BOURGART, Stanford University
DAVID D. FINLEY, Colorado College
PAUL ZINNER, University of California, Davis

1:30 p.m. Wed., Sept. 9—Political Development

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT AND ECONOMIC AID 17-C

Chairman: JOHN MONTGOMERY, Harvard University

Papers: **"Tunisia and Economic Assistance"**
YAROSLAV BILINSKY, University of Delaware
"Political Aspects of Economic Aid"
JOHN D. ESSEKS
"A. I. D."
PRINCETON N. LYMAN, University of Maryland
"Ghana and Economic Assistance"
NORMAN T. UPHOFF, University of California, Berkeley

Discussants: RIORDAN ROETT, Vanderbilt University
JOHN R. SCHOTT, Tufts University

1:30 p.m. Wed., Sept. 9—Domestic Turmoil and Internal War

POLITICAL REPRESSION IN THE 70'S 18-C
(Organized by the Caucus for a New Political Science)

Chairman: RICHARD ALLEN CHAPMAN, University of Montana

1:30 p.m. Wed., Sept. 9—State and Local Government

**GOVERNING URBANIZATION:
A COMPARISON OF SUB-NATIONAL SYSTEMS** 19-C

Chairman: HENRY J. SCHMANDT, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee

Papers: **"Government and Urban Development: Constraints, Opportunities, and Strategies"**
JAMESON W. DOIG and MICHAEL N. DANIELSON, Princeton University
"Urbanization, Industrialization, and Integration in Three Countries: A Comparison of Sub-National Systems"
RICHARD I. HOFFERBERT, DAVID CAMERON, and JOHN S. HENDRICKS, Cornell University
"The Policy Consequences of Institutions: The Case of Central-Local Authority Patterns in Britain"
HOWARD A. SCARROW, State University of New York, Stony Brook

WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON, SEPT. 9

Discussants: CLIFFORD L. KAUFMAN, University of Pennsylvania
ROBERT T. NORMAN, University of Pittsburgh

1:30 p.m. Wed., Sept. 9—Urban and Metropolitan Affairs

THE SOCIAL BASES OF URBAN POLITICAL CONFLICT 20-C

Chairman: WILLIAM R. KEECH, University of North Carolina

Papers: **"Ethnicity and Urban Conflict: A Communications Approach"**
ROGER E. DURAND, University of California, Los Angeles
"Mass Attitudes Toward Legitimacy and Power in the Urban Context"
KENNETH SHERRILL, City University of New York, Hunter College
**"The Right Wing in a Right-Wing Setting: Alternative Explanations
of Extreme Behavior"**
ALLEN R. WILCOX and LEONARD B. WEINBERG, University of Nevada

Discussant: DAVID H. TABB, Williams College and University of California,
Berkeley

1:30 p.m. Wed., Sept. 9—Political Socialization

**ANALYSES OF INTRA-SYSTEM VARIATION IN POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION:
THE UNITED STATES** 21-C

Chairman: RICHARD G. NIEMI, University of Rochester

Papers: **"Personality and Political Learning: A Causal Analysis of Self-Esteem
and Dogmatism and Mediating Variables"**
HERBERT HIRSCH, University of Texas
"The Black Church and Political Socialization"
THOMAS W. MADRON, HART NELSON, and RAY YOKLEY, Western
Kentucky University
"The Stability of Children's Political Orientations: A Panel Survey"
PAULINE M. VAILLANCOURT, McGill University

Discussants: PAUL A. BECK, University of Pittsburgh
SARAH F. LIEBSCHUTZ, University of Rochester
NORMAN R. LUTTBEG, Florida State University

1:30 p.m. Wed., Sept. 9—Political Leadership

**THE MILITARY AS POLITICAL ELITES IN ASIA:
A REVIEW OF PERFORMANCE** 23-C

Chairman: JAMES F. GUYOT, City University of New York

Papers: **"Ten Years of Ayub Khan and the Problem of National Integration"**
ROUNAQ JAHAN, Columbia University
"Korean Kundaehura: The Military as Modernizers"
JOUNGWON A. KIM, Columbia University

WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON, SEPT. 9

"Ten Years in Retrospect"

GUY J. PAUKER, RAND Corporation

"The Thai Military and Modernization"

FRED VAN DER MEHDEN, Rice University

"Military Leadership and Political Performance"

ANN RUTH WILLNER, University of Kansas

1:30 p.m. Wed., Sept. 9—Legislatures and Legislative Behavior

**LEGISLATIVE ROLES AND RELATIONSHIPS TO THE
EXTERNAL ENVIRONMENT**

24-C

Chairman: SAMUEL C. PATTERSON, University of Iowa

Papers: **"Perceiving Constituent Opinion"**

ROLAND D. HEDLUND, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee, and
H. PAUL FRIESEMA, Northwestern University

"Role Perceptions of Thai Legislators"

MICHAEL MEZEY, University of Virginia

**"The Relationship of Career Objectives and Group Feelings to the
Voting Behavior of British Conservative Backbenchers, 1959-1968"**

JOHN E. SCHWARZ and GEOFFREY LAMBERT, University of Minnesota

"Legislative-Constituency Relationships: The Case of an Indian State"

RICHARD SISSON, University of California, Los Angeles, and
LAWRENCE L. SHRADER, Mills College

1:30 p.m. Wed., Sept. 9—Administrative Behavior

ACCULTURATING FORCES AND ADMINISTRATIVE PROCESSES

25-C

Chairman: THOMAS MURPHY, University of Missouri, Kansas City

Papers: **"Organization Function and Participation in Policy-Making"**

RICHARD CHACKERIAN, Florida State University

**"The Bureaucracy of Race: Enforcement of Civil Rights Laws and
its Impact on People, Processes, and Organization"**

BURTON LEVY, Wayne State University

**"Toward an Understanding of Motivational and Cultural Factors in
Administration"**

HERBERT G. WILCOX, University of West Virginia

Discussants: JAMES J. HEAPHEY, State University of New York, Albany

*TOBE M. JOHNSON, Morehouse College

ORION F. WHITE, JR., Syracuse University

1:30 p.m. Wed., Sept. 9—Judicial Systems and Behavior

LAW AND POVERTY

26-C

Chairman: TWILEY W. BARKER, JR., University of Illinois, Chicago Circle

WEDNESDAY EVENING; THURSDAY MORNING

Papers: **"The Law and Politics of Welfare Organizations"**

C. THOMAS DIENNES, American University

"The Social Climate for Race and Poverty Measures"

RICHARD M. JOHNSON, University of Illinois, Chicago Circle

"The Impact of the OEO's Legal Services Program: The Role of Local Bar Associations"

HARRY P. STUMPF, University of New Mexico

Discussants: RONALD B. BAILEY, St. Louis University

MARILYN BLAWIE, California State College, Hayward

PHILLIP J. HANNON, Skidmore College

LOUIS KUSHNICK, University of Manchester

4:00 p.m. to 6:30 p.m.—Business Meeting II, (Constitution)
The American Political Science Association

6:00 p.m. Wed., Sept. 9—Conference on Communist Studies—Business Meeting

6:00 p.m.—Receptions

Michigan State University dutch treat cocktail party for alumni and friends of the Department of Political Science

University of Southern California—von KleinSmid Center of International and Public Affairs dutch treat cocktail party for alumni and friends

8:00 p.m. to 11:00 p.m.—Business Meeting III, (Constitution)
The American Political Science Association

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 10

9:00 a.m. to 5:00 p.m.—Registration

9:00 a.m.—Panel Meetings (Group D)

PANEL MEETINGS (Group D)

9:00 a.m. Thurs., Sept. 10—American Political Science

A COMPARATIVE SOCIO-POLITICAL ANALYSIS OF BLACK AND WHITE POLITICAL SCIENTISTS IN THE UNITED STATES 1-D

(Organized by the Committee on the Status of Blacks in the Profession)

Chairman: PAUL L. PURYEAR, Fisk University

Discussants: VERNON GRAY, University of Massachusetts

*TOBE M. JOHNSON, Morehouse College

HARRY M. SCOBLE, Jr., University of California, Los Angeles

MAURICE C. WOODARD, Federal City College

THURSDAY MORNING, SEPT. 10

9:00 a.m. Thurs., Sept. 10—Political Knowledge

**THE USE OF COMPUTERS IN THE INTERACTIVE MODE FOR THE TEMPORAL
AND SPATIAL DISPLAY AND ANALYSIS OF URBAN INFORMATION:**

A Demonstration

2-D

Organized by: GERROLD VOSS, Harvard University

9:00 a.m. Thurs., Sept. 10—Philosophical Analysis

**CONTEMPORARY ANALYTICAL PHILOSOPHY AND
POLITICAL THEORY**

4-D

Chairman: PAUL ROAZEN, Harvard University

Papers: **"From Therapy to Theorizing: Conceptual Analysis and Political
Philosophy"**

RICHARD E. FLATHMAN, University of Chicago

"Politics, Language, and Time"

JOHN G. A. POCKOCK, Washington University, St. Louis

"The Ecological Perspective and Political Theory"

JOHN R. RODMAN, Pitzer College

"'Justification' and the Nature of Political Philosophy"

GORDON J. SCHOCHET, Rutgers University

"Normative Principles and Prescription Political Theory"

BRUCE E. WRIGHT, Georgetown University

9:00 a.m. Thurs., Sept. 10—Data and Analysis

ANALYSIS OF PUBLIC POLICY DATA: II

5-D

Chairman: KENNETH M. DOLBEARE, University of Washington

Papers: **"On the Primacy of Politics: Selected Educational Outcomes of
Communist States in International Perspective"**

ALEXANDER J. GROTH and L. L. WADE, University of California, Davis

"Dimensions of Public Policies in the American States"

ANNE H. HOPKINS, Hobart and William Smith College, and RONALD
E. WEBER, Indiana University

Discussants: JAMES B. HOGAN, University of Arizona
ROBERT WARREN, University of Washington

9:00 a.m. Thurs., Sept. 10—Politics and Education

THE UNIVERSITY AS A POLITICAL SYSTEM

6-D

Chairman: MERLE KLING, Washington University, St. Louis

Papers: **"The State University: Who Governs?"**

LEON D. EPSTEIN, University of Wisconsin

C. E. LINDBLOM, Yale University

VICTOR G. ROSENBLUM, Reed College

THURSDAY MORNING, SEPT. 10

9:00 a.m. Thurs., Sept. 10—Critical Issues in American Politics

**THE POLITICS AND ADMINISTRATION OF
ENVIRONMENTAL CONTROL**

7-D

Chairman: DENNIS L. THOMPSON, University of Arizona

Papers: **"Agenda-Setting Strategies: The Case of Pollution Problems"**

LAYNE D. HOPPE, American University

"The Politics of Federal Water Pollution Control"

IRENE L. MURPHY, Federal Water Pollution Control Administration

Discussants: LYNTON CALDWELL, Indiana University

DEAN MANN, University of California, Santa Barbara

GRANT MCCONNELL, University of California, Santa Cruz

9:00 a.m. Thurs., Sept. 10—The Antiballistic Missile Issue

LOBBIES AND VESTED INTERESTS

9-D

Chairman:

Papers: **"How Scientists Lobby"**

THOMAS HALSTED, Council for a Livable World

"The Lobbying of Technology"

CHARLES M. HERZFELD, International Telephone and Telegraph

"Military-Industrial-Congressional Alliances"

JEREMY J. STONE, Council on Foreign Relations

Discussant: JAMES G. PHILLIPS, Businessmen's Education Fund, Washington, D.C.

9:00 a.m. Thurs., Sept. 10—Patterns of International Interaction

THE MIDDLE EAST CRISIS

10-D

(Organized by the Conference for Democratic Politics)

Chairman: P. J. VATIKIOTIS, London School of Oriental and African Studies

9:00 a.m. Thurs., Sept. 10—Conflict and Peace Research

ESCALATION AND NEGOTIATION

12-D

Chairman: AMITAI ETZIONI, Columbia University

Papers: **"Attitude Change in International Negotiations: The Test Ban"**

P. TERRENCE HOPPMANN, University of Minnesota

"Verbal and Physical Conflict in the Contemporary International System"

CHARLES A. MCCLELLAND, University of Southern California

"Commitment and the Escalation of Conflicts"

MICHAEL P. SULLIVAN, University of Arizona

Discussant: JAMES A. STEGENGA, Purdue University

THURSDAY MORNING, SEPT. 10

9:00 a.m. Thurs., Sept. 10—International Political Communication

THE STUDY OF INTERNATIONAL COMMUNICATION: 13-D
PAST TRENDS AND FUTURE NEEDS

Chairman: CHARLES E. OSGOOD, University of Illinois

Papers: **"The Transition from International Communication to International Relations as Communication"**
DAVIS B. BOBROW, U. S. Department of Defense
"The Transition from International Communication to Global Communication"
HERBERT C. KELMAN, Harvard University

Discussant: HAMID MOWLANA, American University

9:00 a.m. Thurs., Sept. 10—Cross-National Comparison

AGGREGATE DATA IN COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS 14-D

Chairman:

Papers: **"Data Analysis and the Study of System Change"**
RONALD D. BRUNNER, University of Michigan, and KLAUS LIEPELT, INFAS, Bad Godesberg
"Problems in Evaluating Complex Models in Cross-National Research"
CHARLES F. CNUDE, University of Wisconsin
"The Quality of Quantities: The Promise and Problems of the Use of Quantitative Data"
MARTIN C. NEEDLER, University of New Mexico

Discussant: RICHARD W. CHADWICK, University of Hawaii

9:00 a.m. Thurs., Sept. 10—Comparative Communist Systems

WORKERS' DECISION MAKING IN THE COMMUNIST COUNTRIES 15-D

Chairman: BERNARD S. MORRIS, Indiana University

Papers: **"Workers' Decision Making in Communist China"**
PAUL F. HARPER, Hofstra University
"Decentralization of Management in Workers' Management Socialism"
MILOS SAMARDZIJA, University of Belgrade
"Workers' Decision Making in Communist and Non-Communist Countries"
SAMUEL L. SHARP, American University

Discussants: JAMES DANZIGER, Stanford University
GEORGE KLEIN, Western Michigan University

THURSDAY MORNING, SEPT. 10

9:00 a.m. Thurs., Sept. 10—Political Development

THE GRASSROOTS IN POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

17-D

Chairman: MARTIN KILSON, Harvard University

Papers: **"China"**

GEORGE P. JAN, University of Toledo

"Dahomey"

DOV RONEN, Indiana University

"Ghana"

HARRIET B. SCHIFFER, Temple University

Discussants: MARC HOWARD ROSS, Bryn Mawr College

THOMAS RUSCH, California State College

9:00 a.m. Thurs., Sept. 10—Domestic Turmoil and Internal War

EFFECTS OF STUDENT PROTEST

18-D

Chairman: MARC PILISUK, University of California, Berkeley

Papers: **"Effects of Student Activism in Industrialized Nations"**

A. BELDON FIELDS, University of Illinois

"Evaluation of a Decade of Student Protest"

RICHARD FLACKS, University of California, Santa Barbara

"University Effects of Student Protest"

JOHN SPIEGEL, Brandeis University

Discussant: BENJAMIN I. PAGE, Stanford University

9:00 a.m. Thurs., Sept. 10—State and Local Government

THE POLITICS OF THE NEW FEDERALISM

19-D

Chairman: DANIEL J. ELAZAR, Temple University

Papers: **"Federalism and the Model Cities Experiment"**

JUDSON L. JAMES, City University of New York, City College

"Emerging Patterns in the Inter-Governmental System: A Study of the Politics and Administration of Federal Grants-in-Aid"

MORLEY SEGAL and A. LEE FRITSCHLER, American University

Discussants: LATHEEF N. AHMED, University of Malaya, Kuala Lumpur

GERALD S. FERMAN, Western Illinois University

VUKAN KUIC, University of South Carolina

9:00 a.m. Thurs., Sept. 10—Political Socialization

CROSS-NATIONAL VARIATION IN POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION

21-D

Chairman: JACK DENNIS, University of Wisconsin

THURSDAY MORNING, SEPT. 10

Papers: **"The Political Socialization of Italian Children in Italy and the United States: The Harvard-Florence Project"**

LEROY C. FERGUSON, Michigan State University, LUCY RAU FERGUSON, and HARBEN BOUTOURLINE YOUNG

"Political Socialization in Venezuela"

JOEL M. JUTKOWITZ, San Diego State College

"The Political Socialization of Nationalist Chinese University Students"

RIKI R. ROSENBERG, Howard University

Discussants: RODOLFO MARTINEZ, Governor's State University

REID R. READING, University of Pittsburgh

ROBERT O. TILMAN, Yale University

9:00 a.m. Thurs., Sept. 10—Parties and Politics

TOWARD A NEW GROUP THEORY

22-D

Chairman:

Papers: **"The Formation of Black Political Groups in the 19th Century"**

*RUSSELL L. ADAMS, Federal City College

"The Unorganized Interests: Consumers in Policy"

MARK V. NADEL, Cornell University

"Policy-Making and Models of Group Representation in Great Britain"

PAUL E. PETERSON, University of Chicago

"Comparative Study of Attitudes in Four Groups of Professionals in the South"

THOMAS H. ROBACK, Virginia Polytechnic Institute

9:00 a.m. Thurs., Sept. 10—Political Leadership

LEADERSHIP CHANGE AT THE NATIONAL LEVEL

23-D

Chairman: JOHN F. BIBBY, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee

Papers: **"Presidential Leadership: Changing and Competing Perspectives"**

THOMAS E. CRONIN, Brookings Institution

"Senate Leadership Change, 1953-1970"

ROBERT L. PEABODY, Johns Hopkins University

9:00 a.m. Thurs., Sept. 10—Legislatures and Legislative Behavior

RECRUITMENT, SOCIALIZATION, AND LEGISLATIVE NORMS

24-D

Chairman: EVERETT F. CATALDO, Cleveland State University

Papers: **"Party Professionalism and its Consequences: Candidates for the West German Bundestag"**

JEFF FISHEL, San Francisco State University

THURSDAY MORNING; THURSDAY AFTERNOON

"The Socialization of Freshmen Congressmen"

IRWIN N. GERTZOG, Yale University

"Rules of the Game in the Colombian Congress"

GARY HOSKIN, State University of New York, Buffalo

"Social Background of the Members of the House of Representatives in Japan, 1890-1960"

YASUMASA KURODA, University of Hawaii

"Congress and the House of Commons: A Contrast in Institutional Styles and Norms"

ARMIN ROSENCRANZ, Stanford University

"Correlates of Participation in the Guatemalan National Congress"

JOEL G. VERNER, Illinois State University, Normal

9:00 a.m. Thurs., Sept. 10—Judicial Systems and Behavior

LAW IN POLITICAL SCIENCE: ITS SCOPE AND METHOD 26-D

Chairman: JACK PELTASON, University of Illinois

Papers: **"Decision Theory and Judicial Decision"**

DONALD R. BOWEN, Case Western Reserve University

"Public Law Research and Political Science"

ROBERT G. DIXON, JR., George Washington University, Law Center

"Substituting Legal Policy for Public Law"

MARTIN SHAPIRO, University of California, Irvine

Discussants: ELLIS KATZ, Temple University

JAY SIGLER, Rutgers University

11:30 a.m. to 1:30 p.m.—Inter-University Consortium for Political Research Workshop

12:00 noon, Thurs., Sept. 10—Special Meeting IV

THE DEPARTMENT CHAIRMANSHIP: An Open Meeting for Department Chairmen

Chairman: CHARLES PRESS, Michigan State University

Special Meeting V

**LIFE-STYLES OF PROFESSIONAL WOMEN:
A Roundtable**

(Organized by the Women's Caucus for Political Science)

Chairwoman: JUDITH STIEHM, University of California, Los Angeles

Participants: JOYCE and WILLIAM MITCHELL, University of Oregon
KATHRYN BOALS, Princeton University

1:00 p.m. Thurs., Sept. 10—Open Session of the APSA Committee on Academic Freedom

THURSDAY AFTERNOON, SEPT. 10

1:30 p.m. Thurs., Sept. 10—Panel Meetings (Group E)

1:30 p.m. Thurs., Sept. 10—American Political Science

**COLLOQUIUM ON THE SCHOLARLY ROLE OF POLITICAL SCIENTISTS:
THE RELATIVE EMPHASIS ON EXPLANATION AND EVALUATION 1-E1**
(Organized by the Committee on Professional Ethics)

Chairman: VERNON VAN DYKE, University of Iowa

Discussants: MARTIN DIAMOND, Claremont Men's College
*EUGENE J. MEEHAN, University of Illinois
JOSEPH PAFF, Stanford University
ROBERT J. PRANGER, University of Washington (on leave, U.S. Department of Defense, 1969-1971)
WILLIAM H. RIKER, University of Rochester
JOSEPH TANENHAUS, State University of New York, Stony Brook

**HAS AMERICAN POLITICAL SCIENCE FAILED TO 1-E2
PROVIDE POLITICAL EDUCATION?**
(Organized by the Conference for Democratic Politics)

Chairman: RAYMOND ENGLISH

Participants: RUSSELL KIRK
GERHART NIEMEYER

1:30 p.m. Thurs., Sept. 10—Political Knowledge

AGGREGATIVE RESEARCH IN A POLICY CONTEXT 2-E

Chairman: HAROLD D. LASSWELL, Yale University

Papers: "Evaluation and Innovation in Urban Research"
GARRY D. BREWER, RAND Corporation
WILLIAM GARRISON, University of Pittsburgh
"The New York City-RAND Housing Study"
IRA S. LOWRY, RAND Corporation
"The Rationale for a Population Distribution Policy"
KARL TAEUBER and PETER MORRISON, RAND Corporation

1:30 p.m. Thurs., Sept. 10—Formal Political Theory

FORMAL ANALYSIS OF CONCEPT FORMATION 3-E

Chairman: MICHAEL HAAS, University of Hawaii

Papers: JOSEPH FIRESTONE, Cornell University
PAUL KRESS, University of North Carolina
RICHARD W. TAYLOR, Kent State University

Discussants: ARTHUR L. KALLENBERG, University of Missouri
TIMOTHY M. HENNESSEY, Michigan State University
JOHN F. WILSON, University of Hawaii

THURSDAY AFTERNOON, SEPT. 10

1:30 p.m. Thurs., Sept. 10—Philosophical Analysis

A MEETING WITH ERIC VOEGELIN

4-E

(Organized by the Conference for Democratic Politics)

1:30 p.m. Thurs., Sept. 10—Data and Analysis

THE EPISTEMOLOGICAL FOUNDATIONS OF THE SCIENCE OF POLITICS 5-E1

(Organized by the Conference for Democratic Politics)

Chairman: ELLIS SANDOZ, East Texas State College

WORKSHOP ON SOCIAL AND POLITICAL INDICATORS

5-E2

Chairman: EUGENE PERLE, Wayne State University

1:30 p.m. Thurs., Sept. 10—Politics and Education

PLATO AND THE TEACHING OF POLITICAL SCIENCE
A Workshop

6-E

Chairman: FRED S. COOMBS, University of Illinois

1:30 p.m. Thurs., Sept. 10—Critical Issues in American Politics

POLLUTION AND POLITICS

7-E

(Organized by the Caucus for a New Political Science)

Chairman: WALT ANDERSON, San Fernando Valley State College

1:30 p.m. Thurs., Sept. 10—The Vietnam Issue

VIETNAM AND THE POLICY SCIENCES

8-E

Chairman:

Paper: "The Theory and Practice of Policy Science: The Vietnam Case"
THOMAS W. ROBINSON, RAND Corporation

1:30 p.m. Thurs., Sept. 10—The Antiballistic Missile Issue

SIGNALS EMITTED

9-E

Chairman:

Papers: "What the Soviet Union Saw in the ABM Debate"

YURI ARBATOV, Institute on the United States, Soviet Academy of Sciences

"The ABM Debate: A Policy Analysis Perspective"

YEHEZKEL DROR, RAND Corporation

"Domestic Reverberations"

DUN K. GIFFORD, Office of Senator Edward Kennedy

Discussant: WESLEY W. POZVAR, University of Pittsburgh

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THURSDAY AFTERNOON, SEPT. 10

1:30 p.m. Thurs., Sept. 10—Patterns of International Interaction

STUDIES IN PATTERNS OF INTERACTION

10-E

Chairman: EDWARD W. MILES, University of Denver

Papers: **"The Consequences of Israeli Reprisals on Patterns of Interaction between Israeli and Neighboring Arab Nations"**

BARRY M. BLECHMAN, Center for Naval Analyses

"Strategic Interdependence and the Politics of Inertia: Paradoxes of European Defense Cooperation"

MICHAEL BRENNER, Cornell University

"The Road to the Six Day War: A Time Series Analysis of Israel, Syria, Jordan, and the U.A.R."

ROBERT D. BURROWES, New York University

"Perceptions and Sino-Soviet Interactions, 1950-1967"

FRANZ J. MODGIS, Bendix Corporation

"The Conflict Environment of Nations: A Study of Conflict Inputs to Nations in 1963"

WARREN R. PHILLIPS, University of Hawaii

"French Canada and French Louisiana: Transnational Relations between Units of Federation"

RAYMOND S. RODGERS, University of Winnipeg

"Patterns of Interaction within the African Regional System"

PAUL SAENZ, North Texas State University

"Conflict between Great Powers and Small Powers: Perception and Action in Near East Crises"

JACK M. SCHICK, Center for Naval Analysis

Discussants: BARRY HUGHES, Case Western Reserve University

ROBERT H. MANLEY, University of Puerto Rico

1:30 p.m. Thurs., Sept. 10—Conflict and Peace Research

THE INITIATION, PROTRACTION, AND TERMINATION OF WAR

12-E

Chairman: RALPH M. GOLDMAN, San Francisco State College

Papers: **"American and Soviet Influences on Arab-Israeli Violence"**

JEFFREY S. MILSTEIN, Yale University

"What is War Power?"

STEVEN J. ROSEN, University of Pittsburgh

"Systems Structure and the Incidence of Interstate War, 1816-1965"

J. DAVID SINGER, University of Michigan

Discussant: WILLIAM R. CASPARY, Washington University, St. Louis

1:30 p.m. Thurs., Sept. 10—International Political Communication

FOREIGN INTERVENTION AND INDUCED POLITICAL CHANGE

13-E

Chairman:

THURSDAY AFTERNOON, SEPT. 10

Papers: **"The Multinational Corporation as International Communicator"**

HERBERT I. SCHILLER, University of Illinois

"The Consequences of Technological Intervention: Nuclear Desalting Projects in the Middle East"

PAUL D. WOLFOWITZ, University of Chicago

Discussant: TON DEVOS, Trinity University

1:30 p.m. Thurs., Sept. 10—Cross-National Comparison

COMPARATIVE POLITICS AND SOCIAL STRATIFICATION 14-E

Chairman: ARISTIDE R. ZOLBERG, University of Chicago

Papers: **"The Changing Role of Social Class in Western European Politics"**

PAUL R. ABRAMSON, Michigan State University

"The Social Determinants of Partisan Conflict in the Commonwealth Caribbean"

DAVID BECKLES, University of the West Indies, and CARL STONE, University of Michigan-University of the West Indies

"Caste and Politics in India"

HAROLD GOULD, University of Illinois

Discussants: HARVEY WATERMAN, Rutgers University
MORTON KROLL, University of Washington

1:30 p.m. Thurs., Sept. 10—Comparative Communist Systems

**COMMUNIST CHINA AND SOVIET RUSSIA IN
COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE** 15-E

(Organized by the Conference on Communist Studies)

Chairman:

Papers: **"Russian and Chinese Policies Toward Cuba and Cuba's Response"**

DANIEL TRETIK, Defense and Space Center, Westinghouse Electric Corporation

"Chinese and Russian Elites"

DEREK J. WALLER and ROBERT DONALDSON, Vanderbilt University

Discussant: PARRIS H. CHANG, Pennsylvania State University

1:30 p.m. Thurs., Sept. 10—Comparative Foreign Policy

FOREIGN POLICY IN COMMUNIST SYSTEMS 16-E

Chairman: ANDREW GYORGY, George Washington University

Papers: **"Public Opinion and the Political System in Eastern Europe"**

ZVI Y. GITELMAN, University of Michigan

"Comparative Strategies in Diverse Political Systems"

ROMAN KOLKOWICZ, University of California, Los Angeles

THURSDAY AFTERNOON, SEPT. 10

Discussants: PAUL COCKS, Harvard University
SHELDON W. SIMON, University of Kentucky
JOHN R. THOMAS, Research Analysis Corporation

1:30 p.m. Thurs., Sept. 10—Political Development

EMPIRICAL THEORIES OF POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT 17-E

Chairman: WILLIAM G. FLEMING, New York University

Papers: **"Theories of Democratic Development: Computer Simulation"**
ROLAND F. MOY, East Tennessee State University
"Stratification and Political Power"
JOHN POWELL, Harvard University
"Political Decay"
MICHAEL I. SELZER, City University of New York
"Theory of Corruption: Case of Developing States"
RICHARD A. STYSKAL, City University of New York, Brooklyn College

1:30 p.m. Thurs., Sept. 10—Urban and Metropolitan Affairs

EDUCATION AND HOUSING: URBAN POLICY MAKING 20-E

Chairman: BRETT W. HAWKINS, University of Georgia

Papers: **"Political Power and Educational Decision-Making: The Case of Wilmington"**
JAMES L. COX, University of Delaware
"Policy Making on Open Housing: Three Michigan Cities"
BRYAN T. DOWNES and KENNETH R. GREENE, Michigan State University
"Teacher's Salary Increases in a Cluster of Suburban School Districts"
DONALD GERWIN, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee

Discussants: LENNEAL J. HENDERSON, JR., St. Mary's College
HARRELL RODGERS, University of Georgia

1:30 p.m. Thurs., Sept. 10—Parties and Politics

**PARTY FUNCTIONS AND SOCIOECONOMIC BASES:
COMPARATIVE APPROACHES** 22-E

Chairman:

Papers: **"Comparative Regional Analysis of Partisanship in the United States"**
WILLIAM H. FLANIGAN, University of Minnesota, and THAD L. BEYLE, Duke University
"Party Organization and Function in the United States and Canada"
HENRY J. JACEK, McMaster University

THURSDAY AFTERNOON, SEPT. 10

"Social Bases of the Vote in Venezuelan Parties, and Aggregate Analysis, 1958-1968"

JOHN D. MARTZ, University of North Carolina, and PETER B. HARKINS, National League of Cities

"Genesis of Party in Iran, as a Case Comparison with European Types"

GHOLAM H. RAZI, University of Houston

1:30 p.m. Thurs., Sept. 10—Political Leadership

LOCAL LEADERS AS POLITICAL MIDDLEMEN 23-E

Chairman: WILLIAM JOHN HANNA, City University of New York, Herbert H. Lehman College

Papers: **"Role Buffering as a Linkage Device in African Local Politics"**

ALVIN MAGID, State University of New York, Albany

"Liaison Personnel and Linkage Cadres in the 1967 Indian National Election"

DWAIN MARVICK, University of California, Los Angeles

"Post-War Leadership Changes in Peasant Communities in Southeast Asia"

JAMES C. SCOTT, University of Wisconsin

1:30 p.m. Thurs., Sept. 10—Administrative Behavior

QUANTITATIVE APPROACHES TO ADMINISTRATIVE PROCESSES 25-E

Chairman: WILLIAM J. GORE, University of Washington

Papers: **"Normative and Empirical Implications of Budgetary Processes"**

DAVID A. CAPUTO, Purdue University

"Applications of Mathematical Structures in Politics"

THOMAS SAATY, University of Pennsylvania

"Impact of Management Sciences on Political Decision-Making"

MICHAEL J. WHITE, University of Kentucky

Discussants: CHESTER W. BAIN, University of South Carolina
FRANK K. GIBSON, University of Georgia
FREMONT G. LYDEN, University of Washington

1:30 p.m. Thurs., Sept. 10—Judicial Systems and Behavior

POLICE, PROSECUTION, AND THE LAW 26-E

Chairman: JOHN A. GARDINER, National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice, Washington, D.C.

Papers: **"Unjust Urban Justice as Official Anarchy"**

THEODORE L. BECKER, New York University

"Experience with and Attitudes toward the Police and the Courts"

HERBERT JACOB, Northwestern University

THURSDAY AFTERNOON; THURSDAY EVENING

"The Development of Policemen"

WILLIAM K. MUIR, JR., University of California, Berkeley

Discussants: A. DIDRICK CASTBERG, California State College, Los Angeles
WILLIAM CHAMBLISS, University of California, Santa Barbara
JAMES EISENSTEIN, University of Michigan

4:00 p.m. to 6:30 p.m. Thurs., Sept. 10—Business Meeting IV, (Constitution and/or Resolutions)
The American Political Science Association

8:45 p.m. to 10:30 p.m. Thurs., Sept. 10—

APSA PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

Karl W. Deutsch

Harvard University, *President*

Report of Committees on Awards

AWARDS COMMITTEES

Woodrow Wilson Foundation Book Award Committee

Bernard Cohen, University of Wisconsin,
Chairman

Harvey Mansfield, Jr., Harvard University

Susanne Hoeber Rudolph, University of Chicago

This award is for the best book published in the United States during 1969 on government, politics, or international affairs.

Pi Sigma Alpha Award Committee

Gerald H. Kramer, Yale University
Chairman

Samuel H. Barnes, University of Michigan

William C. Mitchell, University of Oregon

This award is for the best paper presented at the 1969 annual meeting.

Edward S. Corwin Award Committee

Wallace Mendelson, University of Texas,
Chairman

Harold Chase, University of Minnesota
Sheldon Goldman, University of Massachusetts

This award is for the best doctoral dissertation completed and accepted during

1969 in the field of public law, broadly defined to include the judicial process, judicial biography, judicial behavior, courts, law, legal systems, the American constitutional system, civil liberties, or any other substantive area, or any work which deals in a significant fashion with a topic related to or having substantial impact on the American constitution.

Helen Dwight Reid Award Committee

Burton M. Sapin, George Washington University, *Chairman*

Richard A. Brody, Stanford University

Donald J. Puchala, Columbia University

This award is for the best doctoral dissertation completed and accepted during 1969 in the field of international relations, law, and politics.

Leonard D. White Award Committee

Harvey Mansfield, Sr., Columbia University, *Chairman*

Norman Wengert, Pennsylvania State University

Dwaine Marvick, University of California, Los Angeles

This award is for the best doctoral dissertation completed and accepted during 1969 within the general field of public administration, including broadly related problems of policy formation and administrative history.

THURSDAY EVENING; FRIDAY MORNING

10:00 p.m. Thurs., Sept. 10—APSA Congressional Fellowship Reception

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 11

9:00 a.m. to 5:00 p.m.—Registration

9:00 a.m.—Panel Meetings (Group F)

PANEL MEETINGS (Group F)

9:00 a.m. Fri., Sept. 11—American Political Science

**COLLOQUIUM ON THE SOCIAL ROLE OF POLITICAL SCIENTISTS: 1-F
ETHICAL ISSUES**

(Organized by the Committee on Professional Ethics)

Chairman: *DAVID FELLMAN, University of Wisconsin

Discussants: *RUSSELL L. ADAMS, Federal City College
WILLIAM D. CAREY, Arthur D. Little, Inc.
*GEORGE KATEB, Amherst College
GUENTER LEWY, University of Massachusetts
ARNOLD A. ROGOW, City University of New York
DAVID SPITZ, City University of New York, Hunter College

9:00 a.m. Fri., Sept. 11—Political Knowledge

SCIENCE POLICY REVISITED 2-F

Chairman: SANFORD A. LAKOFF, University of Toronto

Papers: MICHAEL D. REAGAN, University of California, Riverside
ALVIN WEINBERG, Oakridge National Laboratory

Discussants: BREWSTER DENNY, University of Washington
ENID C. B. SCHOETTLE, University of Minnesota

9:00 a.m. Fri., Sept. 11—Formal Political Theory

MATHEMATICAL FUTURES 3-F

Chairman: ELLEN B. PIRRO, University of Minnesota

Papers: "On International Relations: A Computer Simulation of an Inter-
Nation Simulation"
STUART A. BREMER, Michigan State University
"On International Relations: Thoughts on Computer Simulations of
International Relations"
MICHAEL R. LEAVITT, Northwestern University
"Total Systems: Thoughts on Ecological Futures"
LAWRENCE SLOBODKIN, University of Chicago
"Total Systems: Alternative Global Futures"
PAUL L. SMOKER, Northwestern University

FRIDAY MORNING, SEPT. 11

9:00 a.m. Fri., Sept. 11—Philosophical Analysis

**THE FUTURE OF CONSERVATISM:
A Symposium**

4-F

(Organized by the Conference for Democratic Politics)

Chairman: FRANCIS G. WILSON, C. W. Post College

Participants: ULLRICH S. ALLERS, Georgetown University
DAVID S. COLLIER, Editor, *Modern Age*
FRANK S. MEYER Editor, *National Review*
MARY SUE POWER, Arizona State University

9:00 a.m. Fri., Sept. 11—Data and Analysis

MEASUREMENT AND MEASUREMENT TECHNIQUE

5-F1

Chairman: CHADWICK F. ALGER, Northwestern University

Papers: **"Measuring Adaptation"**
JOHN V. GILLESPIE, Indiana University

"Measuring Subsystem Change from Ecological Data"
THEODORE W. MECKSTROTHER, Ohio State University

Discussants: JAMES F. REYNOLDS, University of Alberta
JACK E. VINCENT, Florida Atlantic University

COMPUTER APPLICATIONS FOR POLITICAL INQUIRY

5-F2

The UCLA Department of Political Science has organized three technical workshops to demonstrate hardware/software capabilities now becoming available to social scientists.

USING SPSS UNDER URSA

Chairman: DOUGLAS MADSEN, University of California, Los Angeles

Using Television-Terminal Facilities for remote job entry, the SPSS software package permits rapid editing, data screening, cross-tabulation, nonparametric and scaling analysis, and post-correlational tasks to be performed on the disc-stored political behavior data sets. Both input and output displays are readily available on a dial-up connection to UCLA's Campus Computing Network.

9:00 a.m. Fri., Sept. 11—Politics and Education

EDUCATION AND THE POLITICAL ENVIRONMENT

6-F

Chairman: DAVID W. MINAR, University of Washington

Papers: **"Interest Representation in School Governance"**
M. KENT JENNINGS, University of Michigan, and L. HARMON ZIEGLER, Jr., University of Oregon
"The Multiversity and Its Publics"
EUGENE C. LEE, University of California, Berkeley
"Attitudes of State Officials Toward Higher Education: Sources of Harmony and Discord"
HAROLD E. QUINLEY, Stanford University

FRIDAY MORNING, SEPT. 11

9:00 a.m. Fri., Sept. 11—Critical Issues in American Politics

THE RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE PRESS

7-F

Chairman:

Paper: **"Government and the Mass Media"**

DEAN BURCH, Federal Communications Commission

9:00 a.m. Fri., Sept. 11—The Vietnam Issue

REPORTING AND ANALYZING THE VIETNAM WAR

8-F

Chairman:

Papers: **"Analyzing International Interactions in the Vietnam War, 1965-1968"**

GARY HOGGARD, University of Southern California

"Vietnam: Official United States Reporting and the Credibility Gap"

JERRY M. SILVERMAN, McMaster University

"Intelligence Acquisition vs. Social Science Research"

PHILIP SPERLING, A.I.D., Bureau for Vietnam

9:00 a.m. Fri., Sept. 11—Patterns of International Interaction

NEO-IMPERIALISM

10-F

(Organized by the Caucus for a New Political Science)

Chairman: NEAL D. HOUGHTON, University of Arizona

Paper: LEE WEBER, Wayne State University

9:00 a.m. Fri., Sept. 11—International Community-Building

**THE FUTURE INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM: INTERPLAY BETWEEN
TECHNOLOGICAL AND SOCIAL CHANGE IN THE ENVIRONMENT
WITH EFFECTS OF THE U.N.'S AGENCIES
TO CHANNEL CONTROL SUCH CHANGE**

11-F

Chairman: ROBERT W. COX, International Labour Organization

Papers: **"Strategies and Structures of International Organization: Public Goods,
Planning, and Consequences"**

JOHN RUGGIE, University of California, Berkeley

"International Functional Implications of Future Technology"

EUGENE B. SKOLNIKOFF

Discussants: LAWRENCE SCHEINMAN, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
JAMES P. SEWELL, Yale University

9:00 a.m. Fri., Sept. 11—Conflict and Peace Research

ATTRIBUTES, "DISTANCE," AND ALIGNMENTS

12-F

Chairman: D. BRUCE MARSHALL, University of South Carolina

FRIDAY MORNING, SEPT. 11

- Papers: **"Field Theory and U.S. Foreign Conflict Behavior"**
RUDOLPH J. RUMMEL, University of Hawaii
- "Cooperating to Conflict: Sources of Informal Alignments"**
JOHN D. SULLIVAN, Yale University
- "Models for the Analysis of Foreign Conflict Behavior"**
JONATHAN WILKENFELD, University of Maryland

Discussant: ROY E. LICKLIDER, Rutgers University—Douglass College

9:00 a.m. Fri., Sept. 11—International Political Communication

INTERNATIONAL FLOWS OF PEOPLE AND TRANSACTIONS 13-F

Chairman:

- Papers: **"Experiences and Perceptions of American Participants in Soviet-American Exchanges of Persons: Analysis of a Sample of Scholars and Scientists"**
FREDERICK C. BARGHOORN, Yale University
- "The Impact of American Environment on Foreign Students: The Case of the South Koreans"**
RITA M. KELLY and LORAND B. SZALAY, Center for Research in Social Systems
- "Inter-Personal Communication and Regional Integration: Old Boys, Alumni, and Consensus at ECLA Meetings"**
JOHN R. MATHIASON, University of Washington
- "The Education of Foreign Nationals in the Soviet Union"**
EDWARD A. RAYMOND, University of Connecticut, Stamford

9:00 a.m. Fri., Sept. 11—Cross-National Comparison

THE TWO GERMANIES: POLITY AND SOCIETY IN TRANSITION 14-F
(Organized by the Conference Group on German Politics)

Chairman: ALFRED DIAMANT, Indiana University

- Papers: **"Perceptions of the Grand Coalition"**
FREDERICK C. ENGELMANN, University of Alberta
- "Political Socialization in the D.D.R."**
ARTHUR M. HANHARDT, University of Oregon
- "Political Socialization in Western Germany"**
RODNEY P. STIEFBOLD, State University of New York, Stony Brook,
and HANS N. WEILER, Stanford University

Discussants: MELVIN CROAN, University of Wisconsin
HORST DUHNKE, California State College, Hayward
JEAN EDWARD SMITH, University of Toronto

FRIDAY MORNING, SEPT. 11

9:00 a.m. Fri., Sept. 11—Comparative Communist Systems

POLITICAL LEADERSHIP UNDER COMMUNIST RULE 15-F

Chairman: DARRELL P. HAMMER, Indiana University

Papers: **"Political Leadership in Mainland China"**

PHILIP L. BRIDGHAM, Central Intelligence Agency

"Analysis of Composition and Trends in the Central Committee of the CPSU"

V. EDWARD MCHALE, University of Pennsylvania, and JOSEPH MASTRO, JR., North Carolina State University

"Political Succession in Eastern Europe"

MYRON RUSH, Cornell University

Discussants: *CARL BECK, University of Pittsburgh
DAN N. JACOBS, University of Miami, Ohio

9:00 a.m. Fri., Sept. 11—Domestic Turmoil and Internal War

EFFECTS OF BLACK PROTEST 18-F

Chairman: JEWEL L. PRESTAGE, Southern University

Papers: **"Effects of Ghetto Riots, 1964-1967"**

FRANK B. CLIFFE, JR., Case Western Reserve University

"The Integrative Backlash of Insurgency"

WILLARD JOHNSON, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

"Effects of Black Protest on Social Change: A Systems Approach"

GEORGE LAMB, Northwestern University

Discussants: ROBERT BIRT, University of Southern California
EDWARD JACKSON, Southern University

9:00 a.m. Fri., Sept. 11—State and Local Government

NEW DIMENSIONS IN COMPARATIVE STATE POLITICS 19-F

Chairman: IRA SHARKANSKY, University of Wisconsin

Papers: **"A Longitudinal Analysis of the Politics of Redistribution"**

RICHARD F. WINTERS, Dartmouth College

H. GEORGE FREDERICKSON, Syracuse University

Discussants: STUART H. RAKOFF, State University of New York, Binghamton
RICHARD L. SUTTON, University of Florida
DONALD VAN METER, University of Wisconsin

9:00 a.m. Fri., Sept. 11—Political Socialization

SOCIALIZATION OF POLITICAL ACTIVISTS 21-F

Chairman: ELLIOT S. WHITE, Temple University

FRIDAY MORNING, SEPT. 11

Papers: **"The Process of Political Professionalization: Incentive Systems"**

GORDON S. BLACK, University of Rochester

"A Comparative Study of Party Activists in West Germany and Italy"

PETER H. MERKL, University of California, Santa Barbara

Discussants: LEWIS BOWMAN, Emory University

E. LESTER LEVINE, Florida State University

MANINDRA K. MOHAPATRA, Old Dominion University

9:00 a.m. Fri., Sept. 11—Political Leadership

**THE POSSIBILITIES AND IMPOSSIBILITIES OF
MAYORAL LEADERSHIP**

23-F

Chairman: WILLIS D. HAWLEY, Yale University

Papers: **"Black Mayoral Leadership"**

CHARLES H. LEVINE, Michigan State University

"Mayoral Leadership and Non-Leadership"

JEFFREY L. PRESSMAN, University of California, Berkeley

Discussants: MATTHEW HOLDEN, JR., University of Wisconsin

SAMUEL J. ELDERSVELD, University of Michigan

9:00 a.m. Fri., Sept. 11—Legislatures and Legislative Behavior

COMMITTEES, VOTING, AND POWER IN THE LEGISLATURE

24-F

Chairman: WILLIAM J. KEEFE, University of Pittsburgh

Papers: **"The Internal Distribution of Influence in the Chilean Senate"**

WESTON H. AGOR, Grand Valley State College

"Policy Domain Variation in Roll-call Voting Patterns: United States House of Representatives and Senate"

AAGE R. CLAUSEN, University of Wisconsin

"Dimensions of Voting in the Argentine Chamber of Deputies"

LEE C. FENNELL, College of the Pacific

"Internal Distributions of Senate Power: A Quantitative Approach"

SAMUEL A. KIRKPATRICK, University of Oklahoma, and LAWRENCE K. PETTIT, Montana State University

"Influence and Bargaining in House-Senate Conference Committees"

DAVID L. PALETZ, Duke University

"The Relationships between Committee Attractiveness, Integration, and Party Cohesion: The House of Representatives, 1955-1964"

JOHN W. SOULE and JAMES DYSON, Florida State University

FRIDAY MORNING, SEPT. 11

9:00 a.m. Fri., Sept. 11—Judicial Systems and Behavior

THE EFFECTS OF ALTERNATIVE LEGAL POLICIES 26-F

Chairman: THEODORE MITAU, Minnesota State College System

Papers: **"Implementing Legal Policies through Operant Conditioning: The Case of Police Practices"**

JAMES P. LEVINE, University of Oregon

"Effects of Alternative Legal Policies"

STUART S. NAGEL, University of Illinois

"Some Perspectives on the Impact of the U.S. Supreme Court"

STEPHEN L. WASBY, Southern Illinois University

Discussants: OTIS H. STEPHENS, University of Tennessee

KENT M. WEEKS, College of Wooster, Ohio

11:30 a.m.—1:30 p.m. Fri., Sept. 11—

Inter-University Consortium for Political Research
Workshop and Information

12:00 noon, Fri., Sept. 11—Special Meetings

Special Meeting VI

OPEN BUSINESS MEETING:

Women's Caucus for Political Science

Special Meeting VII

ACADEMIC RECRUITMENT, POSITIONS, AND APPLICANTS

Chairman:

Paper: **"Recruitment and Vacancies in Political Science"**

JOHN DREIJMANIS, University of Pennsylvania, and

MARVIN RINTALA, Boston College

Special Meeting VIII

INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE ON CAMPAIGNING AND CAMPAIGN MATERIALS*

(Organized by the American Political Item Collectors)

Speakers: **"Changes in the Characteristics of Campaign Music"**

CHARLES MCCALL, Indiana University

"The Relationship of Campaign Financing and the Use of Campaign Materials"

DALE WAGNER, University of Akron

"The Effects of Political Cartooning on Campaigns"

CHARLES PRESS, Michigan State University

Discussant: BERNARD C. HENNESSEY, Pennsylvania State University

*Exhibits of Campaign Memorabilia will be a part of this roundtable.

FRIDAY AFTERNOON, SEPT. 11

1:30 p.m.—Panel Meetings (Group G)

1:30 p.m. Fri., Sept. 11—American Political Science

**COLLOQUIUM ON POLITICAL SCIENCE AND THE EXCHANGE OF
SCIENTIFIC INFORMATION** 1-G1

(Organized by the Committee on Scientific Information Exchange)

Chairman: *CARL BECK, University of Pittsburgh

Discussants: MICHAEL C. HUDSON, City University of New York, Brooklyn College
KENNETH JANDA, Northwestern University
*WARREN E. MILLER, University of Michigan
*KENNETH PREWITT, University of Chicago
*ALBERT SOMIT, State University of New York, Stony Brook

**POLITICAL SCIENCE: PROFESSION OR VOCATION
A Roundtable** 1-G2

(Organized by the Caucus for a New Political Science)

Chairman: CHARLES A. MCCOY, Lehigh University

Participants: JAMES E. BARNES, Ohio University
THEODORE J. LOWI, University of Chicago
MICHAEL PARENTI, University of Illinois
SARA SHUMER, Haverford College
ALAN WOLFE, State University of New York, Old Westbury

1:30 p.m. Fri., Sept. 11—Philosophical Analysis

LEGITIMACY: LAW OR IDEOLOGY? 4-G

Chairman: SAMUEL D. COOK, Ford Foundation

Papers: "What is Political Obligation?"

HARRY V. JAFFA, Claremont Men's College

"Illegitimate Science: The Birth of Ideology"

LEE C. McDONALD, Pomona College

"On Political Illegitimacy"

WILSON CAREY MCWILLIAMS, City University of New York, Brooklyn College

"Legitimization Through Ideological Commitment"

H. MARK ROELOFS, New York University

"Political Legitimacy, Political Obligation, and Political Size"

ALAN WERTHEIMER, University of Vermont

1:30 p.m. Fri., Sept. 11—Data and Analysis

COMPUTER APPLICATIONS FOR POLITICAL INQUIRY 5-G

The UCLA Department of Political Science has organized three technical workshops to demonstrate hardware/software capabilities now becoming available to social scientists.

FRIDAY AFTERNOON, SEPT. 11

USING FASD UNDER URSA

Chairman: CARL HENSLER, University of California, Los Angeles

Also using the UCLA remote terminal system—*URSA*—the specialized features of *FASD* (a Factor Analysis for Survey Data) are demonstrated by its author. *FASD* is able to handle up to 220 variables and the set-up time for a straightforward job has been reduced to under ten minutes.

1:30 p.m. Fri., Sept. 11—Politics and Education

**REVOLUTION IN THE CLASSROOM:
TEACHING vs. LEARNING**

6-G

(Organized by the Caucus for a New Political Science)

Chairman: JAMES M. ELDEN, University of California, Los Angeles

Papers: "Teaching through the Criterion Referenced Model of Instruction"

CLARE ROSE, University of California, Los Angeles

"Strategies for Building Better Head Trips"

1:30 p.m. Fri., Sept. 11—Critical Issues in American Politics

THE PRESS AND POLITICS: A Symposium

7-G

(Organized by the Conference for Democratic Politics)

Chairman:

1:30 p.m. Fri., Sept. 11—The Vietnam Issue

COSTS OF CONTINUATION AND EXTRICATION FROM VIETNAM 8-G

Chairman:

Papers: "The American People, Southeast Asia, and the Presidency"

ALBERT H. CANTRIL, JR., Institute for International Social Research

"Political Implications of Extrication from Vietnam for Southeast Asia"

PAUL LANGER, RAND Corporation

Discussant: ROBERT A. HOLMES, Southern University

1:30 p.m. Fri., Sept. 11—The Antiballistic Missile Issue

BUREAUCRATIC PERSPECTIVES

9-G

Chairman:

Papers: "The View from the Pentagon and Above"

MORTON H. HALPERIN, Brookings Institution

"ABM and Interservice Rivalry"

TOWNSEND HOOPES, Former Under-Secretary of the Air Force

FRIDAY AFTERNOON, SEPT. 11

"The View from the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency"

HERBERT SCOVILLE, JR., Brookings Institution

Discussants: JEROME H. KAHAN, Brookings Institution
HERBERT F. YORK, University of California, San Diego

1:30 p.m. Fri., Sept. 11—Patterns of International Interaction

**APPROACHES TO THE SYSTEMATIC ANALYSIS OF FOREIGN POLICY
OUTPUTS**

10-G

Chairman: DINA A. ZINNES, Indiana University

Papers: **"Profiling and Predicting Patterns of Inter-Nation Interactions"**

EDWARD E. AZAR, Michigan State University

"The Foreign Policies of the Private Sector"

DAVID H. BLAKE, University of Pittsburgh

"Measuring Conflict and Cooperation Intensity in East-West Relations"

WALTER H. CORSON, Inter-University Consortium for Political
Research

"National Attributes and Foreign Policy: The Role of Accountability"

STEPHEN A. SALMORE, Rutgers University—Douglass College

**"Foreign Policy Communications in the NATO-Warsaw Pact Inter-
national Subsystem"**

TOM A. TRAVIS, Virginia Polytechnic Institute

**"A Classification of Nations According to Foreign Policy Output:
Some Applications for Comparative Foreign Policy Analysis"**

ROBERT A. YOUNG, University of Southern California

Discussants: ALAN DOWTY, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem
GILBERT R. WINHAM, McMaster University

1:30 p.m. Fri., Sept. 11—International Community-Building

**THE FUTURE INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM:
IS THE ROLE OF NON-GOVERNMENTAL EFFORTS GROWING?**

11-G

Chairman: THOMAS H. HOVET, JR., University of Oregon

Papers: **"The Changing Impact and Incidence of Non-Governmental Orga-
nizations: A Quantitative Approach"**

WERNER J. FELD, University of Louisiana

**"Non-Governmental Entities as Parties and the International Pro-
tection of Human Rights"**

JOHN H. FRIED

"Multinational Corporations as International Interest Groups"

JONATHAN F. GALLOWAY, Lake Forest College

Discussant: ROBERT AXELROD, University of California, Berkeley

FRIDAY AFTERNOON, SEPT. 11

1:30 p.m. Fri., Sept. 11—Cross-National Comparison

**COMPARATIVE POLITICAL STUDIES: DID THE SSRC-SPONSORED
REVOLUTION DEVOUR ITS OWN CHILDREN? 14-G
A Roundtable**

Participants: DAVID E. APTER, Yale University
BERNARD E. BROWN, City University of New York, Brooklyn College
ROY MACRIDIS, Brandeis University
LUCIAN W. PYE, Massachusetts Institute of Technology
DANKWART A. RUSTOW, Columbia University

1:30 p.m. Fri., Sept. 11—Comparative Foreign Policy

FOREIGN POLICY IN THE THIRD WORLD 16-G

Chairman: WAYNE WILCOX, Columbia University

1:30 p.m. Fri., Sept. 11—Domestic Turmoil and Internal War

**THE REVOLUTIONARY OPTION, PRO AND CON:
MODERNIZING CHINA AND JAPAN 18-G**

(Organized by the Society for Asian and Comparative Philosophy)

Chairman: GEORGE O. TOTTEN, University of Southern California

Papers: "The Non-Revolutionary Option: Inoue Kowashi (1844-1895)"
PETER CH'EN, Harvard University
"The Revolutionary Option as Propounded by Sung Chao-jen (1880-1913)"
DON PRICE, Yale University

Discussant: ARDATH W. BURKS, Rutgers University

1:30 p.m. Fri., Sept. 11—State and Local Government

BLACK POLITICAL POWER: NORTH AND SOUTH 19-G

Chairman: *WILLIAM P. ROBINSON, Norfolk State College

Papers: "Black Officials in Local Governments in the South"
*MACK H. JONES, Atlanta University
"From Expressive Disorders to Issue-Oriented Politics"
MARIAN L. PALLEY, Rutgers University

Discussants: LYMAN A. KELLSTEDT, University of Illinois, Chicago Circle
WILLIAM E. NELSON, JR., Ohio State University

1:30 p.m. Fri., Sept. 11—Urban and Metropolitan Affairs

URBAN DECENTRALIZATION AND COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION 20-G

Chairman: BRUCE L. R. SMITH, Columbia University

FRIDAY AFTERNOON, SEPT. 11

Papers: **"The Federal Role in Urban Decentralization"**

SUZANNE FARKAS, New York University

"Control Sharing of Administrative Functions in the City"

PETER K. EISINGER, University of Wisconsin

"The Politics of School Decentralization"

GEORGE R. LANOUE, Columbia Teachers College

"The Politics of Community Organization in Housing"

MICHAEL LIPSKY, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and

MARGARET LEVI, Harvard University

"Decentralization and Law Enforcement"

GARY MARX, Harvard University

Discussants: J. DAVID GREENSTONE, University of Chicago

CHARLES V. HAMILTON, Columbia University

1:30 p.m. Fri., Sept. 11—Political Socialization

NEW DEPARTURES IN POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION RESEARCH 21-G

Chairman: BETTY H. ZISK, Boston University

Papers: **"The Socialization of Colonial Attitudes Toward the Colonized:
British Stereotypes of Ireland in the Nineteenth Century"**

RICHARD NED LEBOW, City University of New York, City College

**"The Making of the New Soviet Man: An Analysis of Socializing
Institutions"**

DAVID E. POWELL, University of Virginia

Discussants: JOE C. HUANG, Tougaloo College

FRED WALLACE, University of Connecticut

1:30 p.m. Fri., Sept. 11—Parties and Politics

AT THE CROSSROADS: THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION PROCESS 22-G

Chairman:

Papers: **"Conventions in the United States and Canada: Like Structures, Un-
like Functions"**

CARL BAAR, Michigan State University

"A Convention Simulation"

JOHN H. KESSEL, Allegheny College, and JAMES P. ZAIS, University
of Illinois

"Electoral Reforms: An Empirical Analysis"

CARLETON W. STERLING, University of Chicago

1:30 p.m. Fri., Sept. 11—Political Leadership

APPROACHES TO POLITICAL BIOGRAPHY 23-G

Chairman: CHALMERS JOHNSON, University of California, Berkeley

FRIDAY AFTERNOON; SATURDAY MORNING

- Papers: **"Machine-Readable Biographical Data"**
DAVID NASATIR, University of California, Berkeley
"Malcolm Little as a Charismatic Leader"
CEDRICK ROBINSON

1:30 p.m. Fri., Sept. 11—Legislatures and Legislative Behavior

NEW FINDINGS IN LEGISLATIVE RESEARCH 24-G

Chairman: RANDALL B. RIPLEY, Ohio State University

- Papers: **"Positive Support for Political Institutions: The Case of Congress"**
ROGER H. DAVIDSON and GLENN R. PARKER, University of California,
Santa Barbara
"Congressional Committees: A Comparative View"
RICHARD F. FENNO, JR., University of Rochester
**"Recruitment Patterns and the Behavior of Local Legislators: A Case
of Japanese Prefectural Assemblymen"**
CHONG LIM KIM, University of Iowa

1:30 p.m. Fri., Sept. 11—Judicial Systems and Behavior

LAW AND MULTI-NATIONAL COMPARISONS 26-G

Chairman: HENRY J. ABRAHAM, University of Pennsylvania

- Papers: **"The Police and Political Development"**
DAVID H. BAYLEY, University of Denver
**"The Politics of Welfare Law in England, the United States, and
Various Other Countries"**
LAWRENCE FRIEDMAN, Stanford University
"Cross-National Comparisons of Constitutional Courts"
DONALD P. KOMMERS, University of Notre Dame

Discussants: PAUL C. BARTHOLOMEW, University of Notre Dame
DAVID J. DANELSKI, Yale University
MARC GALANTER, University of Chicago
MARVIN SCHICK, City University of New York, Herbert H. Lehman
College

4:00 p.m. to 6:30 p.m. Fri., Sept. 11—Business Meeting V
(Resolutions and Nominations)
The American Political Science Association

8:30 p.m. to 10:00 p.m. Fri., Sept. 11—Plenary Session II

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 12

9:00 a.m. to 12:00 noon—Registration

9:00 a.m.—Panel Meetings (Group H)

PANEL MEETINGS (Group H)

SATURDAY MORNING, SEPT. 12

9:00 a.m. Sat., Sept. 12—American Political Science

RADICALISM IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES 1-H
(Organized by the Caucus for a New Political Science)

Chairman: EDWARD S. MALECKI, JR., California State College, Los Angeles

9:00 a.m. Sat., Sept. 12—Political Knowledge

POLITICAL KNOWLEDGE AND BUDGET DECISIONS:
DEFENSE AND CONGRESS 2-H

Chairman: JAMES M. ROHERTY, College of William and Mary

Papers: "Congress and Weapons Procurement: Strategies and Patterns of Committee Influence"

CAROL F. GOSS, University of Arizona

"Budget Strategies of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, 1965-1968"

LAWRENCE J. KORB, University of Dayton

"Civilian Control and the Behavior of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, 1953-1964"

CHARLES H. LONGLEY, Bucknell University

9:00 a.m. Sat., Sept. 12—Philosophical Analysis

FEDERALISM 4-H

(Organized by the Conference for Democratic Politics)

Chairman: GEORGE C. S. BENSON

9:00 a.m. Sat., Sept. 12—Data and Analysis

COMPUTER APPLICATIONS FOR POLITICAL INQUIRY 5-H

The UCLA Department of Political Science has organized three technical workshops to demonstrate hardware/software capabilities now becoming available to social scientists.

RESOURCE ALLOCATION OVER A NETWORK

Chairman: VLADIMIR V. ALMENDINGER, Systems Development Corporation

At Systems Development Corporation in Santa Monica, California, data manipulation problems in the use of small areal data have been solved by street-address coding methods that permit great flexibility in analyzing patterns within a geographic base file of demographic data. The model to be demonstrated permits rapid optimization of school locations, legislative boundary lines, etc., according to user-supplied criteria which are input from a remote terminal with results displayed at that same terminal almost at once, on an inter-active basis using a dial-up connection with the Systems Development Corporation's computing facility.

9:00 a.m. Sat., Sept. 12—Politics and Education

CONSEQUENCES OF DIFFERENT KINDS OF TEACHING 6-H
(Organized by the Caucus for a New Political Science)

Chairman: JAMES LEMAR, University of California, Los Angeles

SATURDAY MORNING, SEPT. 12

9:00 a.m. Sat., Sept. 12—Critical Issues in American Politics

STUDENT RADICALISM AND ETHNIC STUDIES 7-H
(Organized by the Caucus for a New Political Science)

Chairman: EMILY CARD, University of California, Riverside

9:00 a.m. Sat., Sept. 12—The Vietnam Issue

HOW DID THE UNITED STATES GET INTO VIETNAM? 8-H

Chairman: JOHN MCALISTER, Princeton University

Papers: "The Quicksand Process in Vietnam"
DANIEL ELLSBERG, RAND Corporation
"United States Interests, Actions, and Reactions in Vietnam"
LESTER GELB, Brookings Institution
"Limited War in an Open Society"
PHILLIP GEYELIN, *Washington Post*
"How we got into Vietnam: A Bureaucratic Model"
ALLEN WHITING, University of Michigan

Discussant: RICHARD H. ULLMAN, Princeton University

9:00 a.m. Sat., Sept. 12—International Political Communication

**THE INTERNATIONAL ECONOMY AS A
COMMUNICATIONS SYSTEM** 13-H

Chairman:

Paper: "Political Aspects of Exchange-Rate Systems"
ANTHONY LANYI, Princeton University
"National Boundaries in Politics and in Economics"
HANS O. SCHMITT, International Bank for Reconstruction and Development

9:00 a.m. Sat., Sept. 12—Comparative Communist Systems

LAW AND SOCIAL CHANGE IN COMMUNIST SYSTEMS 15-H

Chairman: ROBERT S. SHARLET, Union College

Papers: "The Soviet Legal Profession: An Analysis of Biographical Data and Career Patterns"
DONALD D. BARRY, Lehigh University
"The Soviet Criminal Correction System: Stability and Change"
WALTER CONNOR, University of Michigan
"Family Law and the Changing Role of Women in East Germany"
INGA S. MARKOVITS, Stanford University

SATURDAY MORNING, SEPT. 12

Discussants: GEORGE GINSBURGS, New School for Social Research
JOHN GORGONE, Indiana University
VICTOR LI, Columbia University

9:00 a.m. Sat., Sept. 12—Comparative Foreign Policy

**INTERACTION BETWEEN WESTERN EUROPE AND
THE UNITED STATES**

16-H

Chairman: RICHARD N. ROSECRANCE, University of California, Berkeley

Papers: RAYMOND H. DAWSON, University of North Carolina
ALEXANDER L. GEORGE, Stanford University
GEORGE A. LANYI, Oberlin College
DAVID O. WILKINSON, University of California, Los Angeles

Discussant: JOHN H. HERZ, City College of New York

9:00 a.m. Sat., Sept. 12—Political Development

DEVELOPMENT AND POLITICAL PROCESSES IN THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH: PERSISTENT AND CHANGING PATTERNS

17-H-1

Chairman: JOSEPHINE F. MILBURN, Simmons College

Papers: **"Political Socialization"**
ROBERT E. CLUTE, University of Georgia
"Patterns of Inter-Group Integration: Relevance of Minority Problems"
MARION E. DORO, Connecticut College
"Representation and Policy-Making"
GEOFFREY F. ENGHOLM, Lakehead University, Ontario
"Public Policy under Equalitarian Conditions"
ROBERT N. KELSON, Lafayette College
"Civil-Military Relations Especially in West Africa"
CLAUDE E. WELCH, JR., State University of New York, Buffalo

**A COMPARISON OF POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT IN
THAILAND AND THE PHILIPPINES**
(Organized by the Conference for Democratic Politics)

17-H-2

Chairman: JOHN OH, Marquette University

Paper: FRANK C. DARLING, DePauw University

9:00 a.m. Sat., Sept. 12—State and Local Government

THE NEXT 25 YEARS IN STATE-LOCAL RESEARCH

19-H

Chairman: GILBERT Y. STEINER, Brookings Institution

Paper: **"Value, Theory, and Research in State and Local Politics"**
DUANE LOCKARD, Princeton University

SATURDAY MORNING, SEPT. 12

Discussant: RICHARD T. FROST, Syracuse University Research Corporation

9:00 a.m. Sat., Sept. 12—Urban and Metropolitan Affairs

POLICY-MAKING IN CITIES: PARADIGMS AND CASES 20-H

Chairman: HARLAN HAHN, University of California, Riverside

Papers: "A Bargaining Paradigm for the Study of Urban Politics: Theoretical Imperatives and Conceptual Clarifications"

HARVEY BOULAY and EDWARD E. BERGER, Boston University

"The Impact of Municipal Unionism on New York City Government"

RAYMOND D. HORTON, Columbia University

NEAL MILNER, Grinnell College

9:00 a.m. Sat., Sept. 12—Parties and Politics

THIRD PARTIES 22-H

(Organized by the Conference for Democratic Politics)

Chairman: AVERY LEISERSON, Vanderbilt University

Paper: HOWARD R. PENNIMAN, Georgetown University

9:00 a.m. Sat., Sept. 12—Political Leadership

TRAINING FOR THE PUBLIC SERVICE 23-H

Chairman: WILLIAM M. CAPRON, Harvard University

Papers: "The Professional as 'In-and-Out'"

ERWIN HARGROVE, Brown University

"Public Careers in a Changing Society"

FREDERICK C. MOSHER, University of Virginia

Discussants: GRAHAM ALLISON, Harvard University

ROGER JONES, U.S. Bureau of the Budget

JULIUS MARGOLIS, University of Pennsylvania

9:00 a.m. Sat., Sept. 12—Special Meeting IX

WORKSHOP IN PRE-COLLEGIATE EDUCATION:

**A Dialogue between Social Studies Teachers and Political Scientists:
What Can They do for Each Other**

(Jointly sponsored with the National Council for the Social Studies)

12:00 noon to 2:00 p.m.—Plenary Session III

INDEX TO PANELS AND PLENARY SESSIONS

Number refers to subject area; letter to time

(Asterisks after a panel number indicate that the panelists are participating in the panel in fulfillment of their tasks for an APSA Committee)

A		Blawie, Marilyn	26C	Cook, Samuel D.	4G
Abcarian, Gilbert Y.	182	Blechman, Barry M.	10E	Coombs, Fred S.	6E
Aberbach, Joel D.	22B	Boals, Kathryn	Sp. Mtg. 5	Coplin, William	11C
Abraham, Henry J.	26G	Bobrow, Davis B.	13B	Corson, Walter H.	10G
Abramson, Paul R.	14E	Boulay, Harvey	20H	Cox, James L.	20E
Adamany, David	26B2	Bourgart, James	15C	Cox, Robert W.	11F
Adams, Russell L.	1C*, 22D, 1F*	Bowen, Donald R.	26D	Croan, Melvin	14F
Agor, Weston H.	24F	Bowman, Lewis	21F	Cronin, Thomas E.	23D
Ahmed, Latheef N.	19D	Brandel, John E.	2C	Cruikshanks, Randal L.	15A
Alger, Chadwick F.	5F1	Bremer, Stuart A.	3F	Cuellar, Alfredo	7B
Alker, Hayward R., Jr.	3B	Brenner, Michael	10E		
Allers, Ullrich S.	4F	Brewer, Garry D.	2E	D	
Allison, Graham	23H	Bridgham, Philip L.	15F	Damien, George D.	18A
Almendinger, Vladimir V.	5H	Brodie, Bernard	10A	Daniels, William J.	26B
Anderson, Walt	7E	Brown, Bernard E.	14G	Danielson, Michael N.	19C
Apter, David E.	14G	Browning, Rufus P.	5B	Danelski, David J.	26G
Arbatov, Yuri	9E	Brunner, Ronald D.	14D	Danziger, James	15D
Ashcraft, Richard	4A	Bunzel, John H.	25A	Darling, Frank C.	17B
Aspaturian, Vernon V.	15C	Burch, Dean	7F	Davidson, Roger H.	24G
Axelrod, Robert	11G	Burgess, Philip M.	10B	Davies, James C.	5A
Azar, Edward E.	10G	Burks, Ardath W.	18G	Davis, Otto A.	5B
		Burrowes, Robert D.	10E	Dawson, Raymond H.	16H
		Butz, Otto	25A	Dennis, Jack	21D
		Bwy, Douglas P.	18A	Denny, Brewster	2F
B				Deutsch, Karl W.	14C
Baar, Carl	22G	C		DeVos, Ton	13E
Bachrach, Peter	182	Caldwell, Lynton	7D	Dexter, Lewis A.	2B
Bailey, Ronald B.	26C	Cameron, David	19C	Diamant, Alfred	14F
Bain, Chester W.	25E	Cantril, Albert H.	8G	Diamond, Martin	1E1
Barber, Benjamin R.	4C	Capron, William M.	23H	Diennes, C. Thomas	26C
Barghoorn, Frederick C.	13F	Caputo, David A.	25E	Dinerstein, Herbert S.	10A
Barker, Twiley W., Jr.	26C	Card, Emily	7H	DiPalma, Giuseppe	14A
Barkun, Michael	26B	Cardenas, Leonard, Jr.	17A	Dixon, Robert G., Jr.	26D
Barnes, James E.	1G2	Carey, William D.	1F	Doig, Jameson W.	19C
Barnes, Samuel H.	14B	Carroll, Berenice	Sp. Mtg. 3	Dolbeare, Kenneth M.	5D
Barrera, Mario	7B	Carroll, James D.	2B	Donaldson, Robert	15E
Barry, Donald D.	15H	Caspary, William R.	12E	Doro, Marion E.	17H
Bartholomew, Paul C.	26G	Casper, Jonathan D.	26B	Downes, Bryan T.	20E
Bates, Robert H.	17A	Castberg, A. Didrick	26E	Dowty, Alan	10G
Bayley, David H.	26G	Cataldo, Everett F.	24D	Dreijmanis, John	Sp. Mtg. 7
Beaney, William M., Jr.	26A	Chackarian, Richard	25C	Dror, Yehezkel	9E
Beck, Carl	15F, 1G1*	Chadwick, Richard W.	14D	Duhnke, Horst	14F
Beck, Paul A.	21C	Chambliss, William	26E	Durand, Roger E.	20C
Becker, Theodore L.	26E	Chang, Parris H.	15E	Dyson, James	24F
Beckles, David	14E	Chapman, Richard Allen	18C		
Bedichek, Wendell M.	20A	Ch'en, Peter	18G	E	
Benson, George C. S.	4H	Choucri, Nazli M.	12C	Earle, Valerie	26B2
Behrman, Lucy C.	19B	Christoph, James B.	14A	Eisenstein, James	26E
Berger, Edward E.	20H	Clausen, Aage R.	24F	Eisinger, Peter K.	20G
Berkowitz, Leonard	5A	Cliffe, Frank B., Jr.	18F	Elazar, Daniel J.	19D
Beyle, Thad L.	22E	Clute, Robert E.	17H	Elden, James M.	6G
Bibby, John F.	23D	Cnudde, Charles F.	14D	Eldersveld, Samuel J.	23F
Bienen, Henry	17A	Cocks, Paul	16E	Ellsberg, Daniel	8H
Bilinsky, Yaroslav	17C	Cohler, Anne M.	4C	Engelmann, Frederick C.	14F
Bill, James A.	17A	Collier, David S.	4F	Engholm, Geoffrey F.	17H
Birt, Robert	18F	Collins, John N.	25A	Engle, C. Donald	26A
Black, Gordon S.	21F	Connor, Walter	15H		
Blair, George S.	19B	Cook, Beverly Blair	26A		
Blake, David H.	10G				

English, Raymond 1E2
Epstein, Leon D. 6D
Esseks, John D. 17C
Etzioni, Amitai 12D
Eulau, Heinz 1B1

F

Falk, Richard A. 4B
Farkas, Suzanne 20G
Farnsworth, Lee W. 14C
Farrell, R. Barry 15C
Feierabend, Ivo K. 18A
Feld, Werner J. 11G

Fellman, David 26B2, 1F*
Fennell, Lee C. 24F
Fenno, Richard F., Jr. 24G
Ferguson, Leroy C. 21D
Ferguson, Lucy Rau 21D
Ferman, Gerald S. 19D
Fields, A. Beldon 18D
Finlay, David J. 10A
Finley, David D. 15C
Firestone, Joseph 3E
Fishe, Jeff 24D
Flacks, Richard 18D
Flanigan, William H. 22E
Flathman, Richard E. 4D
Fleming, William G. 17E
Fleron, Frederic J., Jr. 15C
Foster, Badi G. 14A
Frederickson, H. George 19F
Freeman, Donald M. 5C
Frey, Frederick W. 14A
Fried, John H. 11G
Friedman, Lawrence 26G
Friesema, H. Paul 24C
Fritschler, A. Lee 19D
Frolic, B. Michael 20B
Frost, Richard T. 19H
Frye, Alton 9A

G

Galanter, Marc 26G
Galloway, Jonathan F. 11G
Galtung, Johan 12C
Gardiner, John A. 26E
Garrison, William 2E
Gati, Charles 15C
Gelb, Lester 8H
George, Alexander L. 16H
Gertzog, Irwin N. 24D
Gerwin, Donald 20E
Geyelin, Phillip 8H
Gibson, Frank K. 25E
Gifford, Dun K. 9E
Gillespie, John V. 5F1
Ginsburgs, George 15H
Gitelman, Zvi Y. 16E
Githens, Marianne 6C
Goldman, Ralph M. 12E
Goldstein, Walter 2B
Golembiewski, R. T. Sp. Mtg. 1
Gore, William J. 25E
Gorgone, John 15H

Goss, Carol F. 2H
Gould, Harold 14E
Gould, Peggy Sp. Mtg. 3
Grambsch, Paul V. 25A
Gray, Vernon 1D
Greene, Kenneth R. 20E
Greenstone, J. David 20G
Gregg, Phillip M. 5C
Gross, Bertram M. 20A
Grossman, Joel B. 26A
Groth, Alexander J. 5D
Guyot, James F. 23C
Guzman, Ralph 5C
Gyorgy, Andrew 16E

H

Haas, Michael 3E
Hagopian, Mark N. 4A
Hahn, Harlan 20H
Hakman, Nathan 26B
Halperin, Morton H. 9G
Halsted, Thomas 9D
Hamilton, Charles V. 20G
Hammer, Darrell P. 15F
Hanhardt, Arthur M. 14F
Hanna, William John 23E
Hanson, Donald W. 4A
Hargrove, Erwin C. 23H
Harkins, Peter B. 22E
Harper, Paul F. 15D
Hartigan, Richard S. 4B
Hawkins, Brett W. 20E
Hawley, Willis D. 23F
Heaphey, James J. 25C
Hedlund, Ronald D. 24C
Hellman, Don 14C
Henderson, Lenneal J., Jr. 20E
Hendricks, John S. 19C
Hennessey, B. C. Sp. Mtg. 8
Hennessey, Timothy M. 3E
Henry, Nannerl O. 4A
Hensler, Carl 5G
Herberg, Will 26B2
Hermann, Charles F. 16B
Herz, John H. 16H
Heyman, Victor K. 2B
Hilgard, Ernest 2C
Hinckley, Barbara 1B1
Hinnich, Melvin 5B
Hirsch, Herbert 21C
Hofferbert, Richard I. 19C
Hogan, James B. 5D
Hoggard, Gary 8F
Holden, Matthew, Jr. 23F
Holmes, Robert A. 8G
Holsti, K. J. 10B
Holsti, Ole R. 10A
Hoopes, Townsend 9G
Hopkins, Anne H. 5D
Hopmann, P. Terrence 12D
Hoppe, Layne D. 7D
Horowitz, David 6C
Horton, Raymond D. 20H
Hoskin, Gary 24D

Houghton, Neal D. 10H
Hovet, Thomas H., Jr. 11G
Hoyer, Svernik 13C
Huang, Joe C. 21G
Hudson, Michael C. 1G1
Hughes, Barry 10E
Huntington, Samuel P. 18B
Hurwitz, Harold 13C

I

Ingle, Clyde R. 17A
Isaak, Alan C. 16B

J

Jacek, Henry J., Jr. 22E
Jackson, Edward 18F
Jacob, Herbert 26E
Jacobs, Dan N. 15F
Jaffa, Harry V. 4G
Jahan, Rounaq 23C
James, Dorothy B. 7A
James, Judson L. 19D
Jan, George P. 17D
Janda, Kenneth 1G1
Jaros, Dean 5A
Jennings, M. Kent 6F
Jewell, Malcolm E. 1B1
Johnson, Chalmers 23G
Johnson, Douglas L. 14C
Johnson, Richard M. 26C
Johnson, Tobe 25C, 1D*
Johnson, Willard 18F
Jones, Mack H. 19G
Jones, Roger 23H
Jutkowitz, Joel M. 21D

K

Kahan, Jerome H. 9G
Kallenberg, Arthur L. 3E
Kariel, Henry S. 1B2
Kaleb, George 4C, 1F*
Katz, Ellis 26D
Kaufman, Arnold 1B2
Kaufman, Clifford L. 19C
Keech, William R. 20C
Keefe, William J. 24F
Kellstedt, Lyman A. 19G
Kelly, Rita M. 13F
Kelman, Herbert C. 13B
Kelson, Robert N. 17H
Keohane, Robert O. 11C
Kessel, John H. 22G
Kesselman, Mark 20B
Kettler, David 4A
Kilson, Martin 17D
Kim, Chong Lim 24G
Kim, Jaungwon A. 23C
King, Michael 23B
Kirk, Russell 1E2
Kirkpatrick, Evron M. 1A
Kirkpatrick, Samuel A. 24F
Klein, George 15D
Kling, Merle 6D
Klonoski, J. R. Sp. Mtg. 1, 26A
Klotzburger, K. M. Sp. Mtg. 3

Kobrak, Peter	2B	McCoy, Charles A.	1G2	Muñoz, Carlos, Jr.	7B
Kolkowicz, Roman	16E	McDonald, Lee C.	4G	Murphy, Irene L.	7D
Komer, Robert	18B	McHale, V. Edward	15F	Murphy, Thomas	25C
Kommers, Donald P.	26G	McWilliams, Wilson Carey	4G	Myhr, Robert O.	17A
Korb, Lawrence J.	2H				
Korbonski, Andrew	15A			N	
Kort, Fred	26B2	M		Nadel, Mark V.	22D
Kramnick, Isaac	4C	MacRae, Duncan, Jr.	2C	Nagel, Stuart S.	26F
Kress, Paul	3E	Macridis, Roy	14G	Nasatir, David	23G
Krislov, Samuel	Sp.Mtg.2	Madron, Thomas W.	21C	Needler, Martin C.	14D
Kristof, Ladis K.	15A	Madsen, Douglas	5F2	Nelson, Hart	21C
Kroll, Morton	14E	Magid, Alvin	23E	Nelson, William E., Jr.	19G
Kubota, Akira	14C	Malecki, Edward S., Jr.	1H	Niemeyer, Gerhart	1E2
Kuic, Vukan	19D	Manley, John F.	3B	Niemi, Richard G.	21C
Kuroda, Yasumasa	24D	Manley, Robert H.	10E	Norman, Robert T.	19C
Kushnick, Louis	26C	Mann, Dean	7D	North, Robert C.	10A
		Mann, Seymour Z.	20A	Nye, Joseph S., Jr.	11A
		Margolis, Julius	23H		
L		Markovits, Inga S.	15H	O	
Ladd, Everelt C., Jr.	22A	Marshall, D. Bruce	12F	Oh, John	17B
Lakoff, Sanford A.	2F	Martinez, Rodolfo	21D	Ordeshook, Peter G.	3C
Lamb, George	18F	Martz, John D.	22E	Ornelas, Charles	7B
Lambert, Geoffrey	24C	Marvick, Dwaine	23E	Osgood, Charles E.	13B
Langer, Paul	8G	Marx, Gary	20G	Ostrom, Vincent	5B
LaNoue, George R.	20G	Mastro, Joseph, Jr.	15F	Ostrowski, Krzysztof	14B
Lanyi, Anthony	13H	Mathiason, John R.	13F		
Lanyi, George A.	16H	Matthews, Donald R.	1B1	P	
Lasswell, Harold D.	2E	Meckstrothe, Theodore W.	5F1	Paff, Joseph	1E1
Leavitt, Michael R.	3F	Meehan, Eugene J.	16B, 1E1*	Page, Benjamin I.	18D
Lebow, Richard Ned	21G	Mehlinger, Howard	6A	Paletz, David L.	24F
Lee, Eugene C.	6F	Melanson, Philip H.	6C	Palley, Marian L.	19G
Leiserson, Avery	22H	Melson, Robert F.	17A	Pano, Nicholas	15A
Lemar, James	6H	Mendelson, Robert I.	26A	Parenti, Michael	1G2
LeMelle, Tilden J.	10A	Mendelson, Wallace	26B	Parker, Glenn R.	24G
Lerner, Daniel	2C	Merelman, Richard M.	21B	Parthemos, George S.	25A
Levi, Margaret	20G	Merkel, Peter H.	21F	Patterson, Samuel C.	24C
Levin, Martin A.	2B	Meyer, Frank S.	4F	Pauker, Guy J.	23C
Levine, Charles H.	23F	Mezey, Michael	24C	Peabody, Robert L.	23D
Levine, E. Lester	21F	Midlarsky, Manus	12C	Peltason, Jack	26D
Levine, James P.	26F	Milbroth, Lester	14B	Penniman, Howard R.	22H
Levine, Robert	7A	Milburn, Josephine F.	17H	Perle, Eugene	5E2
Levy, Burton	25C	Miles, Edward W.	10E	Peterson, Paul E.	22D
Lewy, Guenter	1F	Miller, Delbert C.	19B	Phillips, James G.	9D
Li, Victor	15H	Miller, Warren E.	1A, 1G1*	Phillips, Warren R.	10E
Licklider, Roy E.	12F	Miller, William	9A	Pierce, Roy	14B
Lieber, Robert J.	13C	Milner, Neal	20H	Pilisuk, Marc	18D
Liebschutz, Sarah F.	21C	Milstein, Jeffrey S.	12E	Pirro, Ellen B.	3F
Liepelt, Klaus	14D	Minar, David W.	6F	Pocock, John G. A.	4D
Lindberg, Leon N.	11A	Mitau, Theodore	26F	Pomper, Gerald M.	1A
Lindblom, C. E.	6D	Mitchell, Joyce	Sp. Mtg. 5	Powell, David E.	21G
Lipsky, Michael	20G	Mitchell, William	Sp. Mtg. 5	Powell, John	17E
Litt, Edgar	6C	Modelski, George	10B	Power, Mary Sue	4F
Lockard, Duane Sp. Mtg. 1.	19H	Modgis, Franz J.	10E	Pozvar, Wesley W.	9E
Longley, Charles H.	2H	Mohapatra, Manindra K.	21F	Pranger, Robert J.	1E1
Lowi, Theodore J.	1G2	Montgomery, Douglas	20A	Press, Charles	Sp. Mtg. 3
Lowry, Ira S.	2E	Montgomery, John	17C	Pressman, Jeffrey L.	23F
Luttbeg, Norman R.	21C	Morris, Bernard S.	15D	Prestage, Jewel L.	18F
Lyden, Fremont G.	25E	Morris, Frank L.	1C	Prewitt, Kenneth	1A, 1G1*
Lyman, Princeton N.	17C	Morrison, Peter	2E	Price, Don	18G
		Mosher, Frederick C.	23H	Price, H. Douglas	3B
Mc		Mowlana, Hamid	13B	Pritchett, C. Herman	26B2
McAlister, John	8H	Moy, Roland F.	17E	Puchala, Donald J.	11A
McCall, Charles	Sp. Mtg. 8	Muir, William K., Jr.	26E	Purveyar, Paul L.	1D
McClelland, Charles A.	12D			Putnam, Robert D.	14A
McClure, William T., Jr.	4A			Pye, Lucian W.	14G
McConnell, Grant	7D				

Q
Quinley, Harold E. 6F

R
Rabinovitz, Francine F. 20B
Rakoff, Stuart H. 19F
Ranney, Austin 1A
Raymond, Edward A. 13F
Razi, Gholam H. 22E
Reading, Reid R. 21D
Reagan, Michael D. 2F
Reynolds, James F. 5F1
Richman, Alvin 13C
Riker, William H. 1E1
Rintala, Marvin Sp. Mtg. 7
Ripley, Randall B. 24G
Ritter, Alan 4C
Roazen, Paul 4D
Roback, Thomas H. 22D
Robinson, Cedrick 23G
Robinson, James A. 2B
Robinson, Thomas W. 8E
Robinson, William P. 1C*, 19G
Rocco, Raymond A. 7B
Rodgers, Harrell 20E
Rodgers, Raymond S. 10E
Rodman, John R. 4D
Roelofs, H. Mark 4G
Roett, Riorden 17C
Rogow, Arnold A. 1F
Roherty, James M. 2H
Rohter, Ira S. 21B
Ronen, Dov 17D
Roos, Leslie L., Jr. 20B
Rose, Clare 6G
Rosecrance, Richard N. 16H
Rosen, Steven J. 12E
Rosenbaum, Allan 20A
Rosenberg, Riki R. 21D
Rosenblum, Victor G. 6D
Rosencranz, Armin 24D
Rothchild, Donald S. 23B
Ruggie, John 11F
Rummel, Rudolph J. 12F
Rush, Myron 15F
Russett, Bruce M. 12C
Russo, Anthony 18B
Rustow, Dankwart A. 14G

S
Saaty, Thomas 25E
Saenz, Paul 10E
Salisbury, Robert H. Sp. Mtg. 1
Salmore, Stephen A. 10G
Saloma, John S., III 22B
Samardzija, Milos 15D
Samberg, Robert G. 3C
Sandoz Ellis 5E1
Sani, Giacomo 14B
Santo, Henry 26A
Scarrow, Howard A. 19C
Scheingold, Stuart A. 11A
Scheinman, Lawrence 11F

Schelling, Thomas C. 18B
Schick, Jack M. 10E
Schick, Marvin 26G
Schiffer, Harriet B. 17D
Schiller, Anita Sp. Mtg. 3
Schiller, Herbert I. 13E
Schilling, Warner R. 16B
Schmandt, Henry J. 19C
Schmitt, Hans O. 13H
Schochet, Gordon J. 4D
Schoenberger, Robert Alan 22B
Schoettle, Enid C. B. 2F
Schott, John R. 17C
Schrader, Lawrence L. 24C
Schuck, Victoria Sp. Mtg. 3
Schwab, Joseph J. 25A
Schwartz, David C. 5A
Schwartz, John E. 24C
Scigliano, Robert G. 26B
Scoble, Harry M., Jr. 1D
Scott, James C. 23E
Scoville, Herbert, Jr. 9G
Seabury, Paul 11C
Seagull, Louis M. 22B
Searing, Donald D. 14A
Sears, David O. 21B
Segal, Morley 19D
Seidler, Murray 20A
Seligman, Lester G. 23B
Selzer, Michael I. 17E
Sewell, James P. 11F
Shapiro, Martin 26D
Sharkansky, Ira 19F
Sharlet, Robert S. 15H
Sharp, Samuel L. 15D
Shepard, George W., Jr. 10A
Shepsle, Kenneth 3C
Sherrill, Kenneth 20C
Shrader, Lawrence L. 24C
Shuchman, Philip 26F
Shumer, Sara 1G2
Sibley, Mulford Q. 1B2
Sigel, Roberta A. 21B
Sigler, Jay 26D
Silverman, Jerry M. 8F
Simon, Sheldon W. 16E
Singer, J. David 12E
Sisson, Richard 24C
Skolnikoff, Eugene B. 11F
Slobodkin, Lawrence 3F
Smith, Bruce L. R. 20G
Smith, Jean Edward 14F
Smith, Roland E. 23B
Smoker, Paul L. 3F
Snyder, Richard C. 2A
Somers, Robert 14B
Somit, Albert 5A, 1G1*
Sondermann, Fred 10B
Soule, John W. 24F
Sperling, Philip 8F
Spiegel, John 18D
Spiro, Herbert J. 4B
Spitz, David 1F
Stegenga, James A. 12D
Steiner, Gilbert Y. 19H
Stephens, Otis H. 26F

Sterling, Carleton W. 22G
Steslicke, William E. 14C
Stiefbold, Rodney P. 14F
Stiehm, Judith Sp. Mtg. 5
Stone, Jeremy J. 9D
Stumpf, Harry P. 26C
Styskal, Richard A. 17E
Sullivan, John D. 12F
Sullivan, Michael P. 12D
Sundquist, James L. 7A
Sutton, Richard L. 19F
Szalay, Lorand B. 13F

T
Tabb, David H. 20C
Taeuber, Karl 2E
Tanenhaus, Joseph 1E1
Tanter, Raymond 18A
Taylor, Charles L. 18A
Taylor, Richard W. 3E
Teune, Henry 14B
Thiel, Henri 3B
Thomas, John R. 16E
Thompson, Dennis L. 7D
Tilman, Robert O. 21D
Toma, Peter A. 15A
Totten, George O. 18G
Travis, Tom A. 10G
Trefiak, Daniel 15E
Triska, Jan F. 15A
Truman, David B. 25A
Tucker, Robert W. 4B

U
Ulc, Otto 15A
Ullman, Richard H. 8H
Ulmer, S. Sidney 26B
Uphoff, Norman T. 17C

V
Vaillancourt, Pauline M. 21C
van Der Mehden, Fred 23C
Van Dyke, Vernon 1E1
Van Houweling, Douglas 5C
Van Meter, Donald 19F
Vatikiotis, P. J. 10D
Verner, Joel G. 24D
Vincent, Jack E. 5F1
Voegelin, Eric 4E
Voss, Gerrold 2D

W
Wade, L. L. 5D
Wagner, Dale Sp. Mtg. 8
Wagner, Kenneth A. 26A
Wahlke, John C. 5A
Wallace, Fred 21G
Wallace, Michael D. 12C
Waller, Derek J. 15E
Walton, John 20B
Waltz, Kenneth N. 16B
Walzer, Michael L. 4B
Ward, Robert E. 14C
Warren, Robert 5D
Wasby, Stephen L. 26F

Watanuki, Joji	14C	Wilcox, Allen R.	20C	Y	
Waterman, Harvey	14E	Wilcox, Herbert G.	25C	Yokley, Ray	21C
Weber, Lee	10F	Wilcox, Wayne	16G	York, Herbert F.	9G
Weber, Ronald E.	5D	Wiley, George	20A	Young, Harben B.	21D
Weeks, Kent M.	26F	Wilkenfeld, Jonathan	12F	Young, Oran J.	11C
Weiler, Hans N.	14F	Wilkinson, David O.	16H	Young, Robert A.	10G
Weinberg, Alvin	2F	Willingham, Alex	1C		
Weinberg, Leonard B.	20C	Willner, Ann Ruth	23C	Z	
Welch, Claude E., Jr.	17H	Wilson, Francis G.	4F	Zacher, Mark W.	11C
Welch, Susan Kay	13C	Wilson, Frank L.	22A	Zais, James P.	22G
Welsh, William	15A	Wilson, John F.	3E	Zaninovich, M. George	15A
Wertheimer, Alan	4G	Winham, Gilbert R.	10G	Ziegler, L. Harmon, Jr.	6F
Weschler, Louis F.	5C	Winters, Richard F.	19F	Zikmund, Joseph	19B
Westerstahl, Jörgen	19B	Wolfe, Alan	1G2	Zinner, Paul	15C
White, Elliot S.	21F	Wolfinger, Raymond E.	22A	Zinnes, Dina A.	10G
White, Michael J.	25E	Wolfowitz, Paul D.	13E	Zisk, Betty H.	21G
White, Orion F., Jr.	25C	Woodard, Maurice C.	1D	Zolberg, Aristide R.	14E
Whiting, Allen	8H	Wright, Bruce E.	4D		

Teaching Notes

Course Grades

R. J. Rummel

University of Hawaii

In view of the increasing discussion over the pros and cons of the present grading system, I decided to experiment with my undergraduate class last semester. Accordingly, about six weeks after the semester began, I announced to my class that each student would receive an A and that all exams would be eliminated. I should comment that this was done in the context of a structured course with four texts and weekly reading assignments.¹

This memo is being written to share the results of this experiment. The evaluation will consist of three parts: my personal evaluation and conclusions, to be discussed last; the students' evaluation (through a questionnaire); and the results of a factor analysis of the student evaluations.²

Before proceeding into the evaluations, let me provide an overview of the course structure.³ First, four books were required and readings from them were assigned for each class meeting. The books were assigned consecutively, without overlap. My announcement about the "free" A's was made after the first book was completed.

Second, the students were originally given the option to write a term paper or to be associated with the Dimensionality of Nations project (DON) in a sort of big brother relationship with one of the DON research assistants.⁴ These requirements were also eliminated when the grading scheme was changed. The students were told at this time that I would welcome interaction on any paper they might care to write and if they wished, they could continue their association with DON. I was careful to stress that I was eliminating the requirements and not their

1 I wish to express my appreciation for the considerable effort and great help of my teaching assistant, Phil King, in the survey and analysis upon which this memo is based.

2 This memo is not intended to be a research report. The small sample size and the lack of systematic comparison of the results with similar analyses would not support such a detailed exposition. Rather, this memo should be considered as an attempt to share informally some interesting results — to be suggestive and perhaps provocative without getting involved in a presentation of the research design, marginals, cross-tabulations, and factor matrices that would be required by a full treatment.

3 The course was titled "War and Peace" and except for some data collection, dealt with the subject in an historical and traditional manner. Methodology or quantitative methods played virtually no role in the course, nor was it assumed that students had any such background.

4 The Dimensionality of Nations project is attempting to delineate the major patterns of international relations, particularly international conflict, and to determine how these patterns relate to the differences and similarities between nations. By involving students in the project, it was hoped that they would gain some feel for the nature of a scientific research project on conflict.

assignment options, that the greater flexibility they now had would enable them to explore those aspects of peace and war closer to their interests.

Third, the class meetings emphasized discussion and "mind stretching" rather than lectures or forced presentations by the students. Thus a seminar approach was applied throughout the semester, with the exception of the beginning lectures where I tried to present a conceptual framework.

Fourth, I tried to get the students involved in testing out a theory about peace and war by delineating the theory in class and then assigning data collection to the students. The course teaching assistant did the computer analysis and the card punching; I presented the results. As an activity, therefore, only data collection was required of the students. The data collection was assigned before the change in grading and the data were due about a month after the change.

In order to evaluate the course, all students registered in the course were mailed a questionnaire with a stamped self-addressed envelope after the last class meeting.

The questionnaire consisted of four parts (copies are available for those who wish to see them). First, the students were asked specific questions about their performance. For example, whether they read more (or less) after the course change, how carefully they read each book, whether they studied more for this course than for others, and so forth.

Second, students were asked to evaluate the course change along a number of dimensions, such as interest, motivation, application, knowledge, etc. They were given questions which asked them to evaluate the impact of the course on themselves and also to evaluate their assessment of the impact on other students.

Third, they were questioned about their grades, college rank, socio-economic background, and political views and activities.

Fourth, the students were asked to rate their instructor (me) along several dimensions, including organization, knowledge, clarity of lectures, style, and so on.

All questionnaire responses were anonymous.

Student Evaluation

There were 28 students registered; 18 returned the

Teaching Notes

Course Grades

questionnaire. Given the importance of the questionnaire, this response rate was disappointing.

From the student evaluations of themselves in the questionnaires, we may infer the following:

- 1 On the average, they did less reading for this course than for their other courses.
- 2 Even after I eliminated exams, they generally did not change their level of *application*.
- 3 On the average, they did little more than glance at the course texts. They definitely did not *read* the books carefully, nor study them as they would have had an exam been given.
- 4 They devoted more *time* to other courses in which they were graded.
- 5 On the average, they *recommend* graded exams and papers as originally planned in the course syllabus, but with all students receiving an A for the course.
- 6 With regard to their *evaluation* of the impact of the course on other students (and not themselves), they evaluated the all A grading system as being somewhat more effective than grades and exams in terms of learning, interest in the subject matter, motivation, feel for the subject matter, and getting something out of class meetings.
- 7 With regard to the *idea* of having an all A, no exam course, students think it is a good idea (thus their ideology conforms with their pragmatic evaluation above).
- 8 When students were given the option of choosing among a number of course organizations, which included the all A – no exam one, they selected that listed in point 5 above. When asked a direct question without qualification as to whether they would recommend the same all A structure again, a few said no, and of the remainder slightly less than half didn't know.
- 9 They evaluate their attendance in class as falling considerably after the all A structure was introduced.
- 10 Students almost unanimously enjoyed the course more after the change in grading.
- 11 In contrast to their evaluation of their performance, the students say they had a slightly greater desire to get involved in the course after the grade change.
- 12 In terms of their characteristics, the students tended to have C+ average, do 13 hours of outside work (employment), have fathers with an income of slightly more than \$25,000 (half came from professional families), be mainly male (two females in the sample), halfway between middle

of the road and left in politics, closer to Humphrey than Bob Kennedy in Presidential preference (and closer to Johnson than McCarthy), and be slightly activist.

- 13 The students evaluated their instructor highly.

Dimensions of Student Evaluation

The responses were factor analyzed (component analysis) to an orthogonally rotated solution. An interpretation of the factor analysis results suggest the following points.⁵

- 1 Those with the lower college rank, such as freshmen, applied themselves more to the course than to their other courses. Moreover, they were less likely to reduce their level of course work as a result of the change in grading system.
- 2 The less the students thought of the instructor, the greater the tendency to withdraw from the course (and they would have done so were it not for the course change). The evaluation of instructor and tendency to withdraw from the course were independent of (a) the student's performance in class before and after the course change and (b) of the evaluation of the course structure.
- 3 The students with the higher grade point average tended to decrease their application in the course after the change in grading structure; the poorer students tended to increase their application.
- 4 Students from professional families tended to enjoy the course more after the grade change and to suggest that this be done again; students from nonprofessional families enjoyed it less and were less inclined to recommend the same structure.
- 5 The more the students liked the instructor *and* the non-graded structure, the more they applied themselves after the course change.
- 6 Activist students from professional families did more reading; non-activists from non-professional families did less.
- 7 The students' evaluation of the course and the amount of work they did for the course were independent of the amount of outside employment they had and of their political philosophy.

My Evaluation

My evaluation is based on the following observations:

1. No student turned in a paper to me, even though encouraged to do so.
2. Few, if any, students came around to discuss the course, the change in grading system, or special projects they might be doing with the greater flexibility they had.

⁵ Each one of the following seven points is an interpretation of a separate orthogonally rotated dimension.

- 3 Class interaction was poor, tended to be forced rather than spontaneous, and in content showed an almost total lack of study of the course texts.⁶
- 4 Many did not turn in their data collection assignments, even after extra time was given and it was stressed that the class as a whole would suffer by the poor analysis resulting from the lack of data.
- 5 After the course change, attendance dropped sharply. Attendance amounted to about 30% in the last month.
- 6 After the change in grading system, there was a marked drop in the number associating themselves with the DON project. In the last month there was only one.
- 7 This final observation is based on the feel you get over the years as a teacher for how well a class is learning — how well the members of the class are progressing along a number of dimensions. Following the change in course structure I felt a loss of momentum and by the end it seemed as though the class was idling along, engaged in first gear, with the foot off the accelerator and clutch.
- 2 Students need grades and exams as a way of getting feedback and as a stimulus to application (within a University in which they are getting graded in other courses — what happens when the other courses do not have exams and grades is another question). It is important to note that the students did not, on the average, agree with this point and that their disagreement appears unrelated to their application in the class, their political views and activism, and their evaluation of the instructor.
- 3 This final point may be like the above potatoe correlation, but nonetheless it may be worth considering. Those who have been in college longer or have better overall grades applied themselves less after the change in course structure. This leads me to hypothesize that by removing grades and exams from a course, one loses the more mature and better students. These students, I would argue, prefer the constant feedback of the graded course, prefer to apply themselves in competition with other students, are stimulated to apply themselves more in the graded course, or they realize the importance of grades in a competitive society and thus place their energy where it will have the greatest practical payoff.

Conclusion

I am giving similar questionnaires to my present class, which is a class organized on a quiz, exam, and grade structure. These questionnaires were filled out after the first session and will be again given at the end of the semester. The responses will enable me to re-evaluate last semester's class and to discriminate between the elements general to both class environments and those specific to the one I created last semester. (I want to avoid the so-called potato correlation: on the average, 98% of U.S. criminals had potatoes to eat within 48 hours before committing their crime). Consequently, the following conclusions should be considered as only suggestive — but nonetheless, as a backstop for our pedagogical intuition.

- 1 If your teaching goals are the desire to (1) impart knowledge, (2) provide a conceptual map for an understanding of the world, (3) encourage a questioning and critical attitude, (4) and to help students develop an ability to create new knowledge, then a no exam, all A system is not as good as a graded, requirements system in the present University setting.
- 6 One student commented that he decided I did not know much, and thus did not do the reading. This student was a Marxist, an activist and in strong disagreement with much of what I said. He was also a prime mover in many class discussions.

Teaching Notes

On Rummel and Grades and Learning

Eugene Lichtenstein

Massachusetts Institute of Technology

One difficulty with experimenting in college teaching is that the results are often disappointing. Shortly after the class begins, for example, it becomes clear that what is occurring has more to do with experience than with experimentation. That is, the hypothesis turns out to be only partly related to the events while the methodology seems hopelessly unsuited to the unfolding experiment. By terms end, the findings or conclusions often as not are applicable only to one particular experience. Much of this becomes irrelevant if the class itself is successful (and by successful here I mean anything from exhilaration and pleasure to student output). But when this also fails, when the experience itself turns sour, entrapping students and professor in the process, the temptation is to damn this form of experimentation, accept the present academic system, and go back to one's proper research and teaching.

This has happened to me on several occasions, and I take it that something like this – the sour experience – transpired in Professor Rummel's class: the attendance dropping 30%, the lack of reading and commitment by the students, the "loss of momentum" so that "by the end of the term it seemed as though the class was idling along, engaged in first gear, with the foot off the accelerator and clutch." He writes with admirable detachment, the social scientist observing class behavior and giving us his conclusions about the experiment, but I suspect that it became difficult for him, perhaps even frustrating, to meet the class, week in and week out, and watch it slowly slide from view.

Still, despite the detachment, despite the questionnaires and the factor analysis, it is difficult for me to see this as a social science experiment. To begin with, I am unclear what hypothesis he is testing. I would guess that he was interested in evaluating the effect of course grades on a student's performance. But that is only an indirect part of the situation he describes; in fact, I find that his conclusions are based on an inaccurate perception of what actually took place within the class. What he ignores, of course, is the social context in which he and the students are functioning; he looks at behavior as though it existed outside of a social system.

On the obvious level (and I am sure he is aware of it), there is the student's relation to the rest of the university. Pressure, competition, grades – these are realities in the student's life, although he hears a good deal about creativity, originality, and learning. When Professor Rummel announces that everyone will receive an "A" and that no exams will

be given, his students pick up another message as well. They hear it as "free time" for other courses; Rummel may have opted out, but the rest of the faculty, they know, is competing for their time. His conclusion is that "a no exam, all A" system is not as good as a graded requirements system in the present University setting." Mine is somewhat different: If you are going to try an educational experiment, you do not wait to acknowledge the presence of the larger social system in your conclusion. It may be necessary first to alter a number of conditions – though these may not be sufficient – before your experiment can take place. For example, if one really wants to examine the effect of no grades and no exams on student performance, one pre-condition might have to include the elimination of grades and exams for the student in all of his classes.

But there is another, perhaps more significant, context which is ignored or denied. Namely, the interaction that occurs in the classroom. It is a truism that the professor is a participant in the class and so, by extension, a part of the experiment itself. Within the context of the class it means that students pick up his cues; it means they respond to his behavior as well as to his words. Presumably, an "A" grade for all students is a signal that coercion has been removed and that a new, undefined reward system has been instituted; now all students are free "to explore those aspects of peace and war closer to their interests." Nevertheless, all the major decisions still appear to be determined by the professor. He decides to change the course structure; he provides them with the conceptual framework in the beginning lectures; assigns the books; delineates the theory; and determines the extent of required activity for the student, (i.e. data-collecting to test out his, the professor's theory.) In short, he makes the decisions, sets the agenda, supplies the framework, expounds the theory . . . but gives the students freedom to explore in depth those aspects of the subject that interest them. It really does not differ very much from most of their classes, be they lectures or seminars, except that he has given them a respite in the form of an automatic "A".

I am suggesting that the key factor in this experience experiment is Professor Rummel's overall behavior, not just his grading practice. What I conclude from his account is that when *he* removes the *real* reward and/or penalty from his classroom, in a standard university setting, and alters nothing else, many of his students cease working on problems that he has set for them. This may seem to resemble his conclusions, but I think I am emphasizing something else. Specifically, that often grades are

directly related to coercion, and only secondarily, or peripherally, do they affect learning. At present, they function in the student's life as a form of pressure: they are sanctions or rewards applied to his performance; often he takes them as a measure of his worth, and so his self-esteem gets caught up in the grading system. To this end, he will do one or several of the following: a) apply himself, which is to say, take notes in class, read the texts, "get the framework" the professor lays out for him; b) cheat on exams; c) crib term papers; d) stay up all night cramming for particular exams; e) "psych out" the professor; e) flatter him, flirt with him, etc. (This is not true for all students, though in my experience it is true for many of them.)

In reality, grades offer the professor a way of perpetuating the system as it now operates – for otherwise, students might cease to attend our classes or perform the work we assign them. In a modest-sized experimental freshman program at M.I.T. this year, where grades have been abolished, social scientists have learned, to their chargin, that when the students are bored they not only fail to read the assignments but soon cease attending class altogether. What does the professor do when he is the only one who turns up for his seminar? He can initiate sanctions (grades) and thereby command attendance, or at least force some work to be done. That was not possible within the terms set at M.I.T. this year and so the seminars were simply dropped. (A mistake, I think). Given my teaching goals – and for the sake of argument, let us say they do not differ radically from those Professor Rummel outlines in his conclusion – I cannot conclude as he does that "a graded requirements system" works better – either at M.I.T. or in his course, unless I add that the grading system depends on rewards and punishment; but then I am not sure that the teaching goals themselves are compatible with that particular dependency. Often it is the reward structure itself which shapes the behavior of students and professor; and that structure is only indirectly concerned with learning and knowledge and critical ability. The best of the students and professors are able to ignore it and to become engaged with ideas, with questions, with learning. But what of the rest, the bulk of the academic community?

No, I have to assume that he, and we at M.I.T., are doing something wrong, quite apart from grades. I don't know whether the encounter between teacher and professor in Rummel's case, or at M.I.T., is forced, dishonest, artificial, tedious, banteringly personal, or what, but it is clear to me that it is defective. Certainly, feedback, for students and professor, is needed. Feedback first on per-

formance, on what is wrong. Conceivably grades and exams and straight lectures are what is wanted by professor and students; the latter indicated they would have liked exams but everyone to receive an "A" grade in Professor Rummel's class. It might have helped if this had been determined during the course. At M.I.T. it might have been preferable (given the teaching goals) for the professor to have summoned the class together and insisted that they, and he, discuss why the seminar failed. Was it the subject matter (poverty in America)? His approach? Their commitment to other projects? The responsibility, for the failure, was a joint one and needed to be shared. Indeed, the fact that responsibility was not shared at the outset – in both experiments – may account in part for the negative results.

I believe the students in Professor Rummel's class were signalling some such request when they stated they would like exams, but no alteration in their "A" grade. To many students, preparing for examinations is the only way they know of assuming responsibility for learning. But this is more a sad commentary on what we tend to produce than anything we should perpetuate. Exams are, to be sure, one way of providing feedback and stimulus for students. I am not urging that they be discontinued. But so are other forms of interaction. The class was saying – if I understand their questionnaire response – we need some form of stimulus and some kind of responsibility, but please don't start judging us again. It is actually what most students are requesting when they ask for an end to grades, usually in the form of a Pass-Fail (though not all students want this, or are even comfortable with it). They are not saying that they want to be free to learn (regardless of their rhetoric). What they are asking is to be excused from part of the system, to be given some freedom from the pressure, and the kind of competitiveness it generates. They are asking, in some instances, if it is possible for them to be judged as persons, or perhaps not be judged at all.

It may be unfeasible for professors to accede to some of these requests; but they merit consideration and testing. At the least they highlight, for me, how important a role grades play in the professional life of the faculty, our disclaimers and dislike of the procedure notwithstanding. For without grades, we cannot force students to obey, instead, we are forced to discover other mechanisms which involve them, and us, in the learning process. Until we take this charge seriously, I suspect we will continue to reinforce the present university system, and to project our own attitudes and values onto our "better students."

Reports of the APSA Committees

Report of the Nominating Committee:

The APSA nominating committee list of nominees for 1970-71.

President Elect

Heinz Eulau

Stanford University

Vice Presidents

Edward C. Banfield

Harvard University

John A. Davis

The City College

David Spitz

Hunter College

Secretary

Thomas R. Dye

Florida State University

Treasurer

Donald R. Matthews

The Brookings Institution

Council

Chadwick F. Alger

Northwestern University

Philip E. Converse

University of Michigan

Tobe Johnson

Morehouse College

David Kettler

Ohio State University

Joyce M. Mitchell

University of Oregon

James W. Prothro

University of North Carolina

Dankwart A. Rustow

Columbia University

Gordon Tullock

Virginia Polytechnic Institute

Committee on Nominations

J. David Singer, Chairman, *University of Michigan*

Hayward R. Alker, *M. I. T.*

Frederic N. Cleaveland, *University of North Carolina*

Duncan MacRae, Jr., *University of Chicago*

John C. Wahlke, *University of Iowa*

Sheldon Wolin, *University of California, Berkeley*

Procedures and Criteria for the Nominating Committee Slate for 1970-1971 Officers

1 Establishment of the Committee

Three members (Cleaveland, Wolin, MacRae) were carried over from last year, and the three new members (Wahlke, Alker, and Singer) were appointed by President Deutsch on December 15, 1969.

2 Procedures Prior to Meeting of Committee

The first step was gathering of background information: a) constitutional constraints and precedents; b) prior decisional procedures; c) administrative and budgetary arrangements; d) list of all previous officers since 1959; e) discussion of procedures and general situation with Committee members.

With the background information in, and the basic ground rules identified, we began the solicitation of suggestions from the membership of the Association. In addition to the standard announcements in the *Review* and in *P.S.*, we wrote letters asking not only for specific names of potential nominees but for suggestions regarding criteria to be applied in selecting nominees, to each of the following:

chairmen of political science departments, for dissemination
former Presidents and Vice Presidents (past decade)
officers of various ad hoc and caucus groups
those who had written on matters of governance in *P.S.* since its inception

These letters went out in mid-February, and during the month that followed we received about forty separate letters of suggestion and about ten telephoned suggestions. Most of the responses merely proposed specific names, but a few also dealt with criteria and procedures.

While awaiting replies to the above inquiries, the Committee members were engaged in more personal solicitations within their several departments, regions, and circles of acquaintances. In addition, we perused back issues of the *Review*, old programs, bibliographies, etc. to compile additional lists of possible candidates.

3 Meeting of the Committee

The face to face meeting of the Committee was scheduled for the weekend of March 14-15 in Denver, and the one member who was definitely unable to attend conferred at length with the Chairman by phone on two occasions prior to the meeting. One other member fell ill just before the meeting, but he was consulted via two phone conversations during the meeting. The four remaining members convened on Saturday morning,

worked through the late evening, and met until noon on Sunday.

The meeting was in two distinct parts. The first morning was devoted to a clarification of the background factors, constitutional constraints, precedents, and selection criteria. At that session, we settled on the following criteria. First, it was agreed that the dominant consideration, as in the past, would be that of intellectual excellence—a slate of scholars who would represent the best in our discipline, in terms of creativity, energy, and scientific competence. Second, we recognized the need for people who—charged with the governance of the Association—could be effective and responsible officers, and best serve the membership and the community at large.

At the same time, we realized that other factors might also be important. On matters scientific, we wanted to take cognizance of such differences as the inductive-deductive, normative-empirical, traditional-behavioral, macro-micro, basic-applied, and related issues. And on matters of public policy, we wanted to take account not only of the diverse views within the discipline but of the variety of attitudes toward the Association's role in such matters. Next, there were the emerging caucus and interest groups, and a belief that their several views should find expression in the discipline's decision making bodies. Finally, recognizing that a scholar's outlook and needs may be partially a function of the type, size, location, and mission of the institution in which he works, we thought it wise to seek some balance among such institutions.

While the need for a representative slate of officers was readily accepted, we explicitly rejected any notion of allocating seats or slots to specific groupings or viewpoints. The intention was to offer a list of nominees which would demonstrate our sensitivity to the issues of the moment, represent the best traditions of the discipline, and be able to govern wisely and effectively.

In this preliminary discussion, three issues of a procedural-constitutional issue were taken up, and while the Committee as a whole makes no formal recommendations, its chairman and individual members have communicated informally with the Constitutional Revision and Procedures Committees. These were: the multiple slate idea, the eligibility of Nominating Committee members for nomination, and the implications of a nominee's withdrawal.

Having reached tentative agreements on the above, but recognizing that they would come in for further discussion when we turned to our specific mission, we devoted the balance of the two days to the consideration of specific candidates. Eventually, we arrived—via a combination of majority vote and informal consensus—at agreed choices for all positions and for one or more alternates in the event that any potential nominee declined the invitation. But in accord with our rejection of the principle of standard seats, we developed a complex contingency plan, rather than assigning alternates to specific slots. With this tentative list of candidates and alternates drawn up, we adjourned at noon on Sunday.

4 Post-Meeting Procedures

Following the precedent of previous years, we agreed that the Chairman would contact our choice for President-elect and that the national office staff would initially contact most of the other potential nominees. At the end of one week, a large fraction of the nominees had been contacted, and had accepted our invitation to stand for office.

But given the diversity of views within the Association, the vigor with which they are held, and the consequent possibility of contending slates, not all of our nominees were able to accept immediately. Several of them requested time to consider the matter or to consult with colleagues, and while we reiterated our position that no faction or group would be permitted to designate its own candidate (or veto those selected by us) we could not object to their consulting with groups of like-minded political scientists. Needless to say, the Chairman spent a good many hours in conversation with several of the potential candidates, explaining and justifying the emerging slate, and urging the importance of seeking reform within the framework of the Association. Even though several designees ultimately declined our invitation, these conversations offered an opportunity for the sorts of lively discussion and exchange of viewpoints which are essential to a responsible and democratic governance of the profession.

5 Recommendations

Having weighed all of the above considerations, taken account of the diverse views and affiliations of the membership, and consulted widely within the discipline, we propose the nominees listed.

Reports of the APSA Committees

Report of the Committee on Procedures and Agenda

The 1970 Annual Business Meeting of the American Political Science Association must deal not only with its usual concerns of resolutions, nominations, elections, and reports, but also with a new Constitution proposed by the Council acting upon the recommendations of its Constitutional Revision Committee. This will put especially heavy pressures upon the limited time available for business meetings and will call for understanding and tolerance by all the Association's officers and members.

The present Constitution gives the Council "general charge and supervision of [the Association's] business and interests" and authorizes it to "adopt the rules for the regulation of the Association's business." (Art. VII, sec. 2) The Council's 1969-70 Committee on Procedures and Agenda was appointed by President Deutsch on October 23, 1969. After consultation with the President, the Program Chairman, the Chairman of the 1968-69 Committee on Procedures, and other officers and members of the Association, our Committee met in Chicago on March 5, 1970, and agreed upon the recommendations made in this report. The *Rules of Procedure* and the Schedule we propose below are published with the earnest request that all Association members read them and send all suggestions for changes, additions, and deletions to the Executive Director for transmission to the Council for consideration at its early-summer, 1970 meeting. The Council must take final action on the rules and schedule at that meeting to enable them to be published in the Summer, 1970 issue of *P.S.* so that all members will know what the rules and schedules are well in advance of the Los Angeles meeting. The members' comments will receive the Council's most careful consideration before it takes final action. To make such consideration possible, we request that all comments be delivered to the Executive Director no later than *May 25, 1970*.

In considering our proposals, members may wish to refer to the following documents: (1) the Constitution of the Association, as amended at the 1969 Annual Business Meeting; this is published in the Fall, 1969 issue of *P.S.*, pp. 672-674, and again in this issue of *P.S.*, following this report; and (2) the *Rules of Procedure* adopted by the Council for the 1969 Annual Business Meeting, which are published in the Summer, 1969 issue of *P.S.*, pp. 380-383.

Rules of Procedure

The Committee on Procedure and Agenda proposes that the Council adopt the following updated version of the 1969 rules to govern the conduct of the Association's business at and pursuant to the 1970 Annual Meeting.¹

1. Annual Business Meeting: Attendance and Participation

The right "to attend and to participate in the Annual Business Meeting of the Association" is constitutionally accorded "all members, upon payment of such registration fee as the Council may approve." (Art. III, sec. 7)

- 1.1 Attendance at the Annual Business Meeting shall be restricted to members of the Association who have paid the approved registration fee and to registered representatives of the Press. Participation in the Annual Business Meeting shall be restricted to members of the Association who have paid the approved registration fee.
- 1.2 Members upon registration shall be issued nontransferable badges readily distinguishable from badges issued nonmember registrants and representatives of the Press.
- 1.3 The Registration Desk shall be open (in addition to the normal registration hours) at least during the first hour of the Annual Business Meeting or, if the Meeting is held in separate time periods, during the first hour of each such period.

2. Conduct of the Annual Business Meeting.

- 2.1 The agenda of each Annual Business Meeting shall include proposed constitutional amendments, nomination and election of officers, resolutions, and other business.
- 2.2 The Council shall prepare and publish a full agenda for each Annual Business Meeting, including the texts of all proposed amendments and resolutions, with statements of the Council's recommendation on each, such full agenda to be made available to members at the beginning of the Annual Business Meeting.
- 2.3 On any proposed constitutional amendment or resolution, the first signer of a proposed amendment or resolution (or his designee) shall be recognized as the first speaker on that amendment or resolution and shall be allotted a maximum of five minutes.
- 2.4 In accordance with the Council's constitutional

authority to make recommendations on all proposed amendments and resolutions (Art.

VIII; Art. IX, sec. 1), the second speaker on any proposed constitutional amendment or resolution not sponsored by the Council shall be a member designated by the Council to present its views. That member shall also be allotted a maximum of five minutes.

- 2.5 Each speaker after the first two speakers specified in Rules 2.3 and 2.4 shall be allotted a maximum of three minutes. The President shall recognize alternately proponents and opponents of the proposed amendment or resolution being considered, so long as members of each group seek recognition, subject to the previous question being ordered.
- 2.6 The proposer of any amendment offered from the floor to a proposed amendment or resolution shall be recognized as the first speaker on that floor amendment, and shall be allotted a maximum of three minutes. Each subsequent speaker on that floor amendment shall be allotted a maximum of three minutes. The President shall recognize alternately proponents and opponents of the floor amendment being considered, so long as members of each group seek recognition, subject to the previous question being ordered.
- 2.7 Debate on any proposed amendment or resolution or amendment from the floor shall close and a vote be taken when a member moves the previous question and a majority supports the motion.
- 2.8 In order that the members may have the material available for study prior to the Annual Meeting, reports of officers and committees of the Association shall be published and distributed to members prior to the Annual Meeting. Copy for such reports shall be received by the Executive Director no later than *June 15*.
- 2.9 Normally no oral reports of officers and committees of the Association shall be presented at the Annual Business Meeting, save for the report of the Chairman of the Nominating Committee. However, an opportunity for members to question and discuss the written reports shall be provided.

3. Proposal of Resolutions and Constitutional Amendments.

The present Constitution provides, "Amendments to this Constitution may be proposed by the Council or by fifty (50) members of the Association. The Council shall transmit all proposed amendments to

¹ Our proposed rules are substantially the rules followed at the 1969 Annual Meeting, with changes, additions, and deletions we feel are indicated by the 1969 amendments to the Constitution and experience gained at the 1969 Annual Business Meeting.

Reports of APSA Committees

Report of the Committee on Procedures and Agenda

the next Annual Business Meeting and may make recommendations on those amendments originating outside the Council." (Art. IX, sec. 1)

"The Council shall have any proposed amendment printed in an official publication of the Association prior to the next Annual Business Meeting. The Council shall then place the proposed amendment on the agenda of that Business Meeting. The Business Meeting may accept or reject the proposed amendment with or without further amendments to it. Within thirty (30) days the Executive Director shall submit amendments supported by at least forty percent of those members present and voting at the Annual Business Meeting to the entire membership for vote by mail ballot. Ballots must be returned within thirty (30) days to be counted. A proposed amendment will be ratified if approved by a majority of those voting. An amendment shall take effect immediately upon ratification unless the amendment itself provides otherwise." (Art. IX, sec. 2)

A resolution may be proposed by the Council under its general responsibilities and the constitutional mandate to "give its recommendations upon all questions (except the election of officers) to be presented to the Annual Business Meeting." (Art. VII, sec. 2) The Constitution contemplates the initiation of resolutions by others than the Council but is silent upon the specifics of such initiation. (Art. VIII) Accordingly, a resolution may be proposed by a single member of the Association. In practice, member-initiated constitutional amendments and resolutions sometimes record the names of sponsors in excess of the number constitutionally required.

The Constitution requires that every resolution and proposed constitutional amendment (unless initiated by the Council itself) shall be referred to the Council for consideration and recommendation before submission to the Association at its Annual Business Meeting, and that every thus-referred resolution and proposed amendment, regardless of Council recommendation on it, shall be submitted by the Council to the Association for action at its Annual Business Meeting. (Arts. VIII and IX)

To implement these Constitutional requirements, we propose the following rules:

- 3.1 No resolution or proposed constitutional amendment shall be considered by the Council or transmitted to the Annual Business Meeting unless it bears the personal signatures of the fifty proposers in the case of a constitutional

amendment or at least one proposer in the case of a resolution, except that in the former case any of the proposers may authorize their identification as proposers by a signed communication to the Executive Director specifically indicating the proposed amendment they support.

- 3.2 The Council shall delete all listed names of supporters beyond those constitutionally necessary for a resolution or proposed amendment with the exception of names personally signed by such supporters or names of listed supporters who authorize such use through individual, signed communications separately received by the Executive Director, specifically identifying the resolution or proposed amendment supported.

- 3.3 The Constitution stipulates that "the Council shall have any proposed [constitutional] amendment printed in an official publication of the Association prior to the next Annual Business Meeting." (Art. IX, sec.2) To implement this requirement, all proposed amendments to the Constitution shall be published in the Summer issue of *P.S.* The texts and the signatures or authorizations of the sponsors of any such amendment shall therefore be received by the Executive Director no later than *June 15*.

- 3.4 The Constitution stipulates that "all resolutions shall be referred to the Council for its recommendations before submission to the vote of the Association at its Annual Business Meeting." (Art. VIII) To implement this provision, all resolutions shall be received by the Executive Director no later than noon of September 6. After August 30 resolutions shall be sent to the Executive Director in care of the Annual Meeting headquarters hotel. However, to encourage full discussion and consideration by the membership as well as the Council, proposers of resolutions are urged to deliver them to the Executive Director by *June 15* so that they may be published in the Summer issue of *P.S.*

4. Adoption and Ratification of a New Constitution.

As a result of the unusually large number of constitutional amendments proposed during 1968-69, the Council on February 16, 1969 established a Constitution Revision Committee to examine the constitutional structure of the Association. The Committee has drafted a proposed new constitution which will be considered by the Council and submitted by it to the Annual Business Meeting in September. The present Constitution makes no

specific provision for the adoption of a new constitution, though the adoption of constitutional amendments is a closely related activity. The Constitution provides that "the Executive Director shall submit amendments supported by at least forty percent of those members present and voting [at the Annual Business Meeting] to the entire membership for vote by mail ballot. . . . A proposed amendment shall be ratified if approved [in the mail ballot] by a majority of those voting." (Art. IX, sec. 2)

The Rules of Procedure governing the disposition of constitutional amendments shall apply to the disposition of a new constitution except as provided below:

- 4.1 For the purpose of debate and voting at the Annual Business Meeting each article of the proposed new constitution shall be treated as one constitutional amendment proposed by the Council.
- 4.2 Each article of the proposed new constitution shall be voted upon at the Annual Business Meeting, after which a vote shall be taken on the adoption of the proposed new constitution in its entirety.
- 4.3 If the proposed new constitution in its entirety is supported by at least forty percent of the members present and voting at the Annual Business Meeting, the Executive Director shall submit the text to the entire membership for vote by mail ballot. The vote by mail ballot shall be on the question of accepting or rejecting the proposed new constitution in its entirety, except as provided in Rule 4.4. The proposed new constitution shall be ratified if approved by a majority of those voting on it in the mail ballot.
- 4.4 Those amendments from the floor to the proposed new constitution which receive at least forty percent of the votes of those present and voting on them at the Annual Business Meeting shall be submitted to the entire membership for vote by mail ballot. Any such amendment which receives a number of affirmative votes at least equal to a majority of all the votes cast for and against the proposed new constitution in its entirety shall be added to and supersede any conflicting portion of the proposed new constitution.

5. Nominations and Elections of Officers.

To implement the procedures for making nominations for elected officers and for conducting contested elections by mail ballot of the entire membership (Art. V), we propose the following

rules:

- 5.1 Each notification to the Secretary of proposed additional nominations (whether for a slate of nominees for all offices, for a set of nominees for certain offices, or for a nominee for one office) shall be valid only if it carries the personal signatures of at least ten members, or if listed members who have not signed the original document certify their co-sponsorship by signed individual communications to the Secretary or his designee indicating specifically the nominations sponsored.
- 5.2 The Secretary or his designee shall receive at the Association's Washington offices, or after September 6, 1970, at the Association's Annual Meeting office in the headquarters hotel all nominations and any individual certifications by members of authority for the inclusion of their names on an original nominating document. In accordance with Article V, section 2 of the Constitution, all such nominations and certifications must be received at least 24 hours before the session of the Annual Business Meeting at which the nomination and election of officers is scheduled to take place.
- 5.3 Well in advance of the Annual Business Meeting the President shall appoint three members of the Council to serve as the Committee on Elections, and shall designate one member as Chairman. The Committee on Elections shall implement the Constitution's requirements and the Council's rules in the preparation and mailing of the ballots and the information supplements to be mailed with the ballots both for elections of officers and for referenda on proposed amendments to the Constitution.
- 5.4 No person who requests withdrawal of his name shall be considered a nominee. If any nominee withdraws his name, the group which nominated him may replace him with another candidate by notifying the Chairman of the Committee on Elections at any time up to a deadline to be fixed by the Committee on Elections.
- 5.5 If two or more persons are nominated for any Association office and a mail ballot is thereby necessitated, the Committee on Elections shall set a maximum number of words for use by the nominees or their representatives for the description of the nominees' professional careers and accomplishments, and shall set another maximum number of words for the nominees or their representatives to use for a statement of views. The Committee on Elections shall inform each nominee and his or her

Reports of the APSA Committees

Report of the Committee on Procedures and Agenda

- sponsors of the availability of this opportunity and the deadlines for the receipt of materials.
- 5.6 In preparing the ballots, the Committee on Elections shall make sure that:
- (1) Each office or set of offices is listed on the ballot separately, in an "office-group" ballot form.
 - (2) The candidates in each office group are listed in alphabetical order of their surnames.
 - (3) Under each candidate's name appears:
 - (a) His current institutional affiliation; and
 - (b) The names of the persons, group, or groups nominating him.
- 5.7 The Committee on Elections shall, within the time limits stipulated by the Constitution (Art. V, sec. 1), fix the date on which the ballots will be mailed out and the date by which they must be returned.
- 5.8 The ballots will be mailed to all members of the Association in good standing as of the close of business on the last working day prior to the mailing date.
- 5.9 The Committee on Elections shall also implement the Council's rules in preparing the mail ballot referendum on any constitutional amendments referred to the entire membership under the provisions of the Constitution. (Art. IX, sec. 2) In preparing the referendum ballots, the Committee on Elections shall make sure that:
- (1) The referendum ballot contains:
 - (a) The proposed new constitution in its entirety (if previously approved by at least forty percent of the members present and voting at the Annual Business Meeting);
 - (b) Each amendment to the proposed new constitution that receives at least forty percent of the vote at the Annual Business meeting;
 - (c) An appropriate procedure for voting for or against the proposed new constitution in its entirety; and
 - (d) An appropriate procedure for voting for or against each amendment to the proposed new constitution.
 - (2) The referendum ballot makes clear exactly which portion(s) of the proposed new constitution would be altered by each proposed amendment and in what way.
 - (3) The referendum ballot is accompanied by a statement of views, including:
 - (a) Statements by the Council or its designees supporting each article of the proposed new constitution; and

- (b) A statement supporting each proposed amendment to the proposed new constitution by the principal proposer of that amendment or his designee
- (4) The Committee on Elections shall set maximum word limits for the statements mentioned in Rule 5.9 (3).

6. Council Meetings: Observers.

- 6.1 Meetings of the Council shall be open to attendance by members of the Association.
- 6.2 Members attending Council meetings under Rule 6.1 are entitled to observe, but not participate in, the Council's discussions.

7. Calendar of Deadlines.

Monday, May 25, 5:00 p.m.

All suggestions on the proposals of the Committee on Procedures and Agenda must be received by the Executive Director.

Monday, June 15, 5:00 p.m.

All proposed constitutional amendments must be received by the Executive Director.

Sunday, September 6, noon.

All proposed resolutions must be received by the Executive Director. (The Council meets at 9:00 a.m. on Monday, September 7. After August 30 resolutions should be sent to the Executive Director in care of the Annual Meeting headquarters hotel.)

Thursday, September 10, 4:00 p.m.

All nominations must be received by the Secretary or his designee (24 hours prior to the session of the Annual Business Meeting scheduled to receive nominations).

Proposed Schedule for the 1970 Annual Meeting

In response to many complaints about the late adjournment of the Annual Business Meeting's evening sessions at the 1969 Annual Meeting, we wish to call attention to two features of our proposed schedule for the 1970 Annual Meeting: **(1) all but one of the Business Meeting sessions are scheduled for afternoon; and (2) the one evening session is scheduled to adjourn at 11:30 p.m.**

Schedule

Monday, September 7

Council Meeting 9:00 a.m. to noon; 2:00 p.m. to 5:30 p.m. (if required, also an evening session)

Tuesday, September 8

Council Meeting 9:00 a.m. to noon

Panels, 1:30-3:30 p.m.

Business Meeting I (constitution), 4:00-6:30 p.m.

Plenary session, 8:30-10:00 p.m.

Wednesday, September 9

Panels, 9:00-11:00 a.m.

Panels, 1:30-3:30 p.m.

Business Meeting II (constitution), 4:00-6:30 p.m.

Business Meeting III (constitution), 8:00-11:00 p.m.

Thursday, September 10

Panels, 9:00-11:00 a.m.

Panels, 1:30-3:30 p.m.

Business Meeting IV (Resolutions) 4:00-6:30 p.m.

Presidential Address and Presentation of Awards, 8:45-10:30 p.m.

Friday, September 11

Panels, 9:00-11:00 a.m.

Panels, 1:30-3:30 p.m.

Business Meeting V (resolutions, nominations, discussion of reports) 4:00-6:30 p.m.

Plenary session, 8:30-10:00 p.m.

Saturday, September 12

Panels, 9:00-11:00 a.m.

Plenary session, 11:30 a.m.-1:00 p.m.

Summary

Panel sessions: 8 of 2 hours each, plus a possible 9th of 2 hours.

Plenary sessions: 3 of 1½ hours each, plus Presidential Address and Presentation of Awards

Business meeting: 3 sessions on the constitution, totalling 8 hours, 2 sessions on resolutions, nominations, and other business, totally 5 hours

Special meetings to be held at noon on any day except Saturday

Contingencies:

Council meeting on evening of September 7
9th panel session on morning of September 8

Austin Ranney, Chairman

Joseph L. Noguee

Robert E. Ward

Reports of the APSA Committees

Constitution of The American Political Science Association

Article I: Name

This Association shall be known as The American Political Science Association.

Article II: Objects

1. It shall be the purpose of this Association to encourage the study of Political Science, including Political Theory, Political Institutions, Politics, Public Law, Public Administration and International Relations.

2. The Association as such is non-partisan. It will not support political parties or candidates. It will not commit its members on questions of public policy nor take positions not immediately concerned with its direct purpose as stated above. But the Association nonetheless actively encourages in its membership and its journals, research in and concern for significant contemporary political and social problems and policies, however controversial and subject to partisan discourse in the community at large these may be. The Association shall not be debarred from adopting resolutions or taking such other action as it deems appropriate in support of academic freedom and of freedom of expression by and within the Association, the political science profession, and the university, when in its judgment such freedom has been clearly and seriously violated or is clearly and seriously threatened.

Article III: Membership

1. *Annual Members.* Any person sharing the objects of this Association may become a member upon payment of fifteen dollars and thereafter may remain such by paying the annual dues of fifteen dollars.

2. *Life Members.* Any person paying dues of one thousand dollars in a lump sum, or in installments spread over not more than ten years, shall become a Life Member of this Association, and thereafter be exempt from further dues.

3. *Student Members.* Any graduate or undergraduate student registered in a college or university may become a Student Member of the Association upon payment of six dollars and may remain such while he is so registered, but for no more than five years, by paying annual dues of six dollars.

4. *Family Members.* Another person in the family of a member may become a Family Member upon payment of two dollars, and may remain such as long as there is another Association member in the family, by paying annual dues of two dollars.

5. *Retired Members.* Any member who has been a member for twenty-five years prior to retirement shall be entitled, on retirement, to continue membership at the reduced rate of eight dollars per year.

6. *Institutional and Library Memberships.* The dues and privileges of Institutional and Library Members shall be fixed by the Council but dues may not be less than those for Annual Members.

7. *Privileges of Members.* Each member, other than a Family Member, shall be entitled to a copy of each number of *The American Political Science Review* issued during his membership. All members, upon payment of such registration fee as the Council may approve, shall be entitled to attend and to participate in the Annual Business Meeting of the Association.

Article IV: Officers

1. The officers of the Association shall be a President, a President-Elect, three Vice-Presidents, a Secretary, a Treasurer, and sixteen elected members of a Council, all of whom shall be elective officers and who shall represent the Association in its corporate capacity. In addition, there shall be an Executive Director of the Association, a Managing Editor of *The American Political Science Review* and such other appointive officers and committees as are hereinafter provided for.

2. The elective officers, together with the Executive Director, the Managing Editor and the Chairman of the Program Committee, shall constitute the Council of the Association. Ex-Presidents of the Association, and upon invitation of the President, the chairman of any committee of the Association and nominees to the next year's Council, may attend meetings of the Council and participate in its discussions but have no vote.

3. The President, the President-Elect, the Executive Director, the Managing Editor, the Chairman of the Program Committee and two other Council members, designated annually by the President, shall constitute the Executive Committee of the Council.

Article V: Elective Officers

1. The elective officers, except the President, shall be chosen by vote of the members of the Association attending the Annual Business Meeting, a quorum being present, provided that whenever there is a contest for any elected office or offices such elections shall be conducted by mail ballot of the entire individual membership. In the latter event the Executive Director shall distribute ballots within thirty (30) days following the Annual Business Meeting and under such other conditions as the Council may prescribe, and he shall count only ballots returned within thirty (30) days following distribution; each contested election shall be determined by a plurality of those voting on the particular office; if the number of nominees for the set of vice-presidencies or for Council membership

exceeds the number of offices constitutionally to be filled, all such nominees shall appear on the mail ballot, members shall be entitled to vote for a number equal to the number of offices in the set, and the nominees ranking highest in the poll, in a number equal to the number of offices, shall be declared elected. The President-Elect shall automatically succeed to the office of President upon the completion of the President's term, or upon the occurrence of one of the contingencies provided for in section 3 of this article. The terms of elective officers, except members of the Council, shall extend for one year measured from the end of the program of the Annual Meeting, except that an officer's term shall in no event expire until his successor assumes office. The terms of members of the Council shall extend for two years, similarly calculated, and one-half shall expire each year.

2. After each annual meeting the President shall appoint, with due regard to geographical distribution and the fields of professional interest, three members to a Nominating Committee of six, to serve for two-year terms; and he shall designate the chairman. The Committee may canvass the membership directly or indirectly for suggestions, and shall submit to the next Annual Business Meeting one nomination for each elective office to be filled, except the Presidency. These nominations shall be announced to the membership, by any convenient means, well in advance of the annual meeting. Additional nominations, sponsored by at least 10 members of the Association, may be offered from the floor at the Annual Business Meeting, upon 24 hours' advance notice to the Secretary.

3. In case of death, resignation or inability of the President to perform the duties of his office, the President-Elect shall immediately succeed him and shall be President for the remainder of the term unless that is less than four months, in which case he shall serve out the unexpired term and one additional year.

In case of an interim vacancy in the office of President-Elect, the Nominating Committee shall forthwith proceed to nominate and the Council shall elect a new President-Elect to serve until the end of the next annual meeting. Actions to fill a vacancy may in case of need be taken by mail, telegraph or telephone, without a meeting. At the next Annual Business Meeting the Association shall confirm the Council's action by electing the President-Elect to the office of President or instead may elect another member as President, or may take such other action as in its discretion the situation may require, to the end that there shall be in office at all times both a President and a President-

Elect.

The Council may fill any interim vacancy in its elective membership until the end of the next annual meeting.

4. The elective officers, except the Secretary and the Treasurer, shall be ineligible to succeed themselves in office. After a lapse of two years a former member of the Council may be elected to another term.

Article VI: Appointive Officers

1. The Executive Director of the Association and the Managing Editor of *The American Political Science Review* shall be appointed by the Council, after it hears the recommendation of the President. They shall have terms to be fixed in each case by the Council; and they shall be eligible for reappointment.
2. There shall be a Board of Editors of *The American Political Science Review* to assist the Managing Editor, and the Council may determine its size, method of appointment and tenure.
3. The Council, or the Executive Committee, may establish other offices, boards and committees, as the business of the Association may require, define their tasks and powers, and fix their terms and methods of appointment.

Article VII: Management of Association and Duties of Officers

1. The highest authority for deciding the policies and managing the affairs of the Association is the membership of the Association duly assembled in the Annual Business Meeting, or in a special meeting duly called, or in a ballot by mail as prescribed in this Constitution. It enacts and amends the Constitution, elects the elective officers, resolves policy questions brought to it, and may confirm, revise or repeal the action of the Council, the Executive Committee or any officer. One hundred members shall constitute a quorum of the Association, and a majority vote of the members in attendance or voting by mail shall control its decisions. The Association shall meet annually at a time and place designated by the Council. The Council and the officers shall make every effort to acquaint the members with the business of the Association and with the issues involved in the agenda of the Annual Business Meeting or in a ballot by mail, and to provide sufficient time at business meetings for deliberations and decisions.
2. Subject to the foregoing, the Council shall be the governing body of the Association and have general charge and supervision of its business and interests in accordance with this Constitution. The

■ Reports of the APSA Committees

Constitution of The American Political Science Association

Council shall meet once a year before the Annual Business Meeting; and oftener at its discretion or on call of the President. Nine members shall constitute a quorum and a majority vote of the members in attendance shall control its decisions. The Council may call special meetings of the Association. It shall receive reports of all officers and committees; adopt the budget and appropriate money; and give its recommendations upon all questions (except the election of officers) to be presented to the Annual Business Meeting. It shall receive an annual audit of the Association's accounts. It may give directions to officers and committees, and adopt the rules for the regulation of the Association's business. In the event of an emergency which prevents the holding of the Annual Business Meeting, the Council may exercise all the powers of the Association including the election of officers.

3. Within limits prescribed by the Council, and consistently with this Constitution, the Executive Committee may exercise the powers of the Council when the Council or the Annual Business Meeting is not in session. It shall meet on call of the President, and he shall report its actions to the Council.

4. The President shall preside at business meetings of the Association, the Council and the Executive Committee. Except as may be otherwise provided, he shall appoint all committees of the Association. He shall see to it that the business of the Association is faithfully transacted.

5. The Secretary shall approve and have custody of the minutes of business meetings of the Council and of the Association; and he shall report the actions of the Council to the Annual Business Meeting.

6. The Treasurer shall review and approve the arrangements for the receipt, custody and disbursement of Association funds, and for keeping the Association's accounts. He shall arrange for the annual audit, and present the auditor's report to the Council. He shall report the Association's financial condition to the Annual Business Meeting. He shall review the Association's investments and make recommendations of investment policy to the Council. He shall seek to advance the interests of the Association in adding to its financial resources.

7. The Managing Editor of *The American Political Science Review* shall edit and publish *The Review*, with the advice and assistance of the Board of Editors, and report its affairs to the Council.

8. The Executive Director shall be the chief executive officer of the Association and transact its business. He shall have charge of the central office of the Association. He shall formulate plans and policies for the accomplishment of the Association's

objectives, and upon the approval of the Council or the executive Committee shall be responsible for their administration. All appointive committees shall look to him for advice and assistance in their work. He shall have custody of the Association's funds, discharge its obligations and maintain its accounts. He shall make an annual report to the Council and consult with the President as questions of policy currently arise.

9. A Program Committee shall be responsible for preparing the professional program of the annual meetings of the Association. A Committee on Local Arrangements shall be responsible for assistance with accommodations and entertainment for members attending the annual meetings.

10. Other committees may be created, for stated periods and stipulated assignments. They shall report to the Council and thereupon be discharged. Unless specifically approved by the Association or the Council for that purpose, their reports shall not be deemed to state the views of the Association nor commit it in any way.

Article VIII: Resolutions

All resolutions shall be referred to the Council for its recommendations before submission to the vote of the Association at its Annual Business Meeting. Notice to this provision shall be given to the members of the Association in advance of the annual meeting.

Article IX: Amendments

1. Amendments to this Constitution may be proposed by the Council or by fifty (50) members of the Association. The Council shall transmit all proposed amendments to the next Annual Business Meeting and may make recommendations on those amendments originating outside the Council.

2. The Council shall have any proposed amendment printed in an official publication of the Association prior to the next Annual Business Meeting. The Council shall then place the proposed amendment on the agenda of the Business Meeting. The Business Meeting may accept or reject the proposed amendment with or without further amendments to it. Within thirty (30) days the Executive Director shall submit amendments supported by at least forty percent of those members present and voting at the Annual Business Meeting to the entire membership for vote by mail ballot. Ballots must be returned within thirty (30) days to be counted. A proposed amendment shall be ratified if approved by a majority of those voting. An amendment shall take effect immediately upon ratification unless the amendment itself provides otherwise.

APSA Investments and Securities

(as of February 28, 1970)

Stocks	Shares	Savings and Loan Associations	Amount
Abbott Laboratories	400	Allstate, N. Hollywood, Calif.	\$ 1,000.00
American Airlines	15	Belmont, Long Beach, Calif.	1,000.00
Armstrong Cork	600	Coachella Valley, Palm Springs, Calif.	1,000.00
Atlantic Refining	340	Eastland, Anaheim, Calif.	1,000.00
Bristol Meyers	156	Fishermen & Merchants, San Pedro, Calif.	1,000.00
Columbia Broadcasting System	213	Gibraltar, Beverly Hills, Calif.	1,000.00
Consumer Power Company	187	Home Federal, San Diego, Calif.	1,000.00
Continental Oil Company	296	La Mirada, La Mirada, Calif.	1,000.00
Dupont de Nemours	100	Santa Rosa, Santa Rosa, Calif.	1,000.00
Eastman Kodak	200	Verdugo, Los Angeles, Calif.	1,000.00
Federated Department Stores	600		
Florida Power & Light	120		
General Mills	400	Certificate of deposit	
General Motors Corporation	400	Franklin National Bank, New York City	\$15,000.00
General Telephone & Electronics	500		
IBM Corporation	92	The actions of the Association's Finance Committee and the Council on the Association's investment policies are:	
International Paper	500		
International Telephone	443	The Council adopted a resolution that the Association accept responsibility for the social and moral implications and consequences of its investment policy, and avoid investments inconsistent with the pursuit of peace and of a democratic and humane social order.	
J. C. Penney Company	200		
Johns Mansville Corporation	400	As guidelines for the investment of Association funds in accordance with this resolution, the Committee recommends that the Association should avoid investment in firms which either	
Middle South Utilities	400	(a) practice discrimination against members of disadvantaged groups (race, religion, sex, or ethnic background); or	
3M Corporation	300	(b) exploit their employees in terms of wages, hours, or working conditions; or	
Mobile Oil (Socony)	200	(c) manufacture weapons of warfare which are offensive to the moral sentiments of a substantial part of our membership.	
National Biscuit Company	400		
Niagra Mohawk Power	400		
Peoples Gas Company	188		
Polaroid Corporation	207		
Raytheon Company	500		
Schering Corporation	600		
Teledyne	442		
Texaco	300		
United Airlines	220		
Westinghouse Electric	300		
Weyerhaeuser Company	500		
Xerox	300		

Bonds	Matures	Number	
Alabama Power	9/1/95	10 M	The Council commended the Finance Committee for its efforts to work out guidelines for the investment policy of the Association and, within the broad moral concerns expressed, asked the Finance Committee to proceed to respond to complaints as well as to initiate its own inquiries and actions. It was agreed that the Association should continue to publish holdings of the Association at least annually. (page 539, P.S., Special Supplement, Summer 1969)
AT & T	4/1/2001	30 M	
AT & T	4/1/85	76 M	
Boston Edison	11/1/95	10 M	
Columbia Gas Systems	10/1/90	10 M	
General Motors Accept.	9/1/80	30 M	
Ohio Bell Telephone	2/1/2006	25 M	
Public Service Electric	9/1/95	10 M	
Southern Calif. Edison	8/15/91	20 M	
Tenneco	9/1/85	10 M	
United Airlines	7/1/92	10 M	
U.S. Treasury Notes & Bonds	5/15/70	3 M	The Committee on Finance has decided (a) to print twice annually a list of securities held by the Association for investment; (b) to invest a portion of the Association's portfolio in business firms whose activities promote the establishment of a democratic and humane social order. (APSA Council Minutes, December 4-5, 1969)
	11/15/70	250 M	
	5/15/72	125 M	
	5/15/74	200 M	
	5/22/70	300 M	

The Profession

Professional Notes

Foreign Scholars Available

The Conference Board of Associated Research Councils has announced the selection of five political scientists from other nations who will be available for teaching and lecturing during the academic year 1970-1971 under the provisions of the Educational and Cultural Exchange Act. Invitations to the scholars are welcomed from institutions in this country, and information on contacting foreign scholars may be obtained from the publication "Foreign Scholars Available for Appointments in U.S. Universities and Colleges," or by contacting Miss Grace Haskins, 2101 Constitution Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20418; Telephone 202/961-1648.

The scholars are:

Tahir Aktan, Age 45, Assistant Professor of Public Administration and Government, Middle East Technical University, Ankara, Turkey;

Odette Blavignac, Age 26, Teacher, Le Haut du Roy, Sarcelles, France;

Shelton U. Kodikara, Age 42, Senior Lecturer in History, University of Ceylon;

Pekka G. Nyholm, Age 44, Assistant Researcher, Finnish National Research Council for Social Sciences;

Byung Hun Oh, Age 43, Dean of General Education and Director, American Studies Institute, Sung Kyun Kwan University, Seoul, Korea.

Foreign Affairs

Research Directory

The Office of External Research, Department of State, has announced the publication of *Foreign Affairs Research: A Directory of Governmental Resources*. Each agency which provides information or resources for foreign affairs research is listed, with a description of the service performed, and functional and alphabetical indexes are also included. The 50 page publication is 55¢ from the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

The Department of State's Office of External Research works to develop and maintain a steady exchange of information and ideas between government officials, both researchers and policy-makers, and private scholars engaged in research on foreign affairs. Further information may be obtained from E. Raymond Platig, Director, Office of External Research, Department of State, Washington, D.C. 20520.

New California Politics Journal

A new "monthly digest of state government and politics" entitled *California Journal* has been established. Thomas R. Hoeber is Editor-in-Chief. The journal aims at coverage at the state similar to that provided by *Congressional Quarterly* and the *National Journal* at the federal level. There are sections on the legislature, executive branch and courts, as well as state issues and politics. Subscription rates are \$10 individual, \$25 library or government agency, \$50 corporations and associations (including query service on California government). For further information, write to California Journal, 1108 O Street, Sacramento, California 95814.

Michigan Historical Collections

The Michigan Historical Collections, University of Michigan, has announced that the following collections of personal papers are open to the research community:

Quezon, Manuel Luis (1878-1944) President of the Philippines, 1935-44. 54 reels.

Hayden, Joseph Ralston (1887-1945) Professor of Political Science, University of Michigan and Vice-Governor General, Philippines, 1933-1935. 40 feet.

Fitzgerald, Frank Dwight (1885-1939) Governor of Michigan, 1935-1936 and 1939; chairman, Michigan delegation to 1936 Republican National Convention. 27 feet.

Pollock, James K. (1898-1968) Professor of Political Science, University of Michigan; member Michigan Committee on Elections, 1930-1931; chairman, Michigan Civil Service Study Commission, 1935-1937; Elections official Saar Plebiscite; special advisor to General Clay, U.S. Military Government for Germany, 1945-1948; president, American Political Science Association and International Political Science Association. 112 feet.

Inquiries should be directed to the Michigan Historical Collections, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48104.

DSG Seniority Report

The Democratic Study Group, U.S. House of Representatives, has issued a special report entitled "The Seniority System in the U.S. House of Representatives." The report presents an analysis with arguments for and against the present system.

Further information may be obtained from the DSG, U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.

The Profession

Professional Notes

Study on **Science** and Diplomacy

The House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on National Security Policy and Scientific Developments is sponsoring an extended study by the Science Policy Research and Foreign Affairs Divisions of the Legislative Reference Service, Library of Congress on "Science, Technology and American Diplomacy." The first document to be published in the project series is "A Selected, Annotated Bibliography" of materials relating to the subject. For information on the publications or the study, contact Franklin P. Huddle, Director of the project, at the Library of Congress.

South Dakota Political Almanac

Alan L. Clem is the author of the second edition of *South Dakota Political Almanac*, published by the Governmental Research Bureau, University of South Dakota, Vermillion, South Dakota 57069. The book is an analysis of state politics including results of major elections from statehood through 1968, with county breakdowns for the period since 1928, as well as maps, charts, tables and a bibliography of published materials on South Dakota politics and elections. Copies are \$2.95 hardcover and \$1.95 paperbound.

A list of other publications is also available from the Bureau, including both the report series and the public affairs series.

Science and Society Journal

A new journal, tentatively titled "Science Studies: Research in the Social and Historical Dimensions of Science and Technology," will be published by Macmillan Journal Publishers with the first issue scheduled for January, 1971. "The journal is intended to serve the growing community of historians, philosophers, sociologists, political scientists and economists who are contributing research to the study of science in its social dimension." Four papers reporting original research of 5,000 to 10,000 words each will be carried in each issue. Further information may be obtained from Macmillan Journals, Ltd., Little Essex Street, London, W.C.2. Manuscripts are welcomed.

Center for **Vietnamese** Studies

A Center for Vietnamese Studies and Programs has been set up at the Carbondale Campus of Southern Illinois University. Its purpose is to develop staff and library competence and to afford opportunities for advanced scholarship in this area.

New **Congressional** Publications Service

A new monthly service for indexing, abstracting and copying almost all documents and publications of the U.S. Congress has been established, the Congressional Information Service/Index. The privately organized reference service initially takes the form of a monthly loose-leaf publication averaging 100 to 150 pages. Each issue abstracts and indexes almost every document issued by the U.S. Congress during the previous month (except for the Congressional Record, which has its own index). Documents are collected daily from the issuing offices and analyzed by professional indexers. This information is then processed and set in type by computer for rapid publication. The indexes and cross-indexes are cumulated quarterly. The entire data bank is cumulated annually in a set of clothbound volumes.

All documents are annotated, abstracted, and extensively cross-referenced. The main index offers access to all data according to:

subject discussed
name of hearing witness
name of author (corporate or individual)
affiliation of witness or author
name of subcommittee
popular name of law, report, bill, etc.

Additional indexes offer cross-references to bill number, public law number, report number and document number. There is also an index to the names of committee and subcommittee chairmen.

The abstracts summarize all publications indexed, frequently making it unnecessary to retrieve the publications themselves. Abstracts are organized by committee. Many Congressional publications are produced in such small editions that even with prompt notice of their existence they cannot be obtained. The Congressional Information Service microfilms all the documents and offers subscribers fiche or "hard" photocopies. Subscriptions range from \$80 to \$320 per year.

For further information, write to Congressional Information Service, 500 Montgomery Building, Washington, D.C. 20014.

Public Policy Bibliography

Volume II of a two-volume selective annotated bibliography on *Science, Technology, and Public Policy* has been published by the National Science Foundation. The two volumes, totaling 1,036 pages, cite significant works on science policy published in English during the period 1945 through 1967. Published in March 1968, Volume I covered books, monographs, and government documents. The current publication lists, and where necessary, annotates approximately 2,700 articles from 50 periodicals.

Lynton K. Caldwell, Professor of Political Science, Indiana University, directed the research and annotation of the works. Support was provided by the NSF through a contract with the Indiana University Foundation. A third volume, updating the bibliography, is being planned for publication, possibly in 1970.

Single copies of Vols. I and II are available from the Office of Planning and Policy Studies, NSF, Washington, D.C. 20550.

Social Sciences Card Index

A card index to periodicals in the social sciences published throughout the world is available for \$50 per set of 1,000 cards from the Service D'Echange d'Informations Scientifiques, Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, 131, Boulevard St. Michel, 75 Paris-5^e. The index has been developed in collaboration with the International Committee for Social Sciences Documentation. The Service maintains the file on a current basis and sends subscribers additional cards when a new periodical appears or changes occur in the character or content of an existing periodical. The arrangement of information on the cards permits classification in alphabetical order by title, country of publication, or discipline.

Campaign Newsletter

Campaign Associates has announced the establishment of a newsletter, *Campaign Insight*. The newsletter, to be issued monthly, will contain news and articles about campaign techniques and political organizations. Cost is \$12 per year, from Campaign Associates, Suite 408, Petroleum Building, Wichita, Kansas 67202.

International Programs Directory

The Council on International Educational and Cultural Affairs, Department of State, has issued the third edition of the *Directory of Frequent Contacts for International Educational, Cultural, Scientific and Technical Exchange Programs*. The 50 page publication was prepared by the Policy Review and Coordination Staff, Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs.

The purpose of the directory is to further communication in the international educational, cultural and scientific community by facilitating contacts among those involved in these fields. For further information, write Room 7H30, SA-8, Department of State, Washington, D.C. 20520.

Association News

Congressional Fellowship Program

The Association has announced 17 winners in the national competition for the 1970-71 Congressional Fellowship Program.

The winners—nine political scientists and eight journalists—will come to the Nation's Capitol for a year of full-time work in the offices of Senators and Members of the House of Representatives.

Each winner will receive a minimum stipend of \$6,500 for the year. The Program is financed by a Ford Foundation grant, and services of the Fellows are free of charge to the Congressional offices in which they work.

Sponsored by the Association since 1953, the purpose of the Congressional Fellowship Program is to give outstanding young academicians and political journalists an opportunity to further their knowledge of the national legislative process.

The Congressional Fellows are scheduled to arrive here in mid-November for a six-week orientation period. They will begin working in Congressional offices of their choice about January 1, 1971. The Program ends August 15, 1971.

The 17 winners were selected on the basis of superior academic training and experience. Final selections were made by an Advisory Committee made up of top government officials, Washington newsmen, and political scientists.

Political Scientists

M. Kenneth Bowler, 27, Ph.D. candidate, University of Wisconsin, Madison.

Gerald L. Clayton, 27, Ph.D. candidate, University of California, Berkeley.

Lynn E. Davis, Ph.D. candidate, Columbia University.

Vernon M. Goetchus, 28, Assistant Professor of Government, Columbia University.

Robert L. Healy, 25, Ph.D. candidate, University of Pittsburgh.

Karl T. Kurtz, 24, Ph.D. candidate, Washington University (St. Louis).

John C. Pierce, 26, Assistant Professor of Political Science, Tulane University.

Rudolph R. Rousseau, Jr., 23, Ph.D. candidate, The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy.

Lisa J. Walker, 24, Ph.D. candidate, University of Rochester.

Journalists

Douglas M. Bloomfield, 28, Reporter, *Cleveland Plain Dealer*.

Anne Getz, 28, Reporter, *The Detroit News*.

Charles C. Hines, 24, Bureau Manager, *United Press International*, Little Rock, Arkansas.

Samuel C. Martino, 31, Wisconsin State Capitol Bureau Chief, *Minneapolis Tribune*.

Joseph H. Nicholson, Jr., 26, Reporter, *Associated Press*, New York City.

Stephen E. Ponder, 27, Reporter and Editor, *United Press-International*, Detroit.

Edward J. Walsh, 38, Reporter, *The Houston Chronicle*.

Timothy J. Wyngaard, 28, Statehouse Reporter, *Green Bay (Wisc.) Press Gazette*.

Cumulative Index Published

An updated edition of the *Cumulative Index to the American Political Science Review* has been published by the Association in cooperation with University Microfilms. The index was edited and the program designed by Kenneth Janda, Northwestern University, based on the previous edition which he edited in 1964. The new index covers Volumes 1 to 62 of the *Review*, for the years 1906-1968. The index is a KWIC index, "keyword in context," which has been redesigned to give the user all the information he needs to find an article in "one stop." Assisting Janda in the publication were Donald Dillaman, Richard R. Greenfield and Jeffrey Krend, all students at Northwestern.

Price for the index is \$6.50, a relatively low price due to the cooperative efforts of Professor Janda and his assistants, University Microfilms and the Association. For copies, send \$6.50 to University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106. Members at educational institutions are urged to remind their libraries to order the *Cumulative Index*.

Black Graduate Fellowships

The Association has announced twenty-five winners in the competition for the 1970-71 Black Graduate Fellowships in Political Science.

The winners include five Fellows to receive scholarships of \$3,600 for the academic year 1970-71 to attend the university of their choice and twenty honorary fellows. The honorary fellows have been recommended to graduate departments of political science as deserving of consideration for fellowships or other financial assistance.

Funded Black Graduate Fellows

Edward Lee Hancock, Jr., Howard University

Odell Lee, UCLA

Renee Dianne Lewis, Fisk University

Danny Andrew Richards, University of Alabama

Cecelia Allena Vaughan, Virginia State College

Honorary Black Graduate Fellows

Benoit Otis Brookens, Jr., University of Wisconsin

Joseph Solomon Brown, Southern University

Erma Sue Bryant, Tuskegee Institute

Michael Jeffrey Calhoun, Princeton University

Earnest Lee Easton, University of Illinois

Lydia A. Glees, University of Illinois

John Edward Hale, Florida A & M University

Earl Dwytt Johnson, Eastern New Mexico University

Kenneth Stone McHargh, College of Wooster

Janice Marie Miller, Southern University

Larry Edward Moss, Atlanta University

Roger Kent Oden, North Carolina Central University

Pearl Theodora Robinson, S/C Dispensaire

Gene Howell Roland, Florida A & M University

Hubert Ellis Sapp, Miles College

Hilbourne Alban Watson, Howard University

Ethel L. Anderson, Huston-Tillotson College

Roger Ware Banks, University of New Mexico

Lee Roy Berry, Notre Dame University

Tanner Benjamin Joffrion, Tougaloo College

European Flights

For the eleventh successive summer, the Association is arranging two flights to Europe in 1970. Flight A will leave New York June 10 for London, and return September 7. The A Flight will be by Pan American and will cost \$245. Flight B will leave New York for Paris August 1 on Pan American and will return September 7. The cost for Flight B will be \$270. Flights are open only to members of the Association and their immediate families. For further information, write, Director, Summer Flights in care of the Association.

IPSA Travel Grants

The Association has received a grant of \$10,000 from the National Science Foundation to assist American political scientists in travel to the International Political Science Association Congress in Munich, Germany, August 31 to September 5, 1970. Grants are limited to travel costs.

Application forms are available from the Association office. The deadline for receipt of applications will be June 1, 1970. An Association committee will make the grants and notify individuals soon after that date. For information, write to Travel Grants, IPSA Congress in care of the Association.

APSA Group Flight to IPSA Congress

A group flight has been arranged for Association members traveling to the Eighth World Congress of the International Political Science Association. The Congress will be held in Munich, August 31 to September 5, 1970. The group flight will leave from Kennedy International Airport, New York, August 22 and will return September 7. The fare will be \$245 on Lufthansa-Airlines. For information, write Director, Summer Flight Programs in care of the Association.

Association News

Program for the 1971 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association

The 67th Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association will be held in **Chicago** at the Conrad Hilton Hotel, **September 7-11, 1971**. The Program Committee is listed below. The members of the Committee and the Program Chairman welcome suggestions from members of the profession on specific papers, specific panels, or on the general structure of the program. We would be happy to have ideas for innovation; we would be happy to be reminded of tradition we have slighted. If you have suggestions or comments on the program, please communicate to one or more of those listed below. It is important to have these communications early. More definite plans for the meetings will be taking shape in the fall.

Program Chairman: **Sidney Verba**
Department of Political Science, University of Chicago

I. Research Areas (No distinction is made between American politics and Comparative politics. Panels will deal with either or both.)

- A. Political Belief Systems and their Formation
Dennis Sullivan, Department of Government, Dartmouth College
- B. Technology and Politics
Todd La Porte, Department of Political Science, University of California, Berkeley
- C. New Modes of Policy Analysis
Patrick Crecine, Department of Political Science, University of Michigan
- D. Law and Social Change
Herbert Jacob, Department of Political Science, Northwestern University
- E. Conflicts, Groups and Party Alignments
David Kovenock, Department of Political Science, University of North Carolina
- F. Urban Politics
Joel Aberbach, Department of Political Science, University of Michigan
- G. Art as Politics
Claire Rosenfield, Department of English, Brown University
- H. International Relations and Organization
Joseph Nye, Department of Government, Harvard University
- I. Political Development: New Directions
Warren Ilichman, Department of Political Science, University of California, Berkeley
- J. Public Administration: The Administration of Social Services

Paul Puryear, Department of Political Science, Fisk University

II. Philosophy, Theory and Method

- K. Ethical Theory
Richard Flathman, Department of Political Science, University of Chicago
- L. Formal Theory
Gordon Black, Department of Political Science, University of Rochester
- M. Problems of Measurement and Method
Lester Milbrath, Department of Political Science, State University of New York, Buffalo

III. Political Science and Public Policy

- N. The Impact of the Social Sciences on Society: A Retrospect on Recent Major Policy Issues
Graham Allison, Department of Government, Harvard University
- O. The Impact of the Social Sciences on Society: Prospects for the Major Issues of the Future
Murray Edelman, Department of Political Science, University of Wisconsin

IV. Political Science: A Self-Evaluation

- P. Political Science as a Vocation
Merle Kling, Department of Political Science, Washington University of St. Louis
- Q. Teaching Political Science
G. Bingham Powell, Department of Political Science, University of California, Berkeley

Administrations Censured by the AAUP

The censured administrations with dates of censuring, are listed below. Reports were published as indicated by the parenthesized *AAUP Bulletin* citation.

Lowell Technology Institute	Winter 1959, pp. 550-567 April 1960
Alabama State College	Winter 1961, pp. 303-309 April 1962
South Dakota State University Censure was voted specifically on the Board of Regents of Education of the State of South Dakota, and not on the institution's administrative officers.	Autumn 1961, pp. 247-255 April 1962
Alcorn Agricultural and Mechanical College	Autumn 1962, pp. 248-252 April 1963
Grove City College	Spring 1963, pp. 15-24 April 1963
Sam Houston State College	Spring 1963, pp. 44-51 April 1963
College of the Ozarks Censure was voted specifically on the Board of Trustees, and not on the institution's administrative officers.	Winter 1963, pp. 352-359 April 1964
Wayne State College (Nebraska) Censure was voted specifically on the Board of Education of State Normal Schools of the State of Nebraska, and not on the institution's administrative officers	Winter 1964, pp. 347-354 April 1965
St. John's University (N.Y.)	Spring 1966, pp. 12-19 April 1966
Amarillo College	Autumn 1967, pp. 292-302 April 1968
Texas A & M University	Winter 1967, pp. 378-384 April 1968
Arkansas Agricultural and Mechanical College	Winter 1967, pp. 385-390 April 1968
Cheyney State College	Winter 1967, pp. 391-399 April 1968
Southern University and Agricultural and Mechanical College	Spring 1968, pp. 14-24 April 1968
Wisconsin State University at Whitewater	Spring 1968, pp. 25-36 April 1968
Lorain County Community College (Ohio)	Spring 1968, pp. 49-58 April 1968
Troy State University (Alabama)	Autumn 1968, pp. 298-305 May 1969
Northern State College (South Dakota) Northern State College, like South Dakota State College, is under the jurisdiction of the Board of Regents of Education of the State of South Dakota	Autumn 1968, pp. 306-313 May 1969
Frank Phillips College (Texas)	Winter 1968, pp. 433-438 May 1969
Dutchess Community College (N.Y.)	Spring 1969, pp. 41-49 May 1969
Central State College (Oklahoma)	Spring 1969, pp. 66-70 May 1969
Broward Junior College (Florida)	Spring 1969, pp. 71-78 May 1969
Detroit Institute of Technology	Spring 1969, pp. 41-49 May 1969

Association News

APSA Committees

Members of Association Committees are appointed by the Presidents of the Association. All members are invited to correspond with the Chairmen of Committees concerning the subjects of their Committee's concerns.

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Alex Gottfried, *University of Washington*

Michael Haas, *Northwestern University*

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Robert E. Hawkinson, *University of Chicago – Graduate Student*

Donald G. Herzberg, *Eagleton Institute of Politics*

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Mack H. Jones, *Atlanta University*

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The National Register of Scientific and Technical Personnel

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Heinz Eulau, *Stanford University*
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Frank Munger, *University of Florida*
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Research and Training Support

Support Available

Urban Affairs Institute

This summer, under a grant from the U.S. Office of Education, The American University will offer a program for faculty members and administrators of junior, community, and four-year colleges which will enable them to develop new perspectives on teaching urban studies. Through the Urban Affairs Institute, School of Government and Public Administration, will be exposed to new teaching methods and tools, as well as substantive knowledge on urban problems designed to help them upgrade the treatment of this field of study at the undergraduate level. Special emphasis will be placed on utilization of a community as a resource for building academic programs which focus on current urban political, social, and economic problems. The Institute will introduce participants to the dynamics of politics and policy-making through a combination of class work, field trips in the Washington, D.C. metropolitan area, and sessions with national and local public officials, political leaders, and central city residents. The resources available in the nation's capital, such as Members of Congress and the executive agencies, city and local officials, nationally organized public interest groups, and the new towns of Columbia, Maryland and Reston, Virginia will also be used. Stipends will be paid to participants.

For more information and application forms, contact: A. Lee Fritschler, Director, Urban Affairs Institute, School of Government and Public Administration, The American University, Washington, D.C. 20016, Telephone: (202) 244-6800 ex. 668.

Fellowships List

The Fellowship Office, Office of Scientific Personnel, National Research Council, has issued a 42 page booklet entitled "A Selected List of Major Fellowship Opportunities and Aids to Advanced Education for United States Citizens." The publication includes sections on undergraduate, graduate and postdoctoral fellowships, and a list of other publications with fellowship information. The publication is available from the National Academy of Sciences, Washington, D.C. Both governmental and non-governmental sources are listed, and a companion booklet is published for foreign nationals.

NSF Modifies Institutional Support for Science Programs

In its budget request for the 1971 fiscal year, the National Science Foundation has regrouped its University Science Development, Departmental Science Development, and Graduate Science Facilities programs into a single Science Development Program (SDP). The SDP continues to emphasize the "strengthening of the scientific and engineering base in the principal institutions and regions of the Nation with major emphasis on undergraduate and graduate education and research."

However, the SDP contains several modifications of special interest: Provisions for making special social science developmental grants are included in the reorganized SDP. Eligibility is broadened to include departments of social science heretofore ineligible either because they were in the 'quality' institutions or in an institution which had already received a *University Science Department* grant.

In addition, the reorganized program, for example, calls for strengthening existing and, when appropriate, new centers, institutes, and inter-institutional arrangements that can contribute more directly to the solution of societal problems. The intent is to encourage greater interaction between the social sciences and other disciplines. Special consideration will be given to interdisciplinary and multidisciplinary efforts that will lead to the strengthening of (1) existing departments (2) institutes, centers and inter-institutional arrangements and (3) recognized and emerging areas of science and engineering.

For further information, contact: Edward Z. Dager, Science Development Program, National Science Foundation, Washington, D.C. 20550.

NSF Program Information

<i>Fellowship Program</i>	<i>Closing Date</i>	<i>Announcement Date</i>
Graduate	Nov. 30, 1970	Mar. 15, 1971
Postdoctoral	Dec. 7, 1970	Mar. 15, 1971
Senior Postdoctoral	Oct. 5, 1970	Dec. 7, 1970
Science Faculty	Oct. 5, 1970	Dec. 7, 1970
NATO Postdoctoral	Oct. 5, 1970	Nov. 23, 1970
NATO Senior	Mar. 31, 1971	Periodically

Information on each of these programs is available from the National Science Foundation, Washington, D.C. 20550.

Announcements of Awards

Woodrow Wilson Designates

The Woodrow Wilson National Fellowship Foundation of Princeton, New Jersey, has announced the selection of Woodrow Wilson designates for 1970-1971. Those selected with a proposed graduate field of political science follow.

<i>Name</i>	<i>Undergraduate College</i>
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Ault, Richard Joseph	University of Arkansas
Battle, Kenneth Robert	Queen's University
Bax, Frans Rudolph	Dartmouth College
Bennett, W. Lance	U. of Calif., Los Angeles
Bock, Mr. Terry Lee	University of Iowa
Booth, John Allan	Rice University
Borkowski, Harold Walter	Colgate University
Brown, Cheryl Marie	Simmons College
Buntain, David Robert	University of Nebraska
Burns, Mark Travis	Lambuth College
Calder, Kent Eyring	University of Utah
Carlton, Blaine Lynn	University of Utah
Coleman, Paulette	Bensalem Coll., Fordham U.
Cook, Brian Arthur	University of Saskatchewan
Croyle, James Lee	U. of Calif., Irvine
Curl, Gregory Lynn	Southwest Missouri State C.
Dailey, Douglas Arthur	University of Michigan
Dutter, Lee Edward	Florida State University
Emdin, Alan Charles	CUNY – Brooklyn College
Epps, Edward Eugene	North Carolina State U.
Feyerherm, William Harvey	Northern Illinois University
Ford, Stephen Donald	Carleton College
Gaines, Judith Andrea	U. of Calif., Santa Cruz
Goldford, Dennis Joel	University of Michigan
Harris, Scott Allen	University of Wyoming
Herman, George Duane	Wichita State University
Hetzner, Candace	Indiana University
Hosp, Joanne	Douglass College

Jackson, Robert Woods Beloit College

Johnston, Richard Gregory U. of British Columbia

Kidder, Samuel Henry Beloit College

Kokot, Eugene Victor Union College, N.Y.

Krauthammer, Charles Irving McGill University

Lagassa, George Keith Kenyon College

Lea, Clyde Wain Millsaps College

Lemieux, Guy A. University of Sherbrooke

Logue, John Alan U. of Texas, Austin

MacDonald, Ronald Ian University of Alberta

Mann, Elizabeth McMillan Queen's University

Martin, Daniel Wayne University of Houston

McCaيمان, Judge Gayle University of Florida

McClure, Denny Clark Michigan State University

Meyers, Shelley Ray U. of Wisconsin – Madison

Michelmann, Hans Jurgen University of Alberta

Miller, Norman Richard Northwestern University

Moggach, Douglas Anthony University of Toronto

Nelson, Daniel Newlyn University of Minnesota

Paillet, Alan William Tulane University

Perry, Huey Pierce Grambling College

Peterson, Eugene Kenyon College

Putnam, Robert Wayne Syracuse University

Rajan, Mr. Vithal McGill University

Ramirez, Miss Magali J. University of Puerto Rico

Reed, Randal Penn University of Arkansas

Remington, Thomas Frederick Oberlin College

Riopel, Jean Laval University

Rosen, Judith Gail Mount Holyoke College

Ross, Arthur Larry University of Winnipeg

Runnestrand, Sarah Gove Newcomb College, Tulane U.

Sanders, Heywood Tishler Johns Hopkins University

Schoenblum, Jeffrey Alan Johns Hopkins University

Research and Training Report

Announcement of Awards

Spector, Norman McGill University
Stanislawski, Howard Jerry McGill University
Steeves, Michael Alexander York University
Stein, Robert Sidney Yale University
Strohm, David Norman Dartmouth College
Sullivan, Barry Middlebury College
Swanstrom, Todd Frederick Macalester College
Thompson, Thomas Nelson Wabash College
Truesdell, Patricia Ann University of Kentucky
Walker, Donald Ellis York University
Wheat, Ira David, Jr. Texas Technological U.
White, Robert Alan Tufts University
Williams, Linda Faye Rice University
Williams, Michael Theron University of Kansas
Williams, Timothy Avery College of Wooster
Wise, Mitchell Alexander University of Alberta

Data Bank Study

The growing use of computers to store and process personal data about individuals, and the problems this poses to individual privacy and due process of law will be studied on a national scale for the first time, it was announced by the National Academy of Sciences and by Russell Sage Foundation. The Foundation is providing a total of \$149,500 to support the 2½ -year study.

The project will be directed by Alan F. Westin, Professor of Public Law and Government at Columbia University. A group of distinguished advisors representing many viewpoints will be called upon to assist in the project. The results will be used by the Computer Science and Engineering Board of the Academy in its study of these issues and their implications for national policy.

Professional Conferences

Forthcoming Conferences Past Conferences

ISA Congress

The Seventh World Congress of the International Sociological Association will be held in Varna, Bulgaria, September 14-19, 1970. Theme of the Congress will be "Contemporary and Future Societies: Prediction and Social Planning." Information on the Congress is available from the ISA, Via Daverio 7, 20122 Milano, Italy.

National Institute of Social and Behavioral Science Sessions

The National Institute of Social and Behavioral Science will hold its regular sessions for contributed papers at the 137th annual meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, December 26-31, 1970, in Chicago. Political scientists interested in presenting a paper at these sessions are invited to forward titles and abstracts of 300 words to Donald P. Ray, Director, National Institute of Social and Behavioral Science, 863 Benjamin Franklin Station, Washington, D.C. 20044 by August 20.

Papers may concern research in any political science field, but of special interest would be topics treating such matters as the Nixon Doctrine and American foreign policy: an evaluation; the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and national security: a critique; environmentalism, neo-isolationism, and the priorities syndrome as compromising aspects of international security; an imbalance of terror: the chemical and biological warfare deterrent gap and its correlation to unilateral disarmament; communications in relation to international affairs: questions of misunderstanding, misinterpretation, and miscalculation of official policy formation and intent by friendly and unfriendly nations as problems of diplomatic strategy; Soviet foreign policy as an indicator of political modernization in the U.S.S.R.; the impact of Moscow and Peking upon the independence and nationalism of Middle Eastern and African states; an American-British-French Suez Canal Commission as a great power control authority for insured international navigation and as a means toward sustained mitigation of Egyptian-Israeli tension; the effects of diplomatic recognition of the Peking regime by given Western nations upon Free Asia: prospects for the decline of modernization and the erosion of Western influence in Asia; and American human resources and African modernization: African diplomatic missions in the United States as instruments for problem-solving in Afro-American emigration.

Resources Conference

The 1970 Western Resources Conference will be held at the University of Denver on July 8, 9, and 10. The Conference theme will be "Urban Demands on Natural Resources." The effect of urbanization on the use and development of our natural resources will be considered under five topics – Air, Water, Raw Materials, Land, and Choices. Over 20 speakers from the Rocky Mountain region and other parts of the United States will appear in the five sessions. This is the twelfth in a series of conferences that began in 1959.

The University of Colorado, Colorado State University, Colorado School of Mines, and the University of Denver are members of the inter-university group that sponsors the conference series. John J. Schanz, Jr., professor of natural resources and a member of the Denver Research Institute's Industrial Economics Division has been named general chairman for the 1970 conference. For further information, contact him at the University of Denver, Denver, Colorado 80210.

Pennsylvania Association Meeting

The Pennsylvania Political Science and Public Administration Association held its annual conference in Philadelphia on March 6-7, 1970, at the Benjamin Franklin Hotel. The business meeting voted to support the realization of a formal North-eastern Political Science Association. Officers elected for the next two years were President, Harry Bailey, Jr., Temple University; Vice-President, Edward Cooke, University of Pittsburgh; Secretary-Treasurer, Edward Keynes, Pennsylvania State University; Members of Executive Council, James Craft, Ursinus College; Harriet Burger, Drexel University; Lewis Meyer, Edinboro State College; Charles McCoy, Lehigh University; continuing Members of Executive Council, Paul Kromar, Seton Hall University; Hugo Mailey, Wilkes College.

Speaker at the dinner meeting was James N. Rosenau, Rutgers University, "Toward A General Theory of Political System Behavior." Papers were delivered by Murray Stedman, Jr., Temple University, and John Clough, Franklin and Marshall College. Chairman of the session was Gerard Mangone, Temple University, and discussants were John Hopkirk, PMC Colleges, and Frank Colon, Lehigh University.

Communications

To the Editor:

The following is a letter which I recently submitted to the President and Council of the Association.

I wonder whether it would be appropriate for our Association to take the initiative for a modest academic reform in the direction of sexual equality.

Reference is to the anti-nepotism rule followed by many colleges and universities in the U.S., and which usually precludes a given department from having both a husband and a wife on their payroll, or at least, on the same academic ladder. In the face of that rule, we all know what usually happens: the wife ends up, at best, as a "lecturer" (or equivalent) in the department, or at worst, she scrounges about for a job in the same city but often in a position well below that for which she is qualified. This may help to create a relatively cheap labor pool from which community colleges and other institutions can draw, but the liabilities seem to clearly outweigh that modest advantage.

One possible solution might be to rule people out of eligibility for such positions as chairman when their spouse is also in the same department, but even that might not be necessary. If such a compromise with the archaic prohibition *is* necessary, it will at least fall equally on both husband and wife.

My proposal is that the Council consider a resolution to this effect, and if adopted, the Association could recommend the abolition of anti-nepotism rules to all schools which have Political Science departments. Alternatively, we might urge the AAUP and/or our sister professional associations to urge the same course of action. In my judgment, there is little justification for its continuation, and I suspect it would fall with little resistance.

In so doing, we'd not only be striking a blow for women's rights, but increasing the availability of a good many talented members of the discipline.

J. David Singer

University of Michigan

To the Editor:

This letter has been sent as an Open Letter to the Officers of the American Political Science Association.

We the undersigned faculty members and graduate students, constituted as the Committee for Rational Recruitment in Political Science (CRRIPS), are writing to you concerning the current academic recruitment practices and the lack of teaching positions for qualified applicants. It is a fact that the present academic recruitment practices are archaic, time consuming, expensive, and too much shrouded in unnecessary secrecy.

The existing academic spoils system resembles the Federal civil service in the United States as it existed prior to the introduction of a merit system by the Pendleton Act (1883). Despite the great increase of academic institutions, applicants, and the ever increasing specialization, which make it impossible to know of most of the vacancies for which one is qualified and potentially interested, recruitment is still on a highly personal basis, with faculty members recommending their friends for positions. Many potential applicants, especially the younger ones, unaware of what is available, are thus denied equality of opportunity in being considered for many of the existing vacancies.

Although there is a problem of knowing what positions are available at what institutions, the major problem is that there are too many qualified applicants for the existing teaching positions. The number of qualified applicants increases at a faster rate than the number of available teaching positions. This is a problem now facing many academic disciplines. Thus, there are now many who cannot either secure a teaching position or improve their status by interinstitutional movement.

We are thus urging the APSA to take immediate steps to improve this situation. Teaching and research vacancies, including part-time, summer, and evening, should be openly publicized, as is being done in Europe and throughout the English-speaking world, except in the United States. This should be done in the Personnel Service's *Newsletter*. It should dispense with its own reference letter and application forms.

Since the major problem is the large number of qualified applicants, it would be desirable for the APSA to urge the four-year liberal arts and state colleges without Political Science Departments to

establish such departments as soon as possible. All Political Science Departments should have at least one faculty member in each of the broad subfields of the discipline. This would not only create more teaching positions, but also provide those students who cannot now secure a satisfactory education in political science with the opportunity to do so.

It would also be desirable for the APSA to urge that there be a reduction in the number of courses that an instructor is required to teach, from the still too common four or three courses to three or two courses. A reduction in the teaching load would improve the faculty-student ratio, enable the faculty to devote more time to research, course preparation, and student contacts, and thus promote the quality of education.

We are also urging the APSA to establish a permanent committee on recruitment practices, consisting of senior and junior faculty members and graduate students near the end of their studies. This committee should have the authority to deal with unfair recruitment practices.

Finally, in order to prevent a recurrence of the present situation, planning based on information is required. The APSA should survey all Political Science Departments, ascertaining the number of instructors, research and teaching assistants, and graduate and undergraduate students. Graduate and undergraduate students should also be surveyed as to their career plans. All of this information should be published and updated annually. On the basis of such information, it will be possible to project future needs for faculty members, research, and teaching assistants.

We hope that the APSA will give serious consideration to our suggestions and move speedily in the direction of solving these acute problems. If there is no action, the present situation will worsen. It is unjust to educate so many for careers in research and teaching and then deny to them the opportunity to engage in these occupations.

In order to secure wider support and publicity for our efforts, a copy of this letter has been sent to the Black Caucus, the Caucus for a New Political Science, the Committee on the Status of Blacks in the Profession, the Committee on the Status of Women in the Profession, the Conference for Democratic Politics, the director of the Personnel Service, and the Women's Caucus for Political Science.

Communications should be addressed to me at the following address: Department of Political Science, Boston College, Chestnut Hill, Massachusetts 02167.

Marvin Rintala, Chairman, CRIPPS
Boston College

Co-signers

Gary P. Brazier, Boston College
Jeffrey M. Burnam, Boston College

Charles J. Serns, Boston College
Francis E. Devine, Boston College
Pierre-Michel Fontaine, Boston College
Robert E. Gilbert, Boston College
Edgar Litt, University of Connecticut
Abdul H. Raoof, SUNY College at Buffalo
Joan Rothschild, Harvard University
Linda J. Groff, Fletcher School of Law and
Diplomacy, Tufts University
Graham Lee, University of Pennsylvania
Terence E. Marshall, University of Pennsylvania
John Dreijmanis, University of Pennsylvania

News and Notes

Activities

John A. Davis, City College, CUNY, was on leave during the academic year 1969-70 doing research at the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, Stanford, California.

Lee W. Farnsworth, Brigham Young University, will be on sabbatical leave during 1970-71 in Japan.

Marvin E. Frankel, U.S. District Court Judge, is teaching a special course on Introduction to the Legal Process at the City College, CUNY, during the 1970 spring semester.

Franz B. Gross, PMC Colleges, visited a number of African universities during December, 1969, lecturing at the University of Dakar, Lovranium, the Institute of Administrative Sciences in Kinshasha and at the University of Burundi in Bujumbura. Before returning he attended the African Social Science Conference in Nairobi. The trip was at the invitation of the universities and the USIS.

Stewart L. Grow, Brigham Young University, is on sabbatical leave during 1969-70.

William C. Havard, University of Massachusetts, has been appointed as first incumbent of the newly created V.O. Key Professorship of government.

Ray C. Hillam, Brigham Young University, is returning from leave from the University of Southern California Graduate Center in London, fall semester, 1969.

Richard Hughes, Sacramento State College, was elected vice-chairman of the College's Academic Senate, 1969-70.

Roy U. T. Kim, Drexel Institute of Technology, delivered a paper entitled "North Korea between Moscow and Peking," at the annual meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, Boston, Massachusetts, December 28, 1969.

Harry Lazer, City College, CUNY, was on sabbatical leave during the 1970 spring semester.

John D. Lees, University of Keele, England, will be on leave in the spring, 1970, as a research associate of the Center for Comparative Political Research and visiting lecturer, SUNY at Binghamton.

Melvin P. Mabey, Brigham Young University, will be on sabbatical leave during 1970-71 in Eastern Europe.

George Mace, Southern Illinois University, Edwardsville, was selected as an American Council on Education Academic Administration Fellow.

Louis G. Midgley, Brigham Young University, has returned from research leave, fall semester, 1969.

Donald E. Milsten, University of Maryland, Baltimore County, delivered a paper entitled "Peace-keeping for Middle East Conflict: A Case Study of Debate and Decision in Canada," at the annual meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, Boston, Massachusetts, December 28, 1969.

Hans J. Morgenthau, Leonard Davis Distinguished Professor, CUNY, was elected to the Board of Directors of the Foreign Policy Association at the Board's meeting on January 9, 1970.

Edwin B. Morrell, Brigham Young University, was on sabbatical leave, 1968-69 in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

Thomas Payne, University of Montana, will be on sabbatical leave during the 1970-71 academic year.

Roland I. Perusse, Inter American University of Puerto Rico, served as public member of the U.S. Delegation to the 21st Session of the UN Commission for Social Development, which met in Geneva March 3-20, 1970.

Peter Ranis, York College, CUNY, received a Full-bright Professorship to teach at the National University of CUYO, Mendoza, Argentina during March - July, 1970.

Steffen W. Schmidt, Southampton College, Long Island University, was awarded a grant for research on the Colombian party system, from the National Science Foundation.

Floyd Lamond Tullis, Brigham Young University, is returning from a research leave, fall semester, 1969.

Augustus B. Turnbull, III, University of Georgia, is on leave during 1970 to serve as director of the University's institutional self-study in preparation for reaccreditation.

Ellis Waldron, University of Montana, spent the 1969-70 academic year in Europe on sabbatical leave.

Gunter Weissberg, Colby College, will direct the Colby College Summer Institute in Israel during July and August of 1970. He will conduct two courses in the field of international law and international relations and the Middle East.

Peter Wengert, York College, CUNY, participated in a seminar on urban politics in Paris, France, during January, 1970.

Staff Changes

New Appointments

Craig Neal Andrews, assistant professor, Wayne State University.

Henry Beck, assistant professor, Sacramento State College.

Richard E. Brown, associate professor, SUNY at Brockport; formerly of William and Mary College.

John T. Calkins, executive director, Republican Congressional Committee.

James J. Conniff, assistant professor, San Diego State College.

Charles F. Denton, assistant professor, Wayne State University.

Charles DeWitt Dunn, instructor, Arkansas A & M College.

John A. Gardiner, chief, Research Planning and Coordination Staff, National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice; formerly of SUNY at Stony Brook.

Saadia R. Greenberg, assistant professor, Wayne State University.

Bertram Gross, professor and director, Center for Urban Studies, Wayne State University; formerly of Syracuse University.

John Grumm, professor, Wesleyan University; formerly of University of Kansas.

Edward Horton, associate professor, Sacramento State College; formerly with the California State Department of Water Resources.

Clyde R. Ingle, assistant professor, SUNY at Geneseo.

Abel Jacob, assistant professor, York College, CUNY; formerly of Iowa State University.

K. Robert Keiser, assistant professor, San Diego State College.

Martin L. Kotch, assistant professor, Wayne State University.

Fred A. Kramer, assistant professor, University of Massachusetts.

Donald Leavitt, assistant professor, Wayne State University.

Martin A. Levin, assistant professor, Brandeis University; formerly of University of California, Irvine.

Burton Levy, associate professor, Wayne State University.

Sanford R. Lieberman, instructor, University of Massachusetts, Boston.

Thomas Patrick Melady, nominated by President Nixon and confirmed by the Senate as Ambassador to the Republic of Burundi in East-Central Africa; formerly of Seton Hall University.

Charles H. Moore, assistant professor, Wayne State University.

R. J. M. Mugo-Gatheru, assistant professor, Sacramento State College.

Harrison Muyia, assistant professor, Wayne State University.

James Oliver, instructor, University of Delaware.

Julius Paul, professor, SUNY College at Fredonia; formerly of Walter Reed Army Institute of Research.

Kenneth S. Pedersen, assistant professor, San Diego State College.

Andrew J. Pierre, research fellow, Council on Foreign Relations; formerly of Hudson Institute.

David H. Purdy, assistant professor, SUNY at Brockport.

Theodore Putterman, assistant professor, Sacramento State College; formerly of University of Washington.

Henry Reynolds, instructor, University of Delaware.

Steffen W. Schmidt, instructor, Southampton College, Long Island University.

William A. Schultze, assistant professor, San Diego State College.

Arthur P. Simonds, instructor, University of Massachusetts, Boston.

Karl N. Snow, associate professor, Brigham Young University; formerly legislative analyst, Utah State Capitol.

Donald P. Sprengel, assistant professor, Center for Urban Programs, St. Louis University; formerly of University of Iowa.

Kirsten Steinmo, assistant professor, Sacramento State College.

Richard P. Suttmeier, assistant professor, Hamilton College.

News and Notes

Staff Changes

Charles L. Taylor, associate professor, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University; formerly of Yale University.

Floyd Lamond Tullis, assistant professor, Brigham Young University; formerly of Arizona State University.

Stephen H. Ullman, assistant professor, SUNY at Brockport.

Peter Wengert, instructor, York College, CUNY; formerly of Bernard Baruch College, CUNY.

Jeffrey W. Wides, instructor, Southern Illinois University, Edwardsville.

Visiting and Temporary Appointments

John H. Bunzel, San Francisco State College; visiting scholar, Center for Advanced Studies and Behavioral Sciences.

George Catlin, professor, Wayne State University, spring quarter, 1970.

Moshe Czudnowski, Hebrew University, Jerusalem; professor, Wayne State University.

Jeff Fishel, American University; professor, University of Cologne, summer, 1970.

Lorenzo Merritt, assistant professor, Sacramento State College, 1969-70.

Harold F. Nufer, instructor, Brigham Young University, spring and fall semesters, 1969.

Don Sorenson, associate professor, Brigham Young University, fall and spring semesters, 1970-71.

Administrative Appointments

William W. Boyer, chairman, University of Delaware; formerly of Kansas State University.

Todd H. Bullard, provost and vice president for Academic Affairs, Rochester Institute of Technology; formerly president, Potomac State College, West Virginia University.

George L. Grassmuck, special assistant for international affairs to Secretary Robert H. Finch, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare; formerly of University of Michigan.

Robert W. Hattery, acting chairman, West European Studies Program, Indiana University.

Allan A. Kuusisto, president, Hobart and William Smith Colleges; formerly acting president, SUNY at Albany.

Max Mark, acting chairman, Wayne State University.

George J. Mauer, director, Center for Urban Studies, University of Akron.

Paul R. Murray, chairman-elect, Sacramento State College.

Richard M. Yearwood, associate dean, Graduate School, Virginia Polytechnic Institute.

Promotions

Dean Alfange, Jr., University of Massachusetts: associate professor.

M. Steven Boley, Capital University: assistant professor.

Philip B. Couiter, University of Massachusetts: associate professor.

William C. Dillon, Sacramento State College: associate professor.

Stanley Feingold, City College, CUNY: associate professor.

Sheldon Goldman, University of Massachusetts: associate professor.

John A. Hobbs, San Diego State College: associate professor.

Harry Lazer, City College, CUNY: associate professor.

Unja Lee, Sacramento State College: associate professor.

Irving L. Markovitz, Queens College, CUNY: associate professor.

Henry W. Morton, Queens College, CUNY: professor.

Harry J. Psomiades, Queens College, CUNY: professor.

Anwar Syed, University of Massachusetts: professor.

Maynard J. Toll, Jr., University of Massachusetts, Boston: assistant professor.

Gunter Weissberg, Colby College: professor.

Manfred Wolfson, Sacramento State College: associate professor.

Retirements and Resignations

Weston H. Agor, has resigned from the Wisconsin State University, Oshkosh, to go to Grand Valley State College.

In Memoriam

Charles McKinley, professor emeritus at Reed College and nationally recognized political scientist, died Saturday, March 21 after a long illness at a local hospital in Portland. He was 80.

A member of the Reed faculty since 1918, Charles McKinley had a distinguished career not only as a teacher and scholar but as a public servant to his city, state, and national government.

Born in Fulton, South Dakota on October 16, 1889, McKinley received his B.A. degree from the University of Washington in 1913 and M.A. degree from the University of Wisconsin in 1916. In 1960, Reed College awarded him an honorary LL.D. degree.

Mr. McKinley retired from his position at Reed College as the Cornelia Marvin Pierce Professor of American Institutions in 1960. Upon his retirement, a colleague spoke for all of Reed when he said, "His long period of service has been notable for the many contributions he has made to the welfare of the college, to the advancement of knowledge, and to the improvement of public service." He was further honored at Reed in May 1963 when a residence hall was named in his honor.

In addition to his teaching at Reed, McKinley taught at the University of Washington and held visiting professorships at the Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs at Syracuse University, the University of Oregon, the University of Utah, and Portland State College.

Reed president Victor G. Rosenblum said of Charles McKinley, "He was the prototype of all that is strong at Reed. His research was on the frontiers of social concerns. He served as a brilliant scholar, yet his achievements were social as well as intellectual. We all share deeply in his loss."

Charles McKinley served in many capacities outside the academy. He served at various times as a staff member to the Social Science Research Council, the Administrative Council of the U.S. Department of Agriculture, the War Production Board, among others.

He served as a consultant to the National Resources Planning Board, the League of Oregon Cities, the Oregon Government Simplification Commission, the North Pacific Planning Project of the Canadian-U.S. Joint Economic Committee, the U.S. Forest Service, the President's Water Policy Commission,

the first Hoover Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government, and Resources for the Future, Inc.

He served as a member of the following bodies: the Portland City Planning Board (he also served as chairman), the Pacific Northwest Coordinating Committee of the U.S. Department of Interior, the National Municipal League, the American Society for Public Administration, and recently the Portland Metropolitan Area Local Government Boundary Commission.

Charles McKinley was a past president of the Portland City Club and was president from 1954 to 1955 of the American Political Science Association and president from 1949 to 1950 of the Pacific Northwest Political Science Association.

He received a distinguished service award from the University of Oregon in 1964.

Among his numerous writings were two major works: *Uncle Sam in the Pacific Northwest: Federal Management of Natural Resources in the Columbia River Valley*, 1952, completed under a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation, and *The Management of Land and Related Resources in Oregon: A Case Study in Administrative Federalism*, 1965, written for Resources for the Future.

Charles McKinley is survived by his wife Nellie Higgins McKinley of Portland and three children, Mrs. Donald Johnson of Eugene, Dr. Donald McKinley of Portland, and Hugh McKinley of Eugene, and nine grandchildren. The family asks that remembrances be in the form of contributions either to the Charles McKinley Research Fund at Reed College or to the Council for a Livable World, 201 Massachusetts Ave. N. E., Washington, D.C.

David N. Rianda
Reed College

Still available

***Abstracts* of the 1969 APSA Annual Meeting**

The *Abstracts* is a booklet containing one page abstracts of papers delivered at the Annual Meeting held in New York City in September of 1969.

The *Abstracts* may be obtained by sending \$.50 to:

Subscription Department
American Political Science Association
1527 New Hampshire Avenue
Washington, D.C. 20036

BIOGRAPHICAL DIRECTORY of the AMERICAN POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION FIFTH EDITION

Published: August, 1968

- * Complete reference volume containing biographical information and names and addresses of approximately 12,000 individual APSA members—political scientists, federal, state and local government officials, businessmen, attorneys, journalists—a cross-section of persons in the United States and abroad who have a continuing interest in the study and development of the art and science of government.
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1527 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W.
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GRANTS FOR ASIAN POLITICAL SCIENTISTS

The American Political Science Association again has received from The Asia Foundation a small grant for encouraging closer relations between Asian and American political scientists. The funds will be used in three ways:

- 1) To enable Asian political scientists to become members of The American Political Science Association for a one-year period at greatly reduced rates. Membership includes subscription to *The American Political Science Review* and *P.S.* To be eligible, applicants must reside in one of the Asian countries listed below.
- 2) To enable libraries, university departments, and research institutes in Asia, who have heretofore been unable to do so, to subscribe to *The American Political Science Review* at greatly reduced rates.
- 3) To supplement travel expenses of Asian political scientists who are in the United States and who wish to attend meetings of The American Political Science Association. The next meeting will be held September 8-12 in the Biltmore Hotel, Los Angeles.

(Applicants must be at least at the graduate student level and may come from any of the following Asian countries: Afghanistan, Burma, Cambodia, Ceylon, Hong Kong, India, Indonesia, Japan, Korea, Laos, Malaysia, Nepal, Pakistan, the Philippines, the Ryukyus, the Republic of China (Taiwan), Thailand, and Vietnam. Applicants who have not previously received grants will be given first consideration.

Application forms may be obtained from The American Political Science Association, 1537 New Hampshire Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036.)

PROCEEDINGS OF THE ANNUAL MEETINGS **of** **The American Political Science Association**

Complete proceedings of the APSA Annual Meetings (including copies of all papers delivered from 1956 through 1968) may be obtained by contacting the Customer Services Department, University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106.

PROCEEDINGS on Microfilm: \$22.50 per reel
In hard copy (individual papers): \$2.00 each
Prepayment Required

Registry of Retired Professors

The Association has established a Registry of Retired Professors. The Registry serves as an information exchange for those retired professors who are willing to teach one or more courses on a one-semester or one-year basis, and those institutions desiring to make such appointments. Any retired professor wishing to be listed in the Registry should contact the Association to receive an application form. Departmental chairmen wishing to inquire about the availability of retired professors in a certain specialty or geographic area should write specifying their requirements.

Director, Registry of Retired Professors
American Political Science Association
1527 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

LA

The association has arranged group flights from several cities to Los Angeles for the APSA Annual Meeting, September 8-12, 1970. The group fares are the same as excursion fares, but regulations will permit individuals to return any day of the week and in less than seven days.

The fares for these flights are based on a minimum of 25 participants on regularly scheduled airlines:

New York-Los Angeles	September 7 Evening	\$238.35
New York-Los Angeles	September 8 Morning	\$238.35
Boston-Los Angeles	September 8	\$248.85
Washington-Los Angeles	September 8	\$226.80
Chicago-Los Angeles	September 8	\$170.55
Atlanta-Los Angeles	September 8	\$193.20
Seattle-Los Angeles	September 8	\$109.20

Each group is required to depart together, but passengers may return individually according to their own wishes. The only requirement is that they reserve a direct flight back on the same airline. These flights are open only to members of the Association and their immediate families. For more information and application forms, write to:

*Director, Group Flights to Los Angeles
The American Political Science Association
1527 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036*

**Group Flights to Los Angeles
for 1970 APSA Annual Meeting
September 8-12**

THE AMERICAN POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION'S

Personnel Service . . .

The American Political Science Association's Personnel Service operates as a "clearing house," bringing together political scientists seeking positions and prospective employers. Registration in the service, at a \$6 per calendar year fee, is open to all members of the Association. Here are the details of its operation:

Position Openings

- A Newsletter is mailed monthly to those Association members seeking positions through the Personnel Service. There are presently over 900 members in the Personnel Service.
- The Newsletter lists, by code number, position openings and job descriptions.

Employers Using the Service

- Any employer may use the Association's Personnel Service.
- Types of positions listed include teaching on the university level, administrative positions with professional organizations, research and administrative positions with federal, state and local government agencies.
- There is no cost to the advertising institution.

For further information concerning registration write to:

Director, Personnel Service
The American Political Science Association
1527 New Hampshire Avenue, N. W., Washington, D. C. 20036

Just published . . .

Cumulative Index

to the

American Political Science Review

Volumes 1-62; 1906-1968

Researchers and students in the field of political science will find the *Cumulative Index* a valuable source of information. The heart of the *Cumulative Index* is the keyword index to the titles of the 2,822 articles which have appeared in the Review between 1906, its first issue, and 1968.

Copies may be obtained by sending \$6.50 to:

University Microfilms
313 North First Street
Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106

European Flights Travel-Study Opportunities



For the eleventh successive summer, the Association is arranging two flights to Europe in 1970. Flight A will leave New York June 10 for London, and return September 7. The A Flight will be by Pan American and will cost \$245.00. Flight B will leave New York for Paris August 1 on Pan American, and will return September 7. The cost for Flight B will be \$270.00.

Reservations are being accepted on a "first come, first served" basis. These flights are open only to members of the Association and their immediate families. Contact the Association for further information.

Director, Summer Flight Program
The American Political Science Association
1527 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

EUROPE

APSA TEMPORARY AND SUMMER SCHOOL FACULTY EXCHANGE

The Association has initiated a program to act as exchange between institutions seeking temporary and summer school faculty and political scientists seeking positions. APSA welcomes notification from employers with short-term needs, and from members of the profession interested in such appointments.

Please contact:

The APSA Temporary and Summer School Faculty Exchange
American Political Science Association
1527 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

8th World Congress

Munich, Germany

August 31 to September 5, 1970

APSA Flight to International Political Science Association

Members of the American Political Science Association are invited to participate in a group flight to Munich, Germany leaving JFK International Airport in New York August 22 and returning September 7, 1970. The fare will be approximately \$244.00 on Lufthansa German Airlines.

Persons wishing to make reservations now may write directly to:
Director, Summer Flight Programs
The American Political Science Association
1527 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

Professional Placement Service at 1970 Annual Meeting (September 8-12, 1970)

A Professional Placement Service will be available to members of the American Political Science Association attending the Los Angeles meeting. The service will be located in the Galleria Room of the Biltmore Hotel.

Although sponsored by APSA, this Service is entirely separate from APSA's Personnel Service and therefore requires separate registration.

A file of applicants seeking employment will be available for review by employers and descriptions of position openings will be made available to applicants. Adequate facilities for personal interviews will be provided.

If you plan to attend the Conference and utilize the Placement Service, please complete and mail the form below as soon as possible *but no later than August 3, 1970*. Applicant and/or employer order forms will be forwarded to you upon receipt of your request.

Both employers and applicants can register during the meeting but those filing in advance will receive expedited service. Pre-Convention registration is strongly recommended.

Name: _____

(Organization or Institution) _____

Address: _____

(City)

(State)

(Zip)

☐ Employer

☐ Number of Position Categories

☐ Applicant

Will you be available for interviews during the annual meeting

☐ Yes

☐ No

Mail to: Convention Placement Service
American Political Science Association
1527 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20036

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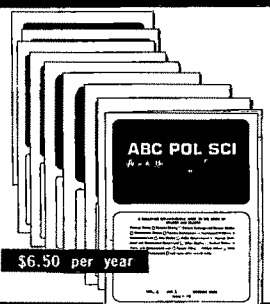
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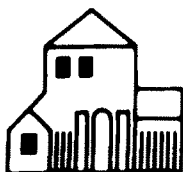
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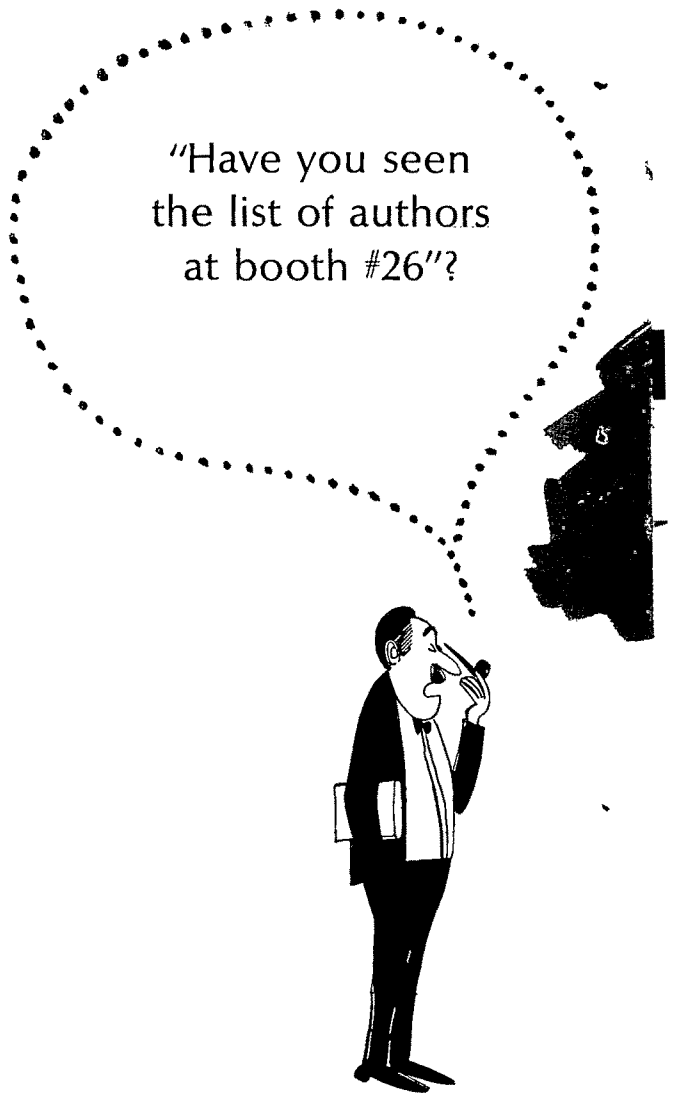
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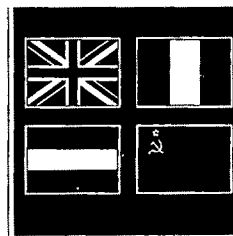


TABLE OF CONTENTS

Preface	PART IV:
Introduction	THE PROCESS OF GOVERNMENT
PART I:	Chapter 14. The European Pattern
THE EUROPEAN INHERITANCE	Chapter 15. Cabinet Government in England
Chapter 1. The Development of Modern Europe	Chapter 16. France: From Parliamentary to Presidential Government
Chapter 2. England, France, and Germany	Chapter 17. Chancellor Democracy in Germany
Chapter 3. Russia and the Soviet Union	Chapter 18. Governmental Processes in the Soviet Union
PART II:	Chapter 19. Political Decision-Making on the Regional and Local Level
THE SOCIAL AND CULTURAL BASES OF EUROPEAN POLITICS	PART V:
Chapter 4. Introduction	PUBLIC POLICY AND ITS IMPLEMENTATION
Chapter 5. Social Class and Politics	Chapter 20. Law, Society, and Politics in Western Europe
Chapter 6. Religious and Ethnic Groups	Chapter 21. Soviet Law
Chapter 7. Political Socialization: Family, Education, and Mass Media	Chapter 22. Bureaucracy
Chapter 8. Political Socialization: Youth and Politics	Chapter 23. National Defense and Internal Order: The Military and the Police
PART III:	Chapter 24. Economic and Social Policy
POLITICAL PARTIES	Chapter 25. Foreign Policy
Chapter 9. The European Pattern	PART VI:
Chapter 10. The British Party System	CONCLUSION
Chapter 11. The French Party System	Chapter 26. The Future of European Politics
Chapter 12. German Political Parties	
Chapter 13. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union	



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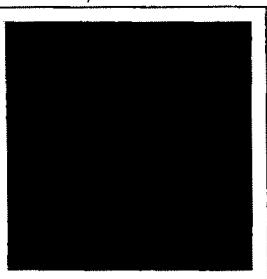
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INDEX TO ADVERTISERS

ABC-Clio	243
Allyn & Bacon, Inc.	286, 287
American Bar Foundation	277
Basic Books, Inc.	284, 285
Bobbs-Merrill	280, 281, 282, 283
University of California Press	278, 279
Brookings Institution	276
Congressional Quarterly	Cover II
Dodd, Mead & Company	275
Dorsey Press	274
Ginn-Blaisdell	271
Harcourt, Brace & World	272, 273
D. C. Heath & Company	242
Holbrook Press	238
Hoover Institution	270
Houghton-Mifflin	268, 269
University of Illinois Press	263
Little, Brown & Company	264, 265, 266, 267
Markham Publishing Company	240, 241
Charles E. Merrill	239
Oxford University Press	258, 259, 260, 261, 262
Pegasus	256, 257
Frederick A. Praeger, Inc.	254, 255
Prentice-Hall, Inc.	252, 253
Rand McNally and Company	250, 251
Random House, Inc.—Alfred A. Knopf, Inc.	247
Sage Publications	248, 249
Schenkman Publishing Company	246
Wadsworth Publishing Company	245
John Wiley & Sons	244



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Table of Contents

Articles

- 294 **Social Science and the Sources of Policy: 1951-1970**
Duncan Mac Rae, Jr.
- 311 **The Political Scientist Decides: An Examination of the 1969 APSA Ballots**
John E. Mueller
- 321 **The APSA and Minority Representation**
Steven J. Brams

Sections

Teaching Notes

- 336 Analysis Using Primary Sources for Term Papers in the Introductory Course
Jeffrey B. Morris
Frank J. Macchiarola

Reports of the APSA Committees

- 341 Report of the Committee on Procedures and Agenda
- 346 Preliminary Report of the Committee on Academic Freedom
- 350 Report of the Committee on Program Planning and Review
- 351 Conceptual Analysis: Report of the APSA Committee on Undergraduate Instruction
- 352 Report of the Ad Hoc Committee on Mexican Americans in the Profession
- 353 The APSA Committee on the Status of Women in the Profession: A Progress Report, September 1970
- 357 Part II of the Committee Report
Some Comparative Statistics on Women in Political Science and Other Social Sciences
Victoria Schuck
- 362 Report of the APSA Finance Committee
- 364 Report of Committee on Travel Grants

Table of Contents

Sections

The Profession

- 365 Introduction to Employment Information in Political Science
Frank J. Sorauf
- 366 A Survey of the Graduate Academic Marketplace in Political Science
Earl M. Baker
- 372 The Academic Marketplace in Political Science for the Next Decade:
A Preliminary Report On a Survey
Martin O. Heisler
- 382 Faculty Opinion Survey
- 387 Professional Notes

Association News

- 396 Program for the 1971 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association
- 397 APSA Committees
- 399 A Report on the APSA Political Science Education Project
- 404 APSA Investments and Securities
- 405 Administrations Censured by the AAUP
- 406 APSA Council Minutes
- 419 Proposed Resolutions
- 422 Current Constitution of the American Political Science Association
- 425 Proposed Amendments to Current Constitution
- 428 APSA Constitutional Revision Committee Draft Constitution
- 432 Proposed Amendments to Committee Draft Constitution

Research and Training Support

- 434 Support Available
- 435 Announcement of Awards

Professional Conferences

- 442 Forthcoming Conferences
- 445 Past Conferences

Communications

- 450 On Rationalizing the Irrational
Marvin Surkin

News and Notes

- 470 Doctoral Dissertations in Political Science

Social Science and the Sources of Policy: 1951-1970*

Duncan MacRae, Jr.
University of Chicago

"... [T]here is no necessary conflict among these three desires of the American social scientist: to be a scientist like physical and biological scientists, to provide useful technical services, and to be significant at the level of policy. The chapters of this symposium are intended to illustrate their compatibility."¹

This statement indicates a major theme of *The Policy Sciences*—a volume that marked, as of 1951, the aspirations of a group of leading American social scientists for the policy applications of their disciplines. The harmony of goals that it suggests is no longer evident today.

The possible *incompatibilities* among the goals of pure science, applied science, and policy can be seen by examining *The Policy Sciences* in two decades' perspective. They are of three major kinds:

1. To provide intelligent advice on practical problems, the social science disciplines need to include systematic *valuative discourse* in a way that natural science does not.
2. Applied social science (like applied science generally) differs from pure natural science in stressing *valuative dependent variables* that may not be closely related to the conceptual schemes of pure science, and independent variables related to alternative choices open to the actor.
3. Different roles and *channels of influence* are appropriate for pure and applied science; and for applied social science in democratic regimes, participation and consent on the part of those influenced are of vital significance.

All these aspects of applied social science were mentioned, with greater or lesser emphasis, in *The Policy Sciences*, but they require a more systematic treatment.

*Paper prepared for Roundtable on "The Policy Sciences in Retrospect and Prospect," at meeting of the American Political Science Association, Los Angeles, September, 1970.

1 Ernest R. Hilgard, in Daniel Lerner and Harold D. Lasswell, eds., *The Policy Sciences* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1951), p. 43.

The Goals of "Policy Science" in 1951

In the Foreword to *The Policy Sciences*, Rothwell stated that the first step in the formulation and execution of policy is "a clarification of goals."² Unfortunately, such clarification was seldom attempted in that volume, nor has it been in the social science disciplines since.³ The goals of policy were taken largely as given—by the national interest of the United States, the problems brought to social scientists by "clients," or perhaps the personal preference of the social scientist himself. None of these alternative views of the sources of policy sufficed to provoke general discussion within the disciplines, aimed at clarification of the goals or valuations that are the proper sources of policy.

Three major types of policy orientations are expressed in *The Policy Sciences*. There are, first, several chapters that say little about policy, simply reviewing developments in various branches of social science.⁴ Second, a number of chapters deal explicitly with applications of science to policy goals of government and business. Third, a few chapters deal with goals derived from other sources, including democratic processes and the projection of social trends into the future.

The one chapter concerned with the natural sciences⁵ falls clearly into the second category, dealing exclusively with applications to government policy. This limited treatment of natural science is understandable in that the editors may have wished to stress the social sciences, in view of the full acceptance of natural science as an aid to policy. Fundamental research in natural science was also then accepted by the society and was believed to contribute to beneficial policies at later times.⁶ But in a sense it was unfortunate that so

2 *Ibid.*, ix; see also Hilgard, 43. This and subsequent references to *The Policy Sciences* will be given simply by listing the author's name and the page.

3 George V. Wolfe wrote in a review, "Not one of the contributors . . . explicitly deals with the crucial question of any 'policy sciences,' . . . that is, with the problem of values." See *Western Political Quarterly*, 5 #2 (June, 1952), 320.

4 Especially Chs. 2-5, 7-12.

5 Whitaker, Ch. 15.

6 Merton and Lerner, 294.

little was said about applied natural science; a detached study of this type of applied science can not only provide examples for the application of science to given ends, but also illustrate more clearly the differences between pure and applied science.

The relation of the policy-oriented social scientist to business or government was stated clearly by Merton:

*"If he is to play an effective role in putting his knowledge to work, it is increasingly necessary that he affiliate with a bureaucratic power-structure in business or government."*⁷

Throughout *The Policy Sciences*, "policy" refers largely to the policies of these two major institutions. The policy-related valuations of the social scientist himself – a residual category – are typically treated as essentially personal preferences. Thus Lasswell writes of " 'government policy,' 'business policy' or 'my own policy,' " with the tacit implication that the scientist can choose values individually, but that the only relevant collective policy choices are made outside the university or the professional association. Merton, writing of the scientist's concern for ethical and unethical uses of his knowledge, states that "As a 'socially oriented' scientist, he will explore only those policy alternatives that do not violate his own values."⁸ The implied assumption of scientific individualism seems to be widespread, and may relate to the independence customarily allowed to individual researchers in their work. If the scientist is willing to work for the goals of government, business, or some other such group, this decision has a certain legitimacy if undertaken on an individual basis. However, we should not neglect the possibility that goal-defining groups might also exist within universities and academic disciplines themselves.

In retrospect, the concept of "policy science" seems to restrict unnecessarily the range of valuative choices to which social science may

be applied. It carries the implication of aid to powerful existing organizations; but in a more general perspective, social science may conceivably be applied to aiding individuals, creating new organizations, or to changing the authorities, regime, or political community.⁹ Without denying that existing institutions and their power do often contribute to the general welfare, I wish to extend the range of choices under consideration. I wish also to propose a more general notion of applied science, directed to valuative ends that may be pursued through the action of individuals, groups of citizens, or groups of professionals, toward an environment dominated by large organizations.

The military goals of the American government, such as the defeat of the Germans and Japanese in World War II or the "continuing crisis of national security," are typically taken as "given" by the authors of *The Policy Sciences*.¹⁰ Numerous examples of application of social science to these ends are cited, including the volumes on *The American Soldier*, the study of enemy culture and morale, psychological warfare, the analysis of war-bond sales campaigns, the relocation of Japanese-Americans, and the Strategic Bombing Survey. But two decades later, when nuclear threats remain but guerrilla war and counter-insurgency dominate the nation's view of warfare, it is less clear what the nation's response should be to aggression on other continents, or indeed, which side is engaging in aggression.¹¹ Even though the alternative choices involved in military policy cannot be ignored, the patriotic devotion with which the universities served American policy in World War II has been largely replaced by alienation and opposition. Some scientists, both natural and social, still wish to do work relevant to social and political problems; some feel a need for the resources that come from the

9. These categories are distinguished in David Easton, *A Systems Analysis of Political Life* (New York: Wiley, 1965), Chs. 11-13. See also Henry Etzkowitz, "Institution Formation Sociology," *Am. Sociologist*, 5 #2 (May, 1970), 120-124.

10. Lasswell, 3.

11. Lasswell, 106, does contemplate "conditions under which the United States will undertake to organize the world by conquest."

7. Merton, 292.

8. Lasswell, 5; Merton, 302.

Social Science and the Sources of Policy: 1951-1970

pursuit of applied science; but the virtue of finding means to the ends set by government is now widely questioned, while the universities provide no adequate alternative procedures for the systematic foundation of these or alternative ends.

A second external source of goals for "policy scientists," considered extensively in this volume, is the business community; Lerner refers to the increasing "affiliation of American social scientists" with it.¹² This relation parallels a similar relation for applied natural science, in which engineering disciplines and professional schools have developed to train students for applied work. Applied disciplines and occupations also exist for the social sciences, including social work, business administration, market research, personnel selection, industrial sociology, and political campaign management. And while these specific applications are more pedestrian than the term "social engineering" might imply, they are similar to the engineering applications of natural science. They provide means of implementing policies, and sometimes their practitioners may contribute to forming the policy of an organization, but on the whole they provide means to ends not determined by scientists. The scientist may derive satisfaction from this work if he values those ends, but this type of applied science is more concerned with technology than with "policy."

In relation to an organizational client, the policy-oriented social scientist was expected to engage in a process of negotiation.¹³ He could suggest alternative policies not contemplated by the client, or even alternative goals that the client seemed really to be seeking, though without having formulated them.¹⁴ Alternatively, he could try to find in an applied problem those aspects that would contribute most to theoretical social science. Thus Merton

prided himself on "conversion of an applied into a theoretic research" when he discovered the distinction between local and cosmopolitan influentials in a study of *Time's* readership.¹⁵

In this situation, there grew up social research organizations whose survival depended on a steady flow of funds from business or government. Competent social research was done in them, and some of the advice given may well have conduced to human welfare as well as to the interests of the sponsors. But for such an organization to study a new issue without external support, one of the few recourses available was "robinhooding."¹⁶ The alternative of going back from the large-scale survey organization to the handicraft stage, but studying problems of major valutive significance, was usually foreclosed by the demands of research technology and organizational support.

The policy goals of the client and those of the social scientist were always on different footing; although the social scientist could expect to command the respect of his professional colleagues for his theoretic accomplishments on company time, he was on his own as regards valuation or policy. Thus Hilgard distinguishes between the role of the technologist and that of the policy scientist. The social technologist may devise intelligence tests for schools, study morale in factories, control delinquency, or reduce unemployment. But "To the extent that such services are merely adjuncts to the administration of policies determined by others, they do not satisfy the social scientist's self-picture of his role." He goes on to point out that particular policies served by such technological aid may be parts of larger policies that benefit particular groups at the expense of others and may not contribute to the general welfare. But as an alternative he writes: "Instead, the scientist likes to see himself playing a role at the point where policy decisions are being made. He would like his evidence to be sound enough to convince

12 Lerner, 285ff. The utility of sociology to business has also been documented in Paul F. Lazarsfeld, William H. Sewell, and Harold L. Wilensky, eds., *The Uses of Sociology* (New York: Basic Books, 1967).

13 See Merton, 298-300. Whether there should also be consultation of those affected by the policies formed is a question we shall consider below.

14 Merton, 300-301.

15 Robert K. Merton, *Special Theory and Social Structure* (New York: Free Press, rev. ed., 1957), Ch. X.

16 Peter H. Rossi, "Researchers, Scholars, and Policy Makers: The Politics of Large Scale Research," *Daedalus*, 93 #4 (Fall, 1964), 1157.

Social Science and the Sources of Policy: 1951-1970

policy-makers, and his predictions to be successful often enough to justify the policy-makers' confidence in him."¹⁷ Among the reasons why this cannot always be done are the inadequate and specialized knowledge of the social scientist.

In this analysis, however, there is a fundamental assumption of harmony of interests. True, the "policy scientist" might convince the client that the initial formulation of the goal was too narrow, and that the client's ends could better be served by another policy.¹⁸ But what if there were a genuine conflict of interests? The profitability of a firm, or the maintenance of a politician's constituency support, might well run counter to the values of his advisers. No "evidence" on the part of the adviser can be assumed always to overcome such differences. But a clearer view of the implications of alternative systems of values and interests might better identify the point at which the adviser must withdraw from the advising role, or advise some client with different interests.

It is perhaps understandable that many social scientists were then concerned with the prestige and support accorded to their professions. Although World War II had drawn numerous social scientists into applied work, by 1950 most had returned to civilian life and were less fully financed. The status of the social sciences was apparently widely questioned.¹⁹ Several of the authors were concerned with the prestige and reputation of the social sciences as seen by the outside society,²⁰ but this problem was particularly stressed by Lerner. Claiming that "preferred social values in the United States are income, power, and prestige," he related the attainment of these values to the application of social science to the problems

set by major societal institutions. The success of natural scientists (at least at that time) in convincing their "strategic publics" of the practical value of pure research was seen as "a splendid public relations job."²¹

In 1970, however, the social sciences are more highly regarded by their potential sponsors; and in spite of a recent decline in government support for research, there may still be value in foregoing the quest for support in favor of other goals – in Lasswell's lexicon, rectitude. Though a systematic concern with fundamental value presuppositions may not earn the thanks of every segment of government or business, it may conduce to a more useful application of our knowledge, more emphasis on its application to our own governmental structures, and an improvement in our students' education.

Of the contributors to *The Policy Sciences*, probably Lasswell elaborated his social goals most fully. The desire to avoid the garrison state, while fulfilling the requirements of American foreign policy and striving toward a "free man's commonwealth," thus provide one basis for the application of science. Elsewhere he refers to the "policy sciences of democracy."²² Yet little is said of the mechanisms and structures of democracy – parties, interest groups, legislatures, courts, the executive, voting. More conspicuous are projections of the future in terms of elites and international relations, and a view of domestic society concentrated heavily in a psychological perspective. One wonders whether this version of "policy science" will be used primarily by elites to devise policies that seem desirable

21 Lerner, 284, 294.

22 Lasswell, Chs. 1, 6, p. 10.

23 A related critique is Robert Horwitz, "Scientific Propaganda: Harold D. Lasswell," in Herbert J. Storing, ed., *Essays on the Scientific Study of Politics* (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1962). Edward A. Shils, ten years after contributing to this volume, presented a critique of "scientism," an ideology he judges to derive from an inappropriate extension of the values of natural science, and to fail "to contribute to the self-improvement of society rather than the manipulated improvement of society." He fears "that the technological development of sociology under the patronage of the mighty will take a scientific turn." See his "The Calling of Sociology," in Talcott Parsons et al., eds., *Theories of Society* (New York: Free Press, 1961), pp. 1438, 1437.

17 Hilgard, 41. See also Merton, 301, 306.

18 Merton, 299-300.

19 Merton and Lerner, 296. They were accorded low status in the Bush report (275). Parsons advised at the time that they proceed with caution and seek support only for work of high quality; see Talcott Parsons, "The Science Legislation and the Social Sciences," *Am. Sociol. Rev.*, 11 #6 (December, 1946), 664. Even the modest degree of intervention by the scientist-consultant in the name of his own values, suggested by Hilgard, was criticized sharply by Lundberg; see George A. Lundberg, review of *The Policy Sciences*, *Am. Sociol. Rev.*, 17 #1 (February, 1952), 114.

20 E.g., Lasswell, 5.

Social Science and the Sources of Policy: 1951-1970

from their own perspectives.²³ The study of "policy" should be extended to include not merely alternative policies open to existing authorities, but also alternative authorities and regimes. Political science, with its tradition of fundamental examination of the moral justification of regimes, must play its part in this evaluation and critique.

A thoughtful contribution on representative government is also provided by Likert. He deals with three types of communication from citizens to government, which need to be distinguished in the application of survey techniques to decision-making. First is the simple collection of information about the citizenry and their behavior, exemplified by studies of consumer finance.²⁴ Second is the ascertainment of citizens' opinions, as expressing satisfaction or dissatisfaction with their situations, but independent of their competence to recommend particular policies; this is relevant to their support for government, and may be used as a basis for policy at the risk of failure to provoke intelligent debate. Third is the ascertainment of informed opinion and advocacy of policy. These same alternatives exist within other social systems and organizations, and might well be considered in any application of social science in the making of policy, as regards the possible consultation of those affected. Insofar as democratic theory is presented as an extension of welfare economics, and based on the satisfaction of preferences through public policy, it needs to incorporate this distinction.

Social Science and Valuation After 1951: Other Approaches

The Policy Sciences was dominated by a view that fundamental social research and assistance to the policies of government and business are in harmony, and that the policy goals set by major institutions of American society were in general worthy of support. This was not, however, the only view held by social scientists even then as to the valuative aspects of social science. Three major alternative

views were those of anti-authoritarian research, of value-free research divorced from policy, and of reformist research under the auspices of professional associations.

In 1950, *The Authoritarian Personality* was published; and although it came under attack on political as well as methodological grounds,²⁵ it marked another attitude toward policy by investigating "antidemocratic tendencies" within the American public. For a time this study was quite influential, as researchers attempted to relate scores on the "F-scale" to a wide variety of social and political variables.

At much the same time, a quite different orientation contributed to the development of the "behavioral science" movement, which was particularly influential within political science. An emulation of pure rather than applied natural science led to a quest for elegance, for general theory as well as rigor in method, and for avoidance of policy applications until the edifice of social science was more soundly built. With the aid of logical positivism – whose influence still prevailed within American social science even while the effects of ordinary language analysis were undermining it in philosophy – this approach led certain social scientists away from policy applications altogether, whether those of the "establishment" or of the opposition.²⁶ But one critic observed that "In its resolve to remain 'pure', as in so many other respects, behavioral science is imitating physics, not as it is, but as particular reconstructions have represented it to be."²⁷ Moreover, a concern for the underlying realities rather than the forms of politics may have drawn attention away from those formal institutions that might be modified by law.

25 Theodor W. Adorno et al., *The Authoritarian Personality* (New York: Harper & Row, 1950). A major collection of criticisms was Richard Christie and Marie Jahoda, eds., *Studies in the Scope and Method of "The Authoritarian Personality,"* (New York: Free Press, 1954).

26 See for example James C. Charlesworth, ed., *Contemporary Political Analysis* (New York: Free Press, 1967); Austin Ranney, ed., *Essays on the Behavioral Study of Politics* (Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1962).

27 Abraham Kaplan, *The Conduct of Inquiry* (San Francisco, Calif.: Chandler, 1964), p. 399.

24 Likert, 239. We shall consider below the use of this type of information in applied science, including traffic control as well as economic guidance.

A third orientation during this period came from within professional associations themselves but was oriented toward valutive applications. In the natural sciences this was represented by the creation of the Federation of Atomic (later American) Scientists and the publication of the *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* (founded in 1945). This "fringe association" (existing on the fringes of the American Physical Society) expressed the concerns of scientists with valutive and policy matters, but its discussions and publications were clearly separate from the professional publications of physicists as such. In social science, this development was exemplified by the formation of the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues (SPSSI), which began publishing the *Journal of Social Issues* in 1945, and the Society for the Study of Social Problems (SSSP), which published *Social Problems* from 1953. These were fringe associations for psychology and sociology respectively. They engaged in research related to certain types of valutive problems; and unlike natural scientists who worked on fallout or pollution, they were able to have their work considered as part of the corresponding disciplinary literature. Their implicit concern for problems recognized as such in the society ("social problems" or "social issues") was a limitation, as we shall argue below; but these two groups pointed, even then, to an important alternative largely ignored in *The Policy Sciences*.

In political science, the concern of the discipline with valutive and applied problems was expressed in the American Political Science Association's report, "Toward a More Responsible Two-Party System."²⁸ This report, advocating more highly disciplined parties in the United States, met criticism on the grounds of unrealism and of possible unintended consequences. Its failure may have contributed to the withdrawal of some "behavioral" political scientists from the area of policy and valuation.

Since that time, the Association has refrained from official endorsement of domestic political reform. Nevertheless, the report still has an important lesson for the profession today: that political scientists and other social science disciplines can take the initiative in studying policy problems, including consideration of the reform of the institutions of their own society. Such an initiative can provide an alternative source of problem definition and research support that might not be available from other sources. With the aid of systematic valutive discussion, professional associations might again constitute committees to study major policy problems. And although the advice given by such an association must be soundly based, an earlier failure should not preclude other similar initiatives. Perhaps the accumulation of careful research on our domestic institutions and political behavior has brought us near the time for which the behavioral scientists have been waiting, when further proposals for reform might be made.

It is noteworthy that the policy initiative of political scientists at that time came not through a fringe association, but through the central professional association itself.²⁹ And during the past two decades, leading economists and economic theories (from Keynes to Friedman) have become so deeply involved in policy formation that apparently neither a fringe association nor a move by the association for policy reform occurred in their discipline.

Since 1951 the valutive climate surrounding social science has changed, not uniformly but moving away from some of the pre-1951 assumptions, then back toward them and beyond. While *The Policy Sciences* was being prepared for publication, McCarthyism and the Korean War contributed to a major swing to the right in American political opinion. Threats of communist military advance and internal penetration, amplified by the press and by ambitious politicians, may well have inhibited a critical social science devoted to ends other

28 Committee on Political Parties, APSA, "Toward a More Responsible Two-Party System," *Am. Pol. Sci. Rev.*, 44 #3 (September, 1950), Part 2, Supplement.

29 The concern of political science with matters of valuation was viewed by one author of *The Policy Sciences* as separating it from the natural-science model: Hilgard, 40.

Social Science and the Sources of Policy: 1951-1970

than those of government and the market. The critical stance exemplified by *The Authoritarian Personality*, though persisting longer in psychology, was inhibited until America became involved in the unpopular Vietnam war and the racial conflicts of the 1960's. Analyses of the "radical right" were carried on, however, under the auspices of the Fund for the Republic and the Anti-Defamation League.³⁰

We shall not trace these developments in detail up to the present, as it is sufficient for our purposes to show that other directions of "policy" orientation existed even in the 1950's.³¹

Social Science and Systematic Valuative Discourse

In 1970 we find the social sciences under increasing attack – for service to the "establishment," for irrelevance, or for the dehumanization of man.³² But even more disturbing is the incapacity of our disciplines to respond to these criticisms. Emulating natural science, we have found ourselves competent to deal with means but not with ends.

None of the approaches we have mentioned confronts the basic problem of providing channels for rational discourse concerning the goals of policy. *The Policy Sciences*, in spite of recommendations for clarification of values, seems largely to accept sponsors' or clients' goals as legitimate. The critical stance of *The Authoritarian Personality* and the valuative discourse of SPSSI and SSSP take single negative values ("fascism," "social problems") or definitions of important topics ("social issues") as givens from which scientific discourse can seek means to assumed agreed-on ends. The APSA report, "Toward a More Responsible Two-Party

System," was designed for popular consumption and lacked the perspective that systematic historical, comparative, and valuative discourse might have provided. Thus authoritarianism and party systems were not placed in a broad generic perspective; and the "fringe" journals of SPSSI and SSSP failed to provide general analyses of the question as to when social scientists should study matters of importance as yet unrecognized by the general public.

We have come to the peculiar situation in which some of an older generation of social scientists sought respectability by their ability to serve the ends of established institutions, but found themselves unable to justify these institutions when they were called in question. At the same time a "radical" caucus in the American Political Science Association was able to advocate as a point in its platform unqualified opposition to counter-insurgent activities throughout the world, without any reference to the type of regimes they supported. Such intellectual bankruptcy in the valuative realm is a shortcoming of social scientists in our time. The social science disciplines have reached this position by seeking indiscriminately to imitate the objectivity and certainty of natural science. These qualities are indeed desirable as *part* of the policy process, but they cannot serve as its entire foundations.

What these approaches lack is a foundation in reasoned valuative discourse, of the type that normative political theory might provide, but which could profitably be instituted in every social science discipline. If this change seems to do violence to the term "science," it may be better to preserve these disciplines but to omit that term from their defining characteristics.

The fundamental difficulty that gives rise to a rudderless "policy science" lies in the notion of "science" itself, as defining the domain within which the "social science" disciplines operate. Political science, fortunately, has not taken this term as seriously as the other social sciences, and therefore retains the possibility of reasoned valuative discourse. The methods

30 See Daniel Bell, ed., *The Radical Right* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1963).

31 A perceptive review of changes over the two decades is given in Irving L. Horowitz, "The Academy and the Polity: On Social Scientists and Federal Administrators," in Tamotsu Shibutani, ed., *Human Nature and Collective Behavior* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1970).

32 See for example Loren Baritz, *The Servants of Power* (New York, Wiley, Science Editions, 1965); Marvin Surkin, "Sense and Nonsense in Politics," *PS* 2 #4 (Fall, 1969), 573-581.

of science are certainly of great value for resolving disputes and discovering means to ends. But I am confident that we can distinguish factual from valuative statements, even if they are mingled in the same articles, lectures, and textbooks. We can also distinguish the factual and valuative connotations of the same term. My proposal is simply that we interpret the term "science" less exclusively in defining the subject matter of "social science" disciplines. These disciplines are systems of discourse among trained and qualified participants, and their content may be shifted by accretions to the literature. If we choose to add discourse concerning the values to which applied science is directed, and if we can do this rationally, a narrow interpretation of the term "science" should not be allowed to prevent it. The limits to this change should perhaps lie less in the a priori definition of the domain than in Parsons' observation that "the independence of the universities . . . is always relatively precarious."³³

In advocating systematic ethical discourse within the social sciences, I do not, therefore, recommend the passage by professional associations of resolutions on current political issues, however important they seem. Rather, I propose a systematic discussion of the valuative foundations of social science and public policy, combining the valuative approaches mentioned with such apparently disparate topics as welfare economics, social indicators, cost-benefit analysis, democratic theory, and philosophical discussions of ethics, and asking under what conditions that criteria of each are properly to be used.³⁴ Although the grammatical distinction between facts and values deserves to be maintained, a close connection between these two realms will contribute to a

scrutiny in the universities of policy applications of social science. This scrutiny will not be restricted to the application of means to given ends, but will stress the clarity and consistency of the ends themselves, their implications, and an awareness on the part of social scientists of the systematically related ends that their research may serve.

The inability of pure natural science to engage in this sort of discourse may well be a shortcoming of the natural sciences rather than the social; and our own difficulties in divesting our discourse of valuative references may prove not a handicap, but a virtue. Perhaps we should take our model, at least in part, from an applied natural science such as public health rather than from the pure natural sciences. In the variables it chooses, applied social science may look to engineering as a model, but in the valuative foundations of policy we must seek a strong source of guidance *within* the social science disciplines themselves.³⁵ At the same time, the form of our valuative discourse may benefit from some of the constraints of discourse in the natural sciences, such as the emphases on clarity, consistency, and generality in the statement of theories and hypotheses.

The Variables of Applied Social Science

A second source of incompatibility between the model of pure natural science and the requirements of applied social science lies in the choice of variables in the two realms. To discuss this problem, we must be more precise about the "pure-applied" distinction we have used so far. Scientific activities may differ from one another according to their contributions to science as well as their contributions to practice.³⁶ The ideal type of "pure" research would be aimed entirely at contribution to the

33 Parsons, "The Science Legislation and the Social Sciences," *op. cit.*, 665. See also Parsons, "The Problem of Controlled Institutional Change," in his *Essays in Sociological Theory* (New York: Free Press, 1954).

34 A more detailed proposal for this type of discourse is given in Duncan MacRae, Jr., "Scientific Communication, Ethical Argument, and Public Policy," *Am. Pol. Sci. Rev.*, 65 #1 (March, 1971). For a related comparison of the valuative viewpoints of two disciplines, see Mancur Olson, Jr., "Economics, Sociology, and the Best of All Possible Worlds," *The Public Interest*, 12 (Summer, 1968), 96-118.

35 An effort in this direction by a natural scientist, which unfortunately lacks the organized support of an academic discipline, is Gerald Feinberg, *The Prometheus Project* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1968). The political situation of natural scientists, as affected by the Oppenheimer case, is discussed in Bernard T. Feld, "Only on Tap," *The Progressive*, 34 #5 (May, 1970), 44-46.

36 This twofold distinction is made, for example, in Lazarsfeld, Sewell, and Wilensky, eds., *op. cit.*, pp. xxiv-xxvi.

Social Science and the Sources of Policy: 1951-1970

scientific discipline, and would make a major contribution to organized knowledge; "applied" research, in contrast, would be motivated by the solution of outside practical problems and would contribute specific knowledge more relevant to those problems than to general theories. It is well known, however, that sometimes research can be relevant both to practical problems and to major disciplinary or theoretical concerns; for this sort of work, the term "basic" or "fundamental" has been used to classify it together with "pure" research.

It is nevertheless misleading to emphasize the overlap or compatibility between the two criteria and to neglect their possible conflicts. Not all applied research can be "fundamental." To blur the distinction between fundamental and applied social science, which in many ways parallels the distinction between natural science and engineering, is to perpetuate confusion in both.³⁷ To pretend that pure research is automatically applicable is to reduce the effectiveness of application; to pretend that applied research automatically contributes to general theory is to underestimate the problems of optimal choice of materials as well as the difficulty of wandering from the path of application. We shall therefore continue to speak of differences between pure and applied science, in order to emphasize the distinction between these two extreme types.

In the field of practical application, unlike that of systematic valutive analysis, the social sciences have made progress in many directions since 1951. The rest of our discussion can therefore claim adequate coverage of the literature even less than the first part. We shall simply try to argue systematically that although fundamental and applied social science should exist side by side, for "policy" purposes more emphasis should be given to those aspects of the social sciences that resemble applied natural science. This argument must be qualified, however, by consideration of the valutive

foundations of "policy" and the need to consult those who will be affected.

The variables of applied science differ from those of pure science in three principal respects. In applied science,

1. The dependent variable is a valutive one;
2. The independent variables, as they vary, are expected to relate to action that influences the realization of the value in question;
3. Applied research often involves a repeated alternation between action and the monitoring of a valutive dependent variable.

The necessity of focusing attention on a *valutive dependent variable* can lead away from the variables of fundamental or pure science in at least two ways. It may lead, first, to consideration of specific aspects of the situation in question that are unimportant for general and elegant theory; and second, to the use of variables which, though general, fail to enter into the general theories of a given discipline precisely because they are valutive.

The distinction between valutive variables and those of scientific theory may be illustrated by two examples from economics. A dominant theme in welfare economics has been the impossibility of measuring welfare in terms of cardinal numbers, or of comparing such numbers interpersonally, on the basis of "positive economic science."³⁸ But government officials engaged in cost-benefit analysis have had to ignore this stricture when faced with choices affecting large numbers of persons.

Even this sort of comparison — tacitly embodied in national income figures also when growth rates are taken as valued states of affairs — has in turn been criticized on the ground that increases in mere economic production and consumption do not guarantee improvement in the "quality of life." Whatever this phrase means, it seems to refer in part to human

37 See Kalman H. Silvert, "American Academic Ethics and Social Research Abroad," in Irving L. Horowitz, ed., *The Rise and Fall of Project Camelot* (Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Press, 1967), pp. 89-90. See also Merton, 303-306.

38 A classical statement of this problem was given in Lionel Robbins, *An Essay on the Nature and Significance of Economic Science* (London: Macmillan, 1937), pp. 140-141. See also Kenneth J. Arrow and Tibor Scitovsky, eds., *Readings in Welfare Economics* (Homewood, Ill.: Richard D. Irwin, 1969).

experiences. Insofar as it does, its measurement might well take us away from economics into psychology; yet even then we have no guarantee that the variables needed will be the same ones that are central to psychological theories of behavior.

A second distinctive feature of applied research is its concern with variables related to action that *influences* the realization of the value in question. This feature is sometimes discussed as relating to "manipulable" variables, but such a characterization is too narrow. The study of national character in connection with wartime propaganda,³⁹ or the forecasting of the weather, influence respectively the success of given propaganda strategies and the likelihood that people will get wet, hot, or cold, or that crops will grow; yet the value-relevance of these studies does not depend on the manipulability of the variables in question. Rather, some act under consideration by another actor — sending a message, going outdoors, planting crops — will have different values to that actor, depending on the state of a non-manipulated variable.⁴⁰

Even though non-manipulated variables may relate to the attainment of valued states of affairs, there is nevertheless a selection that takes place between the variables of fundamental science and those of evaluative applications. There is a sense in which earlier historical times are less relevant. There is also a sense in which prediction of the future, if it is unaffected by our acts, may be irrelevant unless particular values may be realized in a way that depends on future states of affairs. A common phrase has been "understanding and control," sometimes with the addition of an intermediate stage of "prediction." But knowledge and understanding do not always lead to

"control" — even on the part of the client, not to mention the social scientist; and prediction may lead not to control but to fatalism and indifference.⁴¹

"Understanding" refers, in Lasswell's terms, to a contemplative rather than a manipulative view of the world. Yet in *The Policy Sciences* it was tacitly assumed to relate to potentially applicable research. Much of the exposition in the book is simply a review of research and problems in behavioral science, with an emphasis on social psychology, cultural anthropology, and methodology. The person, the primary group, communication in groups, statistics, and mathematical models are viewed as tools or ingredients of policy research, without great emphasis on particular policy applications. The possibility of later applying research that is "fundamental" when it is done, is an argument well known from natural science.⁴²

The emphasis in *The Policy Sciences* on social psychology, small groups, and individual decisions does indicate, however, that variables manipulable by organizational leaders were being considered. Studies of bureaucratic structure and organization were not conspicuous among the "policy sciences" of that time; nor were historical studies, even though some might have been relevant to the development of the new nations or as "scenarios" for developments in modern states.⁴³ Interviewing, on the other hand, was considered in view of "the increasing call from policy-makers for information on great masses of individuals."⁴⁴

41 Lazarsfeld and Barton, 156. Predictions of inevitable change have of course been coupled with the Marxist doctrine of midwifery, and Lasswell (11-12) takes a similar approach to "the world revolution of our time." The ethical logic of this view is criticized in Karl R. Popper, *The Open Society and Its Enemies* (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1963), vol. 2, p. 205. See also Otis Dudley Duncan, "Social Forecasting: The State of the Art," *The Public Interest*, 17 (Fall, 1969), 88-118.

42 Merton, 305-306n., cites Conant to this effect.

43 See Harvey C. Mansfield, Jr., "Whether Party Government is Inevitable," *Pol. Sci. Quart.*, 80 #4 (December, 1965), 517-542; Carl E. Schorske, "Weimar and the Intellectuals," *New York Rev. of Books*, 14 #9-10 (May 7-21, 1970), 22-27, 20-25.

44 Hyman, 204. The interpretation of responses in terms of individual motivation, as in the Hawthorne studies (Lazarsfeld and Barton, 164), has since been criticized in Herbert Marcuse, *One-Dimensional Man* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1964), pp. 112-113.

39 M. Mead, 75. But terms of this sort relate to action in the same way as the "solubility" of chemical substances.

40 Variables "accessible to control" are mentioned in Alvin W. Gouldner, "Theoretical Requirements of the Applied Sciences," *Am. Sociol. Rev.*, 22 #1 (February, 1957), esp. 96-98. A similar distinction is made in Glen G. Cain and Harold W. Watts, "Problems in Making Policy Inferences from the Coleman Report," *ibid.*, 35 #2 (April, 1970), 230; but James S. Coleman argues in reply that interrelation of variables requires inclusion of non-manipulable variables, in "Reply to Cain and Watts," *ibid.*, 244.

Social Science and the Sources of Policy: 1951-1970

The range of variables related to "policy" is far too narrow, however, if it is restricted to policies of government and business toward large masses of persons. It seems to be assumed that "policy scientists" are proposing neither to advise individual citizens or consumers how to *adapt* to the policies of large organizations – by economic or political "consumer research" – nor to change the incumbents or structures of organizational power.

The most serious omission from *The Policy Sciences* in this regard concerns those domestic institutions whose function is to determine or alter policies and authorities, such as the executive, the legislative, political parties, and interest groups. Some mention was made of public opinion, a research area closely related to morale and the response to public policies; but institutional reform seems to have been neglected, perhaps because applied research on such topics was less easily financed.

One type of knowledge (or speculation) that appears to be neither specific nor related to manipulable variables involves prediction of future events that are not contingent on voluntary action; we shall call this "unconditional prediction." Lasswell was a forerunner of this line of speculation with his "developmental constructs," including his well-known picture of the garrison state and the possibility of a world of bipolar or unipolar tension.⁴⁵ The extrapolation of the problems of the cold war is clear; the Sino-Soviet conflict and anticolonial guerrilla wars were not anticipated.

Since 1951, the field of "futurology" has developed rapidly as an effort to anticipate broad societal trends over a period of decades. Whether in de Jouvenel's work, the American Academy's studies of the year 2000, or the "scenarios" of strategy specialists,⁴⁶ this approach seems intellectually distinct from the discovery of general laws of human behavior – an approach emphasized in *The Policy*

Sciences. Projections of the state of the world, or even of parts of it, in their social aspects are far from the predictions that astronomers can make of the positions of planets and artificial satellites. They tend to be more holistic and speculative than the type of research that would be published in a journal of the behavioral (or even "policy") sciences.

A more systematic relation between unconditional prediction and action would regard prediction as concerned with the feasibility or desirability of acts. Feasibility is relevant because all ethical or policy choice involves difficulties or costs in terms of which alternatives must be compared.⁴⁷ In addition, unconditional prediction of states of society is relevant to the consequences of policy choices, because these consequences may be interaction effects between the acts chosen and the future states of the system. If the action contemplated – e.g., the writing of a constitution – is expected to have long-term consequences, then the possible future states of the social system that are partly affected by that action, need to be considered.

Some of the relations among manipulable variables, the study of the future, and the service of organizational clients may be clarified if we introduce some simple notation.

Let Δv = the difference in some valutive variable v that is expected to result from one proposed "policy" choice as against another (including the change in v from the existing state of affairs to some other);

Δa = the possible difference in action on the part of an individual, firm, or other unit adapting to a larger system;

Δs = the possible difference in the situation of the individual or unit.

45 Lasswell, 11, and ch. 6.

46 See "Toward the Year 2000: Work in Progress," *Daedalus*, 96 #3 (Summer, 1967). Other work in this field is reviewed in Duncan, *op. cit.*

47 Examples of changing feasibility are the possible introduction of new issues into a party system after the shock of depression or defeat in war; or the possibility of political change after the retirement of a major leader, or at the time of a party reorientation. A physical analogue is the presence of "seedable" clouds.

Then the symbolic relation we shall use to catalogue various types of "policy" is

$$\Delta v = f(\Delta a, \Delta s) \quad (1)$$

That is, the change in value to be realized depends on possible changes not only in the situation s , but also in the adaptation of individual units or actors to it by their actions a .

In this formulation, the valuative variable v may be as specific as the cost-benefit ratio of a proposed project or the incidence of a particular disease, or as abstract as a general ethical desideratum – provided that it can be measured.⁴⁸ A given policy choice may also involve more than one value; but our present proposal is that every effort be made to reconcile the multiple values initially considered, by means of the valuative discourse proposed above. Should there remain multiple value-criteria, each may be considered in an equation such as (1).

The problem of applied social science, more generally, is simply that of an actor who wishes to maximize the value corresponding to a given ethical system. His first step must be one of exploration. What *are* his alternatives, in the most general sense? Before advising a particular client, he must choose whether to work with that client, or another, or none. He might join with others in setting up a new organization, try to change the leadership of existing organizations, or operate as an intellectual critic hoping in the longer run to effect structural changes. Still more generally, he might choose not only what organization to work for in the short run, but his occupation.

It is clear, therefore, that the choice of alternatives is the broadest choice that may arise in "applied social science" – for the choice may extend outside social science, or any science, altogether. And however difficult it may be to formalize this choice, we must recognize that it precedes any simple formulation such as we propose here. If one fails to see an important alternative, then the entire systematic proce-

dure is limited in its value. But our formulation is itself intended to stress an alternative often overlooked in "policy science" – that of working for the actors whose choices influence Δa directly, rather than (or in addition to) working for powerful organizations whose decisions influence the situation s .⁴⁹

The possible range of acts a in (1) refers to acts by other persons than the policymaker or the social scientist. Although some values can certainly be realized by persons using social science in their own interests, we assume the social scientist to be recommending "policies" whose value is realized through the experiences, consumption, welfare, etc., of other individuals.

The situation s in which an affected individual finds himself is defined, in general, in terms of his subjective perception.⁵⁰ This implies that in general, values can be influenced by socialization, education, advertising, propaganda, and the like as well as by changes in those aspects of the situation defined "objectively" by the observer. They can also be influenced by an individual's acts to change his situation, e.g., by leaving the system in question, or by modifying his physiological state. Nevertheless, we shall begin with examples in which the individual's change or redefinition of the situation is not considered as an important alternative.

The first task of the applied social researcher, after identifying the general problem area with which he is concerned, is to choose the relevant variables and specify the nature of the functional relation f in (1).⁵¹ When the problem is viewed from the standpoint of the re-

49 We wish thus to enlarge the definition of operations research as "a scientific method for providing executive departments with a quantitative basis for decisions . . ." For a critique of this definition on other grounds see David S. Stoller, *Operations Research: Process and Strategy* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1964), pp. 10-11.

50 See Murray Edelman, *The Symbolic Uses of Politics* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1964).

51 The extensive use by economists of simultaneous equations as descriptive of causal relations was foreshadowed in Arrow, 131, 150-153. Applications to numerous other fields are made in the journal *Operations Research*.

48 Cf. the "principle of consequences," as treated in Richard E. Flathman, *The Public Interest* (New York: Wiley, 1966), Ch. 8.

Social Science and the Sources of Policy: 1951-1970

searcher, this task seems evident; but from the standpoint of the policymaker or advocate, there is also a temptation to proceed without research, on the basis of sentiments or commonsense expectations as to casual relations.⁵²

The typical application of "policy science" is therefore one that will change the situation *s* and alter a valutive variable (e.g., by providing new cars on a subway line), or in which the actions *a* will be altered in an expected way by a change in the situation (e.g., a change in an electoral law leading to a different number of parties). But the formulation of (1) also reminds us that social research can contribute to acts *a* that do not result from modification of the situation, at least in an "objective" or material sense. For we may consider furnishing information to consumers or citizens as well as modification of their objective circumstances. If we are unable to modify the environment (as in the case of weather, at least until recently), we can provide information to individuals so that their actions *a* can take account of it – and similarly for traffic conditions, health conditions such as the possible spread of disease, or business conditions. Subsequently, as our knowledge increases, we may be able to modify the environment as well, and thus influence *v* through changes in *s*. In this classification, business firms' needs to anticipate the course of the economy are similar to individual's needs for weather forecasts.

In economic prediction and traffic control, the problems are complicated by the fact that the systems consist of acting human beings whose choices produce the phenomena under consideration (though local intervention by private groups in weather modification could produce analogous systemic effects). We again have the possibility of predicting the trend of economic fluctuations, and making this information available to individuals for decisions regarding investments, purchases, and the like. If this information is widely enough used, however, it may influence the behavior of the

system. As system behavior becomes more contingent on the choices of a given actor, the basis of his choices may come more nearly to resemble game strategies, as in the case of a large firm, a major interest group, or a great power.

It is also possible to influence the operation of market and traffic systems by the creation of intervening agencies, which may then act periodically to modify the parameters of the system. Thus in the economy, the Federal Reserve Board or the Council of Economic Advisers may propose such action. In traffic control we may create models of the traffic system or information-gathering devices such as traffic-flow monitors. Thus with the aid of these new devices or structures, continuous or periodic intervention in the traffic system is possible through alteration of the timing of traffic lights, modification of numbers of lanes available, and the like.

But if these procedures are to be generalized, we must recall some of their special properties. The time that elapses in such a system between policy decision and information feedback is short, relative to a lifetime. They do not consider the interests of new generations, and their socialization. And they use information generated by relatively public sources of information. Thus while they reveal important dimensions of variation in applied social science, the problems involved can be still more complicated than these.

In addition to valutive dependent variables and policy-related independent variables, policy analysis requires *repeated measurements over time*. Though there are many studies in which a single policy choice is followed by a single evaluation study, it is even more important to correct errors observed at one time, by continual monitoring over a longer period. Thus a cybernetic or feedback type of

52 See Charles L. Schultze, *The Politics and Economics of Public Spending* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings, 1968), pp. 55, 75.

53 On evaluation studies see Likert, 244-245, 251; Hyman, 204n., 205, on the Strategic Bombing Survey; Schultze, *op. cit.*, pp. 61ff. On feedback see Yehezkel Dror, *Public Policymaking Reexamined* (San Francisco, Calif.: Chandler, 1968), p. 161; E. S. Savas, "Cybernetics in City Hall," *Science* 168 #3935 (May 29, 1970), 1066-1071.

control is appropriate.⁵³ Repeated observation may be required also, not merely to take account of uncontrolled influences on the system, but to perfect an engineering design. And even though "Prototypes of social programs, unlike hardware systems, cannot be evaluated and tested in the laboratory or wind tunnel,"⁵⁴ an approximation to this repeated testing is desirable in order to see whether anticipated values have actually been realized when a decision is put into effect.

In *The Policy Sciences*, the major examples of periodic monitoring and intervention for policy purposes were in domestic economic affairs and in the international sphere. Katona and Likert discuss the surveys of economic plans and expectations on the part of the public, as well as of consumer finances, as tools of prediction and policy choice. There was also a suggestion of "social indicators," but at the international level: indicators of German and Japanese morale during World War II, and of international tensions, under the possible sponsorship of UNESCO.⁵⁵

When periodic or continuous monitoring of the state of a system is conducted to aid decisions, the information collected may relate more or less closely to valuative variables. Among the variables that have been assumed to be closely related to welfare are the satisfaction of preferences and (in a reverse sense) social tension. Here, however, an important distinction must be made between preferences and welfare — a distinction that will necessarily be included in any systematic discussion of the values that policy is to serve. The choice of variables in relation to "social problems," which we have mentioned above, is closely akin to an ethic of preferences. So, too, is the anticipation of future social problems and their advance alleviation. A more general valuative criticism, however, would have to deal with the adequacy of potential dislocation as a valuative criterion.⁵⁶

54 The contingent character of forecasts is noted by Merton, 304; the incompleteness of the engineering analogy in Schultze, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

55 Katona, 223ff.; Likert, 239; Hilgard, 23; Lasswell, 13.

A current proposal for monitoring the state of the society is that of government-tabulated "social indicators." The types of indicators proposed in an initial report, however, fall into a variety of categories. Health, environment and income seem closest to quantities measuring direct values to citizens; the value of learning, science, and art seems more contingent on the uses made of them; and public order, participation, and alienation seem valuable in relation to the broader question whether the authorities and regime are deserving of support or opposition at a given time. Systematic discussion of the interrelation of values might provide more solid philosophical support for such proposals.⁵⁷

Channels of Influence for Applied Social Science

A final major difference between applied social science and fundamental natural science lies in the channels through which each has its influence. The pure scientist discovers the truth, publishes it, and (in an earlier day at least) is indifferent whether it is useful. In a more recent period he is confident that it will eventually be useful, or at least he says so to congressional committees. In addition, pure scientists in universities teach their knowledge to others, some of whom may be applied scientists, interpreters of science, or policymakers.

Aside from his roles as teacher and researcher, the natural scientist can advise decision-makers in two ways. As a temporary consultant he can leave his academic role from time to time to advise government or business; or he can choose an applied career and work on a regular basis for one of these employers. A few roles, such as that of statesman or administrator of science, remain on the borderline between the two.

56 See David Braybrooke, *Three Tests for Democracy: Personal Rights, Human Welfare, Collective Preference* (New York: Random House, 1968).

57 U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, *Toward a Social Report* (Washington, C.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1969), p. iii. See also Peter J. Henriot, "Political Questions about Social Indicators," *Western Pol. Quart.* (in press). A step toward this systematic discussion is Mancur Olson's "An Analytic Framework for Social Reporting and Policy Analysis," *Annals of the Am. Academy of Pol. and Soc. Sci.*, 388 (March, 1970), 112-126.

Social Science and the Sources of Policy: 1951-1970

In applied social science we begin to see a variety of roles that provide a wider choice and additional problems (some of which may exist for natural science as well). Although Lerner describes the functions of the man of knowledge as "scientist, teacher, adviser,"⁵⁸ the function of adviser includes a wide range of roles, and collectively, social scientists may even create new roles. First, the role analogous to that of engineer or applied natural scientist has not been so clearly developed, though there exist schools of business, social work, journalism, and planning. Lasswell stressed the need for new applied disciplines analogous to medicine, in parallel to the academic disciplines, and pointed to the introduction of social science into the Yale Law School.⁵⁹ The need for interdisciplinary work was stressed repeatedly in *The Policy Sciences*, and has recently been repeated forcefully in the BASS report.⁶⁰

Periodic monitoring of the success of policies, or of the state of the society, will require the employment of trained social science personnel by the organization involved, as well as critical review of internal appraisals by independent outside experts. This function cannot be carried out by academic consultants alone, however valuable it may be sometimes for social scientists to combine both roles.⁶¹

In addition, new structures for developing and recommending policy have assumed numerous forms. Institutes and professional schools have come to serve this function.⁶² Outside the

universities, RAND⁶³ and the Hudson Institute have arisen; RAND has moved into research on urban problems, and smaller interdisciplinary policy institutes have also been created. "Fringe associations" have developed in conjunction with various scientific disciplines, and their potentialities have not yet been fully realized. The development of intradisciplinary or cross-disciplinary specialties, concerned with the valuative foundations of applied social science, can contribute importantly to the guidance of policy-oriented research as well as to the education of students interested in applied work.

A major concern of the applied social scientist of the future will have to be with the persons and groups who are affected by his research. This concern will be necessary because, in the first place, we tend to be suspicious of manipulation by means of social research more than by material technology. Second, especially in a society that subscribes to democratic values we expect that the citizen's wishes will be expressed through the market, the vote, and organized political action rather than through cooptative policies devised by experts' opinion analyses. Third, insofar as those affected have political influence, they will exert it in opposition to policies they dislike.

This concern will begin with attention to the situation in which information is gathered — interview, psychological experiment, or data bank — and its possible effects on the persons studied.⁶⁴ But in general the number of persons studied will be far less than the number affected by policy; to increase concern with this larger group, the social sciences may need deliberately diversified recruitment as well as special training.

58 Lerner, 282.

59 Lasswell, 10, 14.

60 See Hilgard, 41-42; Merton, 300; Behavioral and Social Sciences Committee of the National Academy of Sciences and the Social Science Research Council, *The Behavioral and Social Sciences: Outlook and Needs* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1969), chs. 12, 13.

61 On the desirability of outside analysis as a supplement to government in-house analysis, see Schultze, *op. cit.*, pp. 91-92. On the "fusion of the roles of the acting and knowing subject," see Paul Kecskemeti, "The Policy Sciences: Aspiration and Outlook," *World Politics*, 4 #4 (July, 1952), 535; on an "enlightenment model" that sees the sociologist as "part of the social process," see Morris Janowitz, "Sociological Models and Social Policy," *Archiv für Rechts- und Sozialphil.*, 55 #3 (August, 1969), 311.

62 See Henry W. Riecken, "Social Sciences and Social Problems," *Social Science Information*, 8 #1 (February, 1969), 114-115.

63 See Bruce L. R. Smith, *The RAND Corporation* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard, 1966). An interdisciplinary study recently carried out at RAND, aimed at effective self-government in the Philippines, is H. A. Averch, F. H. Denton, and J. E. Koehler, *A Crisis of Ambiguity: Political and Economic Development in the Philippines* (Santa Monica, Calif.: RAND Corporation, 1970).

64 See Edward A. Shils, "Social Inquiry and the Autonomy of the Individual," in Daniel Lerner, ed., *The Human Meaning of the Social Sciences* (New York: Meridian Books, 1959).

Some efforts to cope with the problems of consultation were discussed in *The Policy Sciences*. Lewin's "action research" involved consultation of the persons affected by a proposed policy and allowing them to contribute to its formation. Hilgard and Merton also imply that the social scientist's values may sometimes partake more of those of the subjects of research than of those of the client or sponsor.⁶⁵

The persons affected by applied social science may also themselves be made more aware of its implications by popular interpretation. Periodicals such as *Trans-Action* have arisen, matching the effects of *Scientific American*; but special social science reporters need to be trained in larger numbers, to write for an increasingly educated popular audience. Groups representing the interests of affected persons will also need their own social science experts, like their own lawyers.

Thus a missing ingredient in the training of today's "policy scientists" may be sensitivity to the reactions of those affected by policy. Any applied scientist, natural or social, must be prepared to face the criticism of his disciplinary colleagues as regards the advice he gives. But in addition, applied social scientists must be particularly concerned to anticipate the reactions of affected groups, not only among the public or persons intended to be influenced, but also among persons expected to carry out the policy. In 1965, both Project Camelot and the Moynihan Report met with sharp opposition on the part of potentially affected groups; and in 1970, a RAND report calling for rent rises in New York City was treated negatively by city officials whose constituency it undermined.⁶⁶ It has also been recognized that PPB or cost-benefit analysis may strengthen the hand of cabinet members relative to Congress, just as surveys may have done at earlier times for the Departments of

Agriculture and State before Congress terminated them. The very posing of alternatives for open discussion may arouse controversy so that "tactical considerations may dictate that explicit debate . . . be muted."⁶⁷ Cases of this kind remind us that political science has a role to play in systematic appraisal of the situation in which expert advice is offered, as well as in making its own recommendations and in the conduct of valuative discourse.

Conclusion

The phrase "policy science" combines two terms, each of which excessively narrows our perspective. "Policy," as the term has been used, focuses too much on the goals of clients or sponsors, rather than on goals that may be developed in systematic valuative discourse within the universities and the academic disciplines themselves. "Science" holds before us an image of pure natural science, distracting us from the distinct features of applied science.

The longer phrase, "policy sciences of democracy," does not live up to its promise. A major task of the applied social scientist of the future will be to clarify and put into practice the conditions for using social science in ways that respect the use of democratic processes for opposition and reform, and their application to the change of domestic governmental institutions themselves.

We therefore propose a return to the notion of "applied social science," which may permit a broader notion of valuative ends than "policy." Within this domain there can exist academic "social sciences" (or social studies) that include fundamental valuative considerations as well as their present general factual concerns. These disciplines will combine teaching and research; but in close relation to them there can exist institutes inside and outside the universities, schools of applied social science, periodicals, and applied careers in government, business, and other organizations, permitting the application of social science to specific practical problems.

65 Hilgard, 42, 41; Merton, 301-302.

66 Horowitz, ed., *op. cit.*; Lee Rainwater and William L. Yancey, *The Moynihan Report and the Politics of Controversy* (Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Press, 1967); David K. Shipler, "City Held Unable to Halt Housing Decay by Subsidy," *New York Times*, Feb. 28, 1970, pp. 1, 14.

67 Schultze, *op. cit.*, pp. 94, 74; see also p. 88 on the role of entrenched constituencies.

The Political Scientist Decides: An Examination of the 1969 APSA Ballots*

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I always vote for the man, not the party.
— Trad.

In its election for offices in 1969, the American Political Science Association, apparently for the first time in its rarely turbulent history, found the nominees of its Official Nominating Committee challenged by an insurgent group. In order to handle this unprecedented situation, it was decided at the annual meeting to carry out the election by mail ballot and the American Arbitration Association was engaged to administer the operation.

Ballots were mailed to the 13,061 members of the Association in October, 1969. Accompanying them were materials containing statements of belief and biographies for each of the candidates.¹ The response rate was 64 percent.

The ballots carried the contestants indicated in Table 1. For each office the candidates are listed in the Table in the order of their vote result (they were listed in alphabetical order on the ballot) and for each candidate the group endorsements, as they were presented on the ballot, are indicated. Except for the group endorsements, no identifying information accompanied the names of the candidates on the ballots.

For each of the first four races, President Elect, Vice President, Secretary, and Treasurer, the nominees of the Association's Official Nominating Committee (noted PS in the Table) were challenged by candidates proposed by a group known as the Caucus for a New Political Science (noted C in the Table), a group identified with the new left. In the race for the Council, there was some overlap of endorsement as the Caucus found three of the APSA nominees worthy of its support.

In addition another group was organized, the Ad Hoc Committee for a Representative State

(AH in the Table), whose mission it was to secure the defeat of two Council candidates who had been endorsed by both the Caucus and the APSA, Henry Kariel and Lewis Lipsitz. The election of these men would, it was felt, endanger the professional character of the APSA. In the materials distributed with the ballots and in a letter sent separately to all members of the Association, the Ad Hoc group urged the defeat of these two men and their replacement by two new candidates, Herbert McClosky and Allan Sindler.² The Ad Hoc Committee was willing to echo the APSA endorsement for the other seats on the Council and also for the other offices on the ballot.

Two other groups endorsed candidates. One was the Black Caucus (BC in the Table) which urged the election of Jewel Prestage in the main Council race and Tobe Johnson in his unopposed quest for a one year seat on the Council. Finally, the Ad Hoc Committee for the Election of a Graduate Student to the APSA Council nominated James Elden for a Council seat. Through some confusion, however, the ballot listed for Elden the endorsement of "Warren Farrel and others" rather than that of the group. This mistake was explained in a covering letter that went out with the ballot.

It is worthy of special notice and puzzlement that none of these three major groups managed to endorse a full slate of candidates for the main Council race: eight seats were up, but each group only nominated seven candidates. There is some complicated reason for this, apparently involving the belated withdrawal of one or more candidates.³ But at any rate the resulting dilemma for the ardent partisans of the Caucus or Ad Hoc groups was that they either had to withhold their eighth Council vote, give it to a member of the opposing group, or else bestow it upon Elden.⁴

How this and other problems were dealt with by the APSA electorate can be partially

*Data analysis in this report was carried out at the Computing Center of the University of Rochester which is supported in part by NSF Grant GJ-828. Key punching was paid for by a University of Rochester research grant. Helpful comments were forcefully delivered by Michael Magie, Henry Manne, and Kenneth Shepale.

1 The Election Committee's Report on their procedures and other headaches is in *PS*, Winter 1970, pp 28-33.

2 The Ad Hoc Committee's letter is reprinted in *PS*, Fall 1969, pp. 703-04.

3 The circumstances appear to be explained in the Election Committee's Report, *op. cit.*

4 At least one voter has complained about this limitation of options. See *PS*, Winter 1970, p. 80.

**The Political Scientist Decides:
An Examination of the 1969 APSA Ballots**

Table 1

Candidates, endorsements, votes received, vote percentages
Number of ballots examined: 7864

President Elect (Vote for not more than ONE)					Member of the Council for Two Years (Vote for not more than EIGHT)						
*Lane	PS	AH	5198	66	*Prestage	C	PS	AH	BC	5852	74
Bay	C		2609	33	*Huntington		PS	AH		5400	69
Vice President (Vote for not more than THREE)					*Salisbury		PS	AH		5067	64
*McConnell	PS	AH	5336	68	*McClosky			AH		5050	64
*Riker	PS	AH	5259	67	*Kessel		PS	AH		4819	61
*Ward	PS	AH	4932	63	*Sindler			AH		4726	60
Kettler	C		2412	31	*Waldron		PS	AH		4224	54
Roelofs	C		2383	30	*Kariel	C	PS			3671	47
Wolfe	C		2370	30	Lipsitz	C	PS			3625	46
Secretary (Vote for not more than ONE)					Elden					2910	37
*Dye	PS	AH	5415	69	Becker	C				2696	33
Minkoff	C		2235	28	Connolly	C				2569	33
Treasurer (Vote for not more than ONE)					Greene	C				2501	32
*Rourke	PS	AH	5213	66	Gottfried	C				2427	31
Clarke	C		2489	32	Member of the Council for One Year (Vote for not more than ONE)						
					*Johnson	C		AH	BC	6257	80

*Elected

Endorsements:

C – Caucus for a New Political Science

PS – Nominating Committee of APSA

AH – Ad Hoc Committee for a Representative Slate

BC – Black Caucus

assessed through an analysis of the ballots.

Several months after the election the ballots, separated from any information that might potentially identify individual voters, were received from the American Arbitration Association and rendered into punch card format. Unfortunately several hundred of the 8324 valid ballots voted in the election have been misplaced and probably are still under, behind, or

mixed in with a vast shipment of books at the AAA headquarters in New York. Therefore all the information in this report, including the election "results" tabulated in Table 1, is based on some 7864 ballots, about 94 percent of the actual total. A comparison of the aggregate results, however, suggests that any selective biases in the ballot results are quite minor and in no case do they point to a different election outcome.⁵

The aggregate results

In confronting his ballot, the APSA member thus could bear in mind the recommendations of three major slates. One represented the new left and another represented the thinking of a group in conscious opposition to the new left. The third was sponsored by the establishment of his Association (whose word had never previously been challenged) and paralleled the Ad Hoc group's recommendations except that it seemed to suggest the seating of two Council members in sympathy with the Caucus group. The APSA slate therefore might be seen by many voters as basically oriented toward the establishment and the status quo, but allowing the voice of the new, insurgent group to be expressed in the governing bodies of the Association. In this sense it could be viewed as a balanced ticket.

The aggregate results, as shown in Table 1, clearly document a firm victory for the Ad Hoc group. Most of their candidates received around 65 percent of the vote while Caucus candidates received only about half that amount. As an attractive "eighth man" in the Council race, Elden did reasonably well, though not well enough to win. Jewel Prestage, a woman and a Negro, endorsed by all three major groups plus the Black Caucus, was a sort of one man coalition of minority groups in this election. She did very well.

The strength of the APSA endorsement is difficult to assess from these results. The two Ad Hoc candidates who did not enjoy APSA endorsement in the Council race do not seem to have been hurt much by this fact, but the two Caucus candidates with APSA approval do seem to have done considerably better than other members of their slate.

In general, a plausible interpretation of the aggregate results might conclude that perhaps half the electorate voted a straight Ad Hoc

ticket, a quarter or so were consistent Caucus supporters, and many of the rest were attracted to the APSA ticket. An analysis of the ballot data, however, demonstrates that such an interpretation would be quite inaccurate.

General patterns on the ballots

In searching first of all for clusters of individuals who voted exactly alike over the entire ballot, it is immediately found that the size of such voting blocs is vastly smaller than might be anticipated from a perusal of the aggregate results. In fact, only 15 percent voted a "pure" Ad Hoc slate and a mere 4 percent selected the pattern endorsed by the Caucus.

These numbers, however, are gigantic compared to the cluster of followers loyal to the APSA slate: *out of the entire collection of 7864 ballots only 14 were marked exactly according to the wishes of the APSA Nominating Committee.* (For reference, it may be noted that this authoritative body itself, contained 6 members.) This is probably not an entirely fair test of the Committee's might, however. Tobe Johnson, running for the one-year seat on the Council, did not happen to enjoy APSA endorsement. Nevertheless, it might be expected that many voters favorable to the APSA slate may have voted for Johnson in this harmless uncontested race without feeling themselves to be traitors to their cause. Some voters were so inclined – 17 to be exact. Thus even when the Johnson race is excluded from consideration, only four-tenths of one percent of the ballots are faithful to the APSA endorsement.

Furthermore, a specific tally of split ticket voting between the Ad Hoc and Caucus slates turns up with quite a large number. *Even when the two candidates endorsed by both groups are specifically excluded from consideration (Prestage and Johnson), it is found that fully 52 percent of the electorate split their vote between the Ad Hoc and Caucus slates.*

When voting patterns over the entire ballot are considered, then, one finds far less straight ticket voting and far more split ticket voting than one might expect from an examination of

5 The official results are given in PS, Fall 1969, p. 670. The comparison suggests that the missing ballots might be marginally more favorable to Ad Hoc candidates. Hence the present analysis may understate slightly the strength of the Ad Hoc endorsement. In one case, Robert Clarke's vote for Treasurer, the ballots suggest a *higher* vote than the official results. Gremlins, no doubt.

The Political Scientist Decides: An Examination of the 1969 APSA Ballots

the aggregate results. Furthermore there is a strong suggestion that the influence of the APSA Nominating Committee on the vote was minimal. These and other patterns can be appreciated more fully through an assessment of ballot patterns on some of the individual races.

The Council Race

The low frequency of bloc voting is partly attributable to the peculiarities of the Council race. To be utterly faithful to a slate, a voter would have to vote on this race only for the seven endorsees of the slate he prefers, thereby "wasting" his eighth vote. Many, not surprisingly, were reluctant to be so restrained, although under some circumstances such a voting pattern would be the most rational.

In Table 2 slate voting on the Council race is examined more closely. Separated out are those voters who voted a "pure" slate, leaving their eighth choice blank, and those who voted for all members of a slate but then did decide to use their eighth vote. Combined, these types of ballot patterns represent a fairly broad conception of straight ticket voting since those partisan adherents who gave their eighth vote to a member of the "opposition" are still counted as slate voters. Even under these generous conditions, only half the electorate is found to vote a straight ticket on the Council race.

Table 2

Percentage of total ballots voted according to various slate patterns on the Council race (N=7864)

Seven votes, all for Ad Hoc candidates	17.1
Seven votes, all for Caucus candidates	4.5
Seven votes, all for APSA candidates	0.6
Eight votes, seven for Ad Hoc candidates	13.3
Eight votes, seven for Caucus candidates	11.6
Eight votes, seven for APSA candidates	3.3
Any other pattern	49.6
	100.0

Not only was straight ticket voting avoided by many, but split votes between the two major rival slates are again found to be common. When the ballots are sorted more fully it is found that almost half the electorate (46 percent) voted for both a member of the Caucus slate and a member of the Ad Hoc slate on the Council race. (This is the figure that emerges when the joint endorsee, Jewel Prestage, is specifically excluded from the calculations. When she is included, "ticket-splitting" becomes practically unanimous: 88 percent.)

Since the Ad Hoc group was formed specifically to defeat Caucus candidates in the Council race, this degree of ticket-splitting is quite striking. Despite the clearly-posed ideological conflict between the two groups, half the membership managed deftly to bridge the ideological divide.

As can be seen in Table 2, this bridge-building was only to a minimal degree accomplished by adherence to the balanced-ticket slate of the APSA Nominating Committee. Less than 4 percent of the voting members found their Association's recommendations on the Council race entirely congenial. Not surprisingly, the Ad Hoc ticket collected the largest number of followers, some 30 percent of the ballots, with the Caucus group a weak second with 16 percent. These figures, again, are far smaller than those which might be anticipated from a bare-foot perusal of the aggregate results. And it should be stressed once more that they are tallied using a very generous definition of straight ticket voting. Had the endorsing groups put forward full slates of eight candidates it is to be anticipated that the total amount of straight ticket voting would be found to be lower.

The way slate voters distributed their eighth votes is indicated in Table 3. APSA voters were inclined to bestow their eighth vote on the two extra Ad Hoc nominees, McClosky and Sindler, rather than on any of the Caucus personnel. It seems clear that the APSA faithful found the Ad Hoc message more congenial to their establishment leanings than that of the Caucus group. For their part, many in the Ad Hoc

Table 3**Distribution of the eighth vote in the Council race for slate votes**

Candidate	Candidates selected for the eighth vote, of those for each slate who voted for an eighth candidate, in percent		
	Caucus voters (N=915)	APSA voters (N=257)	Ad Hoc voters (N=1046)
Huntington	9.5		
Salisbury	6.3		
McClosky	4.6	43.6	
Kessel	1.5		
Sindler	5.7	24.9	
Waldron	1.5		
Kariel			19.0
Lipsitz			11.0
Elden	70.8	20.2	59.4
Becker		4.3	3.9
Connolly		4.3	2.9
Greene		1.2	1.9
Gottfried		1.6	1.9
	99.9	100.1	100.0
Percentage of slate voters not voting for an eighth candidate	28.0	15.5	56.2

group gave their eighth votes to the two Caucus candidates who had also been given the stamp of approval by the APSA, Kariel and Lipsitz.

Most commonly, however, Ad Hoc as well as Caucus voters found Elden to be the most congenial eighth man. One might hypothesize that the notion of adding a graduate student to the Council, the principle for which Elden stood, would seem to be more in keeping with the ideology of the Caucus than with that of the Ad Hoc group. Furthermore, it might be expected that students in the Association, representing 41 percent of the total membership might be more attracted to the Caucus than to the Ad Hoc group. Yet Elden seems to have been almost as popular with Ad Hoc voters as with Caucus partisans.

One must add another consideration, however.

As noted at the bottom of Table 3, most Ad Hoc voters did not vote for an eighth man at all, while most Caucus voters did, suggesting, at that level, somewhat more organization and determination on the part of the Ad Hoc partisans. Therefore, it turns out that some 51 percent of those who voted for all the Caucus candidates also gave a vote to Elden, while only 26 percent of the Ad Hoc faithful did so. That may seem to make the whole thing seem comfortably predictable again. But then one must note that there were far more Ad Hoc voters than Caucus voters and therefore that, while Elden received 648 votes from voters who were otherwise entirely loyal to the Caucus recommendations, he received almost as many

6 In fact, as seen below, there were many who voted for Elden and otherwise selected an Ad Hoc slate except to withhold a vote from Prestage. If these are added in, Elden received more votes from Ad Hoc partisans than from Caucus supporters.

**The Political Scientist Decides:
An Examination of the 1969 APSA Ballots**

Table 4

Popular voting patterns on the Council race (N=7864)

	Frequency	Pattern
1.	1342 (17%)	Straight Ad Hoc
2.	648	Caucus plus Elden
3.	621	Ad Hoc plus Elden
4.	365	Ad Hoc minus Prestage
5.	355	Straight Caucus
6.	199	Ad Hoc plus Kariel
7.	140	Ad Hoc plus Elden, minus Prestage
8.	115	Ad Hoc plus Lipsitz
9.	112	APSA plus McClosky
10.	87	Caucus plus Huntington
11.	64	APSA plus Sindler
12.	61	APSA plus McClosky and Sindler, minus Prestage; or Ad Hoc plus Kariel and Lipsitz minus Prestage
13.	58	Caucus plus Salisbury
14.	52	Caucus plus Sindler
15.	52	APSA plus Elden
16.	47	Straight APSA
17.	45	APSA plus Kariel and Lipsitz, minus Waldron
18.	42	Caucus plus McClosky
19.	41	Ad Hoc plus Becker
20.	40	Ad Hoc plus Elden and Kariel, minus Prestage
21.	37	Caucus minus Prestage
22.	33	Caucus minus Prestage, Kariel, and Lipsitz
23.	32	Ad Hoc plus Kariel, minus Prestage
24.	30	Ad Hoc plus Connolly
25.	22	Ad Hoc minus Prestage and Waldron
26.	20	Ad Hoc plus Gottfried
27.	20	Ad Hoc plus Green
28.	19	Ad Hoc minus Prestage and Salisbury
29.	18	Ad Hoc plus Elden, minus Waldron
30.	18	Blank
	4735 (60%)	

votes, 621 to be exact, from people who otherwise voted a straight Ad Hoc slate.⁶ The hypothesis, therefore, stands neatly confirmed and disconfirmed.

Thus far only slate and near-slate voting on the Council race has been discussed. Table 4 con-

tains a listing of *all* popular ways of voting on the Council race, whether related to slate voting or not. All patterns which attracted at least 18 of the 7864 voters are included.

Eighteen would appear to be an appropriately minimal frequency to be considered "popular;" it happens to represent the number of ballots

left completely blank on the Council race — a sort of quintessential null case.

Perhaps the most impressive number on the Table is the one at the end. Even when all clusters down to the size of 18 (representing a mere 0.2 percent of the ballots) are combined, it is found that 40 percent of the ballots are still excluded from consideration. *In fact 1185 of the voters, fully 15 percent of the total, voted an absolutely unique pattern on the Council race:* among all the other 7863 voters, they were unable to find even one with whom they could agree.

There were 12,911 valid patterns one could vote on the Council — as well as 3473 invalid ones of which 10 were actually selected.⁷ Of the valid patterns, 1742 were actually selected by the electorate, quite an impressive show of diversity. Thus there was an extraordinary degree of idiosyncratic voting on the Council race. While a goodly number of voters did follow slate patterns, a very large number managed to pick out a group of candidates whose presence on the same Council would be utterly inexplicable to virtually everyone else in the profession.⁸

Some effort is made in Table 4 to explain the popular patterns. Most of these seem to represent slate patterns and fairly understandable minor deviations from these patterns.

Only one pattern, a pure Ad Hoc selection, garners support from more than 10 percent of the electorate. The fourth and seventh patterns, as well as some of the smaller ones, suggest a minor anti-Prestage movement among Ad Hoc adherents, presumably because of her Caucus

or Black Caucus endorsements. There was a similar phenomenon among Caucus followers (pattern 21), but of much smaller magnitude.⁹

It is instructive to compare patterns 6 and 8 which represent the Ad Hoc voters who gave their eighth votes to Kariel and Lipsitz, respectively.¹⁰ The difference in frequencies for these patterns is larger than the vote margin between the two candidates (see Table 1.) Although there were many things going on simultaneously in the voting, it seems fair and consistent with the data to conclude that *one reason Kariel won and Lipsitz lost was that Kariel was more popular with Ad Hoc voters.*

One may adduce many reasons for this difference in popularity, but only one can be examined from the ballot data: an order effect. As noted earlier, the candidates' names were arranged alphabetically on the ballot and it may be that the Ad Hoc voters who were willing to accept the APSA endorsement for their eighth vote were inclined to select the first available name they came to as they scanned the ballot. This might also help to explain why McClosky received more eighth votes from APSA voters than Sindler (patterns 9 and 11). A small order effect seems also to be at work in the eighth vote preferences of Ad Hoc and APSA voters among the candidates endorsed only by the Caucus: Becker, Connolly, Gott-

9 Those who selected patterns 4 and 7 were also likely to withhold their vote from Tobe Johnson in the unopposed Council race. This was also true for the pattern 21 voters, but to a much lesser degree.

10 It should be made clear that the characterizations in Table 4 are the most reasonable that could be made in each case. For example, pattern 6 is declared to represent Ad Hoc voters who gave Kariel their eighth vote. This is a far more parsimonious interpretation than to assume they are APSA partisans with deviations, for the pattern represents *three* deviations from a pure APSA ticket: the addition of McClosky and Sindler and the elimination of Lipsitz. For some cases such as pattern 12, however, parsimony dictates no single solution.

11 Some effort was made to assess the order effect in this election through multiple regression analysis of the aggregate results. The effect, however, was too small and the number of candidates too limited for the effect to be adequately separated out in the analysis — which is not to say, of course, that the effect isn't there, simply that it is difficult to measure. For a case where such an approach *did* work, see John E. Mueller, "Choosing Among 133 Candidates," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, Fall 1970. See also Henry M. Bain and Donald S. Hecock, *Ballot Position and Voters Choice* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1957).

7 These "invalid patterns" represent, of course, voters who voted for more than eight candidates. That only 0.1 percent of the voting members of the Association actually made this mistake may be taken by some to be a new monument to the quantitative revolution in the profession. Things are even better on the Vice Presidential race where only 4 members voted for more than three candidates. And near-perfection is reached on the Presidential race: only one member voted for both candidates.

8 For similar findings in quite a different election, see John E. Mueller, "Voting on the Propositions: Ballot Patterns in California," 63 *American Political Science Review* 1197-1212 (December 1969).

**The Political Scientist Decides:
An Examination of the 1969 APSA Ballots**

Table 5
Patterns on the race for the Vice Presidency

	Frequency	Percent
Straight Ad Hoc – APSA	4064	51.7
Straight Caucus	1519	19.3
Voted for Riker only	66	0.8
McConnell only	39	0.5
Kettler only	33	0.4
Ward only	30	0.4
Roelofs only	24	0.3
Wolfe only	24	0.3
Voted for two Ad Hoc – APSA candidates	188	2.4
Voted for two Caucus candidates	50	0.6
Left race blank	38	0.5
Split ticket	1785	22.7
Voted for four	4	0.1
	<hr/> 7864	<hr/> 100.0

fried, and Green; this can be seen in patterns 19, 24, 26, and 27 and in the data in Table 3.¹¹

Caucus voters, on the other hand, seem to have been uninfluenced both by order and by APSA endorsement. Not only did they prefer Sindler slightly to McClosky for their eighth vote (patterns 14 and 18), but they preferred these men, who had not been endorsed by the APSA, to two who had: Kessel and Waldron (see Table 3).

It is some measure of the weakness of the APSA endorsement to note that, while Kariel could attribute some 304 of his votes to his presence on the APSA ticket (this represents the number of voters who voted an APSA ticket with or without an eighth man), he received fully 199 votes (pattern 6) from voters who otherwise voted a straight Ad Hoc ticket.¹² To be sure many in this latter group were influenced to vote for Kariel by his APSA

endorsement, but it is clear they took the recommendation as distinctly second-best.

The race for Vice President and other offices

Analysis of the race for the Vice Presidency involves far fewer excursions and convolutions. Here three candidates endorsed both by the APSA and the Ad Hoc group confronted, or were confronted by, three Caucus candidates. Table 5 suggests the major regularities.

Again one finds a surprisingly large amount of split-ticket voting. *Even under the very clear-cut opposition of professional ideologies found in the Vice Presidential race, some 23 percent of the electorate voted for at least one member of each slate.* Every one of the possible 42 valid voting patterns (as well as four invalid ones) were found on the ballots.

An interesting development occurs when one examines the ballots in which only one Vice Presidential candidate is voted for, a phenomenon usually known as bullet voting. This occurred far more commonly in this race than in the Council race: there were 216 bullet votes

¹² One might also add to the Ad Hoc group those selecting patterns 20 and 23 and to the APSA group pattern 17, making the difference even smaller. Pattern 12 can be declared a standoff.

for the Vice Presidency, but only 37 for the Council.

The distribution of these bullet votes is quite peculiar. As noted in Table 5, they went quite disproportionately to William Riker. This is unexpected since Riker received fewer total votes than one other candidate — which votes, incidentally, seem to have fallen again in a small order pattern within slates (see Table 1).

So far, two explanations have been proffered for the Riker phenomenon. 1) Riker's work is of special appeal to those who stress and study rational behavior; these people, in considering a race like the Vice Presidency, are likely to remember that a bullet vote is the most rational strategy when one prefers by a wide margin a single candidate to all the others. 2) Riker's work is of special appeal to those who deal with abstract mathematical modelling procedures; these people, in the elegant anguish of their intellectual pursuits, have tended to forget a) how to read and b) how to count and hence, confronted with a sentence like, "Vote for not more than THREE," blanked out.

Patterns on the races for President Elect, Secretary, and Treasurer tend to reinforce much of what has already been found in the analysis of the other races. In these cases, one has a set of simple dyadic confrontations, each leading to much the same aggregate result. Yet the ballot data disclose that 18 percent of the ballots were split between the two slates on these three direct contests.

Conclusions

One of the most persistent and striking findings of this analysis has been the almost incredible weakness of the endorsement of the Association's Official Nominating Committee. Members of the APSA, who never before in history had even thought to challenge the Committee's recommendations, blissfully ignored them when confronted for the first time with alternatives. One of the few areas in which the APSA endorsement shows signs of influence is its use as a guide for eighth votes on the Council race by a minority of Ad Hoc adherents. Had the Ad Hoc group nominated eight candidates

instead of seven, even this sign of influence would largely have evaporated.

This phenomenon cannot be interpreted simply as an anti-establishment pattern, for the endorsing group which was by far the most influential, the Ad Hoc Committee for a Representative Slate, was, if anything, more establishment-oriented than the Nominating Committee. And the results clearly show a rather firm rejection by most of the membership of the insurgent position as represented by the Caucus for a New Political Science.

It was the appeal of the two ideologically clashing perspectives that inspired the most noticeable group voting. And Association members who wished to balance their ticket between these two slates apparently felt competent to do so themselves, rather than relying on the recommendations of an Association committee. The results suggest then that previous acquiescence in Association recommendation stemmed more from apathy than entire agreement.

It is the high degree of such ticket-splitting and other idiosyncratic voting behavior that forms a second general finding of importance. For, while the aggregate results suggest a rather polarized attitude structure within the Association, the ballot data disclose that slate voting, even under quite generous definitions, explains at best half of the voting activity of the membership. Most voters, in fact, despite the glowerings of rival groups, were quite able to countenance an Association run by at least some members from each slate. Polarization should be made of sterner stuff.

Clearly any tendency toward rigid polarization was quite effectively undercut by a set of influences which stressed the man rather than the party: friendships, professional reputations, mistakes of identity, allegiances on cross-cutting issues (behavioral vs. anti-behavioral, big school vs. little school, east vs. west) and sheer caprice — including a fragmentary order effect. Except for the order effect, little can be said about these influences through an examination of the ballots. However, since the data

The Political Scientist Decides: An Examination of the 1969 APSA Ballots

in Table 4 suggest that the popular patterns are largely associated with slate voting, it appears that however these influences did work, they did not account in any notable way for the clustering of votes.

In one respect at least, the analysis of the ballots from the APSA contest may be instructive to those who study the elections of the real world. The ballot data disclose on the part of the voters a degree of idiosyncratic behavior, of electoral doings and undoings, that would never be expected even in the most careful and imaginative investigation of the austere aggregate results. The whole sums the parts and in the process obscures many intriguing diversities.

The APSA and Minority Representation

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Introduction

The concept of representation has been much discussed and debated in the literature of political science. My intent here is not to review or evaluate the different meanings or implications that have been given to this concept but instead to focus on specific voting schemes which would allow the expression of minority (as well as majority) viewpoints in an elected voting body in rough proportion to their numbers of supporters in a larger electorate. As a procedural question, we shall look at representation in terms of the operation of voting rules which allow the preferences of a group to be translated into the election of representatives who would be *capable* of expressing the group's preferences in an elected body. Whether these representatives, upon election, *should* faithfully attempt to reflect the views of their supporters (the "delegate model"), or instead exercise their own independent judgments on matters before the body (the "free agent model"), is a normative question which will not be considered in this analysis.¹

I shall begin the analysis by postulating two abstract requirements that a voting scheme of proportional representation should meet. I shall then suggest a particular voting scheme which meets these requirements, analyze the logical interrelatedness of the requirements, and finally show the application of the proposed voting scheme to the election of officers and Council members of the American Political Science Association (APSA), using the results of the 1969 APSA election for purposes of illustration. The effects which the size of an elected body has on the strategies available to groups seeking representation on it will be analyzed and illustrated in the Appendix.

* I wish to thank Irwin Mann for stimulating my interest in the subject of this paper and Gordon W. Sensiba for research assistance.

1 On the role of the representative, see, among other sources, Heinz Eulau, "Changing Views of Representation," in Ithiel de Sola Pool (ed.), *Contemporary Political Science: Toward Empirical Theory* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1967), pp. 53-85; and Hanna Fenichel Pitkin (ed.), *Representation* (New York: Atherton Press, 1969).

Requirements for a Voting Scheme

A voting scheme based on proportional representation should provide the following:

1. Individual members of the electorate with the capability to express their *intensities* of preference for particular candidates to an elected voting body.²
2. An "organized" group in the electorate with the capability to *insure* its representation on an elected voting body in rough proportion to its numbers in the electorate.

Briefly, the justification for the first requirement is that no person should be forced to cast the same number of votes (typically, one) for candidates to an elected body for whom he may have a differential set of preferences. Neither should he be forced by the voting rules to give so many votes to his first-choice candidate, so many fewer to his second-choice candidate, etc. — even when he can unequivocally rank-order all candidates (often an heroic task!) — as is true, for example, in the Borda scheme.³

2 This requirement is not satisfied by "list systems" of proportional representation in which the individual voter has no opportunity to express preferences for particular candidates of a party. Allowing the expression of intensities in a one-shot affair (e.g., election) is equivalent to what Buchanan and Tullock call "logrolling" — wherein a voter in a one-man, one-vote context trades his votes on measures where his preferences are weak for those of other voters on measures where his preferences are strong — over a continuing sequence of votes. See James M. Buchanan and Gordon Tullock, *The Calculus of Consent: Logical Foundations of Constitutional Democracy* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 1962), chpt. 10. It also may be argued that non-participation in an election is one means, albeit a very limited one, that an individual has for expressing his intensities of preference — or lack thereof. For a general discussion of the "intensity" problem in democratic theory, see Willmore Kendall and George W. Carey, "The 'Intensity' Problem and Democratic Theory," *American Political Science Review*, 62 (March 1968), 5-24.

3 For a discussion and critique, see Duncan Black, *The Theory of Committees and Elections* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1958), pp. 59-66, 157-159, 180-183; also, Alfred De Grazia, "Mathematical Derivation of an Election System," *IS/S*, 44 (June 1953), 42-51. The Hare system involving the single transferable vote also requires that the voter rank-order all candidates; if his first-choice candidate does not receive a "quota," the lowest-ranking candidate is dropped and his second choices are allocated to the remaining candidates, with the process terminating when all seats are filled by candidates who have received a quota. Thus, second choices may be used to express intensities of preference in a limited way, but only for those voting for candidates dropped because they rank lowest in first choices.

The APSA and Minority Representation

The second requirement, which was the theme on which we introduced this analysis, is designed to thwart the circumstance in which a bare majority (of, say, 51 percent of the electorate), or perhaps only a plurality, can swamp all opposition in an election. This will occur in voting schemes which require members of the electorate to vote for candidates for *all* seats in an elected body, for under such schemes the majority (or plurality) will always prevail: it will be able to win all elected positions and minorities will therefore be unrepresented. Even in plurality-majority systems where representatives are elected from different (usually single-member) constituencies – in some of which, presumably, minority viewpoints will be dominant – the empirical evidence supporting the “cube law” gives a large group with supporters distributed across all constituencies an advantage in winning seats in an elected body far out of proportion to its aggregate size in the electorate. If the majority has a two-to-one edge over a minority, for example, it will tend to have an eight-to-one edge in an elected body whose representatives are chosen by the separate constituencies of the electorate.⁴

One advantage of the voting rules which we shall propose is that they do not require the *a priori* specification of “constituencies.” Any members who choose to organize themselves as a group can insure their approximate proportional representation, which bypasses the difficult questions of how constituencies are to be constituted (geographic, functional, etc.), what levels of representation they are entitled to, and how they should be periodically revised so as to reflect the changing interests and cleavages within the electorate.

Rules Which Meet the Requirements

What voting rules meet our two requirements and obviate the difficulties discussed above? Let me propose a set of rules with a specific example, show that they satisfy the require-

ments, and then demonstrate how the requirements themselves are interdependent.

Assume that there is a single minority position among the electorate favored by one-third of the voters and the remaining two-thirds support the majority position. If there are 300 voters, for example, we assume 100 hold a minority viewpoint against the majority viewpoint supported by 200. Assume further that this 300-member electorate is required to elect a six-member governing body. Now if the majority puts up one slate of six, and the minority another slate of six, and each voter casts six votes, one for each of six elected positions, the two-thirds majority slate will win all six seats and the one-third minority none.

If, however, we allow each voter to allocate his six votes among one to six candidates, he would then be able to express his intensities of preference for particular candidates, which satisfies the first requirement. At one extreme, he might cast his six votes for one candidate, or at the other extreme he might cast one vote apiece for six candidates.

(It would be a practical question whether a voter should be allowed to cast fractional votes – for example, $1\frac{1}{2}$ votes for each of four candidates. The answer to this question will depend on how finely one believes an individual should be allowed to quantify his preference intensities. One rule of thumb might be that fractional allocations would be disallowed except when an individual desired to distribute his votes *equally* among a set of candidates whose number did not exactly divide his total number of votes (in the above example, four chosen candidates do not exactly divide an individual's six votes).)

Such a voting scheme which allows members to allocate their votes according to the intensities of their *individual* preferences also meets the second requirement – but only when a group is capable of *collectively* disciplining its members on how to cast their votes. That is why we used the term “organized” group in stating the second requirement: if the members of the group do not follow the (presumably in-

⁴ Evidence for the “cube law” is summarized in James G. March, “Party Legislative Representation as a Function of Election Results,” in Paul F. Lazarsfeld and Neil W. Henry (eds.), *Readings in Mathematical Social Science* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1968), pp. 220-241.

telligent) voting instructions of their leaders, to be described below, then they will *not* be able to insure their proportionate representation.

To carry further our above example in which each member has six votes to cast for as many as six candidates, if each of the 100 members of the minority casts three votes each for only two candidates, these members could insure the election of these two candidates no matter what strategy the 200 members of the majority followed. For each of these two minority candidates would get a total of 300 (100×3) votes, and the two-thirds majority, with a total of 1,200 (200×6) votes to allocate, could at best match this sum for its choices by instructing its members to distribute their votes equally among four candidates ($\frac{1,200}{4} = 300$). If the two-thirds majority instructed its members to distribute their votes equally among five candidates ($\frac{1,200}{5} = 240$), it would not match the vote totals of the two minority candidates (300) but could still insure the election of four (of its five) candidates – and possibly get its fifth candidate elected if the minority put up three candidates and instructed its members to distribute their votes equally among the three (giving each $\frac{600}{3} = 200$ votes).⁵

Against these strategies of either the majority (support five candidates) or the minority (support two candidates), it is easy to show that neither side could improve its position. To elect five (instead of four) candidates with 301 votes each, the majority would need 1,505 instead of 1,200 votes, holding constant the 600 votes of the minority; similarly, for the minority to elect three (instead of two) candidates with 241 votes each, it would need 723 instead of 600 votes, holding constant the

5 In game-theoretic terms – a formulation we shall give later – the latter strategy (majority supports five) dominates the former (majority supports four), though both strategies yield the same payoff (four seats) against the optimal strategy of the minority (support two candidates). On the other hand, while not offering any opportunity to capitalize on the possible mistakes of the minority, the majority's strategy of supporting only four is "safer" in the sense that it insures as small as a 58 percent majority with four seats while the majority's strategy of supporting five does not insure less than a 63 percent majority with four seats. For further details, see Appendix.

1,200 votes of the majority.

It is evident that the optimal strategies for the leaders of both the majority and minority are to instruct their members to allocate their votes as equally as possible among a certain number of candidates. And that number of candidates which they support for the elected body should be proportionately about equal to (see Appendix for details) the number of their supporters in the electorate (if known). Any deviation from this strategy – for example, by putting up a full slate of candidates and not instructing supporters to vote for only some on this slate – offers the other side an opportunity to capture more than its proportionate "share" of the seats.⁶

To illustrate this point, if the majority puts up a full slate of six candidates in the above example and is not careful to instruct its supporters to cast one vote apiece for each of the six, then instead of the 1,200 votes being equally distributed among the six (i.e., giving each of the six 200 votes), some of the six (say, three) will have more than 200 votes and some less (also three). Now the minority could counter with a strategy of supporting three candidates (instead of its proportionate "share" of two), and if its supporters followed carefully their leaders' instructions for distributing their 600 votes evenly among their three candidates so as to give each 200 votes, these minority candidates would end up with fewer votes than the top three majority candidates (who we assumed got more than 200 votes each) but more than the bottom three majority candidates (who we assumed got less than 200 votes each). By pursuing an informed counterstrategy, in other words, the minority could end up with representation equal to that of the majority (i.e., three members) in the elected body even though outnumbered two to one in the electorate.

6 This was apparently first recognized by James Garth Marshall in a pamphlet entitled "Majorities and Minorities: Their Relative Rights" (1853). See Duncan Black, "Lewis Carroll and the Theory of Games," *American Economic Review: Papers and Proceedings of the Eighty-first Annual Meeting of the AEA*, 59 (May 1969), 207.

The APSA and Minority Representation

The above example is not meant to be advice to a minority on how to stage a take-over but rather to illustrate the principle that the proposed voting scheme gives a premium to "organization" – either on the part of the majority or minority (or minorities⁷). By "organization" we mean that, if each side knows its approximate number of supporters, it can get them to cast their votes as it prescribes – and this prescription should always be to distribute their votes as evenly as possible among a certain number of candidates. Against a malevolent opponent, the number of candidates each side should support should be about equal to its proportionate strength in the electorate in order to insure its approximate proportionate representation. It is rational to support more than this number only when there is reason to believe that the other side, as in the example above, will not pursue an optimal strategy – or the "other side" comprises several opponents that are not acting in concert.

The optimal strategies we have described to insure proportionate representation are simply the strategies used by players acting on the minimax (or maximin) criterion in a two-person zero-sum game,⁸ which provides a rule for apportioning votes among a slate of candidates in such a way that a group minimizes the maxi-

mum number of seats the other side can win irrespective of what that side does.⁹ Conceptually, the strategies in such a game would be the set of ways each side has of partitioning its votes among candidates, and associated with the strategies of each side would be cells in a payoff matrix specifying the number of seats one side wins and the other side loses (i.e., receives as a negative payoff). (Since the number of seats is fixed, the more seats one side gets the fewer go to the other.) These payoffs would be determined by the electoral rules that give seats, for example, to the six candidates receiving the greatest numbers of votes.

In the case of our above example, the optimal strategies are also applicable when each voter is restricted to casting one vote for one candidate or two votes for two candidates. (This restriction would, in effect, limit the expression of intensities of each voter to either one or two candidates.) In this case, the optimal strategies for each side would be to instruct some of its supporters to vote for some of its candidates and some others (not necessary for the minority supporting two candidates when each voter has two votes), with the objective still being to produce as even a distribution of votes as possible among the candidates chosen for support. Clearly, these instructions specifying which supporters should vote for what candidates would have to be more explicit than those given to all voters in the previous example to distribute their six votes equally among all those candidates chosen for support.

Interdependence of the Requirements

It is important to point out that the two require-

7 Because only a small minority could insure itself of the election of at least one seat, one effect of the proposed voting scheme might be to encourage the formation of several minority or splinter factions, whose influence would perhaps be less a function of their numerical size and more depend on their holding the balance of power between major factions in the elected body. For models of the dynamics of coalition-formation processes in voting bodies, with an empirical application to voting in multi-ballot U.S. national party conventions, see Steven J. Brams and William H. Riker, "Models of Coalition Formation in Voting Bodies" (paper to be delivered at the Sixty-sixth Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Los Angeles, September 8-12, 1970, and published in James F. Herndon (ed.), *Mathematical Applications in Political Science*, VI [Charlottesville, Virginia: University Press of Virginia, forthcoming 1971]); also, Steven J. Brams, "A Cost/Benefit Analysis of Coalition Formation in Voting Bodies," in Richard G. Niemi and Herbert F. Weisberg (eds.), *Probabilistic Models of Collective Decision-Making* (Columbus, Ohio: Charles E. Merrill Publishing Company, forthcoming 1971), and Steven J. Brams, "An Equilibrium Model of Coalition Formation in Voting Bodies" (unpublished paper, New York University, August 1970).

8 This was first demonstrated by Gerald J. Glasser in "Game Theory and Cumulative Voting for Corporate Directors," *Management Science*, 5 (Jan. 1959), 151-156.

9 The extent to which political parties are rational according to the minimax criterion has been tested empirically for the one state legislature (Illinois General Assembly) which provides for "cumulative voting" – that is, voting in which members of the electorate in multi-member constituencies are allowed to "cumulate" their votes on fewer than the number of candidates to be elected (as is proposed here, but for the entire electorate and not individual constituencies). In this case, both the Republican and Democratic parties employed optimal strategies in 69 percent of the 1,337 biennial elections in Illinois's 51 districts between 1902 and 1954, where "optimal" is defined as in the text (except for the majority in the 60+ to 75– percent range, as explained in footnote 26). See Jack Sawyer and Duncan MacRae, Jr., "Game Theory and Cumulative Voting in Illinois: 1902-1954," *American Political Science Review*, 56 (Dec. 1962), 936-946.

ments we have postulated are inconsistent when an individual's intensities of preference are not compatible with the optimal strategies of organized groups supporting candidates for elected positions. But if we restrict a voter to giving only one of his one or more votes to any particular candidate (i.e., not allow him to express his intensities of preference by allocating more votes to some candidates than to others and thereby not satisfy the first requirement), the optimal strategies for insuring proportionate representation cannot in general be pursued (i.e., the second requirement is not satisfied).

This is so because a restriction on the expression of intensity (i.e., first requirement not satisfied) has the effect of insuring that some voters will not be represented, as Duncan Black (following Lewis Carroll) has shown.¹⁰ But if some voters are not represented, the group of which they are a part cannot achieve proportionate representation (i.e., second requirement not satisfied). By converting this contrapositive statement between the two requirements to an equivalent conditional statement, we can say that the second requirement in general implies the first requirement.¹¹ (In other words, the first requirement is in general a necessary condition for the second.)¹²

10 See his "The Central Argument in Lewis Carroll's *The Principles of Parliamentary Representation*," *Papers on Non-Market Decision Making (now Public Choice)*, 3 (Fall 1967), 1-17; and "Lewis Carroll and the Theory of Games," *op. cit.*, 206-210.

11 See John G. Kemeny, J. Laurie Snell, and Gerald L. Thompson, *Introduction to Finite Mathematics* (2d ed.; Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1966), pp. 41-42.

12 We say "in general," because under special circumstances voting rules that do not allow for the full expression of intensities may still be able to insure proportionate representation. As we indicated in the text in the case of our example, if each voter can cast one vote for one candidate, or two votes for two candidates, the majority and minority can instruct their supporters to distribute their votes equally among five and two candidates, respectively, and the majority can insure the election of four of its five candidates and the minority both of its two candidates. The minority could not accomplish this feat, however, if each voter had three (or four or five or six) votes and could give no more than one vote to a candidate, for if each voter had, say, three votes, the minority could give at most $\frac{300}{3} = 100$ votes to each of (three) candidates but the majority could give $\frac{600}{5} = 120$ votes to each of five candidates and thus capture five of the six seats.

Thus, the two requirements are not logically independent: if the second requirement, then in general the first. On the other hand, we have previously shown that allowing *individual* intensities to be registered (first requirement satisfied), subject to following an optimal *group* strategy, insures proportionate representation of the group (second requirement satisfied) and, by extension, all of its members. But as the qualifying phrase, "subject to following an optimal *group* strategy," implies, satisfying the first requirement for individuals may not be compatible with satisfying the second requirement for groups. Yet, since we cannot dispense with the first requirement without forfeiting the second, we have no choice but to retain the first requirement and

13 Strictly speaking, allowing for the expression of intensities may not permit a group to insure its exact proportionate representation. For example, if each person in the electorate is allowed to cast a total of five votes for up to five candidates for five seats, a one-third minority could insure itself of one seat (20 percent representation), and a two-thirds majority of three seats (60 percent representation), but neither side could insure itself of greater representation. Indeed, if the one-third minority distributed its votes equally between two (instead of one) candidates, and the two-thirds majority among four (instead of three) other candidates, all six candidates — for the five seats — would receive the same number of votes! (In reality, especially for a large electorate, the possibility of such a deadlock's occurring is so remote that the electoral rules usually do not even prescribe how it would be resolved, should it occur.) Exact proportionate representation can always in principle be approximated to a finer and finer degree by increasing the total number of seats (and votes of an individual) up to the number of voters in the electorate. At this extreme, exact proportionate representation of a group — or even an individual — is achievable because the elected body is as large as the electorate! For further numerical examples, see Appendix. Practically speaking, however, the number of seats (and votes of an individual) need not be unduly large since most groups, having only a rough idea of their degree of support among the electorate prior to an election, cannot make very exact calculations for the purpose of pursuing an optimal strategy, anyway. Furthermore, as shown in the Appendix, the "representativeness" of a body, which increases at a decreasing rate with more members, is quite high for bodies of even moderate size. The major goal in the design of any system of proportional representation is to allow the cleavages produced by groups expressing different viewpoints in the electorate to be reflected approximately in the division of seats in the elected body, and this our proposed voting scheme does. For a concise review of schemes of proportional representation extant today in Western democracies, see Douglas W. Rae, *The Political Consequences of Electoral Laws* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1967), pp. 28-39; also, Andrew Milnor, *Elections and Political Stability* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1969), chpt. 4. The extent to which systems of proportional representation — as compared with plurality-majority systems — mitigate in practice the disproportionate advantage of large parties (or groups) is shown in Rae, *supra*, chpt. 5.

The APSA and Minority Representation

accept this possible incompatibility if we want groups to be able to insure their approximate proportionate representation on an elected body.¹³

This is just another way of expressing the age-old conflict (i.e., incompatibility) between the rights (or interests or desires) of the individual and the rights (or interests or desires) of the group. In a sense there is justice in this conflict, because when the incompatibility between the preferences of a group and its members is great, the group will be ineffective in acting as a cohesive bloc – as perhaps it should be! A recognition of this individual – group trade-off in the context of the proposed voting scheme is important, for it permits us to assess its quantitative implications in an empirical setting rather than in the ethereal realm of speculative philosophy.

The 1969 APSA Election

For the first time in the sixty-five year history of the APSA, the election of officers and Council members was contested. Under an amendment to the APSA Constitution adopted at the 1969 Annual Business Meeting, the election therefore had to be decided by mail ballot, which was sent to over 13,000 individual members. Approximately 8,300 members returned valid ballots.

Eight of the sixteen seats for members of the Council for two years were up for election, and four groups put up the following slates:

1. The Nominating Committee of the *Association* proposed a slate of eight candidates.
2. The Ad Hoc Committee for a *Representative Slate* supported six of these eight candidates plus two other candidates to fill the remaining vacancies.
3. The two members of the Association slate which the Representative Slate did not support were supported by the *Caucus* for a New Political Science, which also supported one Association-Representative Slate candidate and five other candidates to fill the remaining vacancies.

4. The Ad Hoc Committee for Election of a *Graduate Student* to the APSA Council supported one candidate not supported by any of the other groups.

The number of candidates in each subset of these partially overlapping slates, with some emendations described below, are summarized by the Venn diagram in Fig. 1, with the figures in parentheses giving the number of candidates in each subset that was elected.

Since one candidate (Jewel Prestage) was supported by the Association and both the Representative Slate and the Caucus, there were in effect seven instead of eight contested seats (if we assume the Graduate Student candidate did not specifically contest this candidate supported by the three other groups). The mean and range of votes received by candidates for the seven contested seats running on the various slates, which, as we have said, were overlapping, are given in Table 1. Because of the withdrawal of one Association-Representative Slate candidate (John Meisel), only six of the seven Representative Slate candidates (for the contested seats) – who received, on the average, the greatest number of votes with the smallest range separating their best vote-getter from their worst vote-getter (ignoring the vote range of zero for the single Graduate Student candidate) – were elected.¹⁴ The seventh-ranking candidate elected (Henry Kariel) was supported by both the Association and the Caucus. The one other candidate supported by both the Association and the Caucus (Lewis Lipsitz), and all other Caucus candidates, were defeated (see Fig. 1).

14 One of the Caucus's eight original candidates for a two-year Council seat (Tobe Johnson) also withdrew but remained a candidate (the only one, after a withdrawal from the one-year Council race) for the single one-year Council seat. Thus, both the Caucus and the Representative Slate fielded only six candidates for the seven contested two-year Council seats. See *PS*, 3 (Winter 1970), 31-33.

Figure 1 Number of candidates supported (and elected) by each group

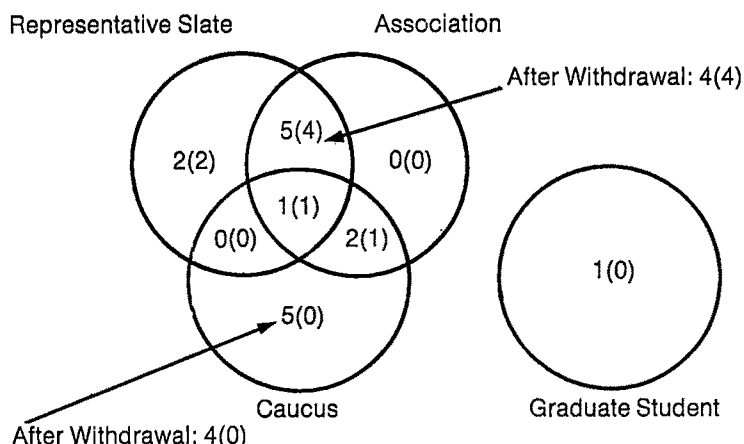


Table 1 Mean and range of votes received by candidates for contested seats on each slate^a

Slate Supported by	No. of Candidates	Mean	Range
Representative Slate	6	5,153	1,190 (4,479 to 5,669)
Association	6	4,692	1,857 (3,812 to 5,669)
Caucus	6	3,061	1,323 (2,543 to 3,866)
Graduate Student	1	3,039	0

^aSource: *P.S.*, 2 (Fall 1969), 670.

15 John E. Mueller's analysis of the election ballots in this issue of *PS*, "The Political Scientist Decides: An Examination of the 1969 APSA Ballots," supports this conclusion: "out of the entire collection of 7864 ballots only 14 were marked exactly according to the wishes of the APSA Nominating Committee . . . there is a strong suggestion that the influence of the APSA Nominating Committee on the vote was minimal." Just prior to the election, in a letter sent to the entire APSA membership, Donald G. Herzberg, representing the Representative Slate, argued that "it would obviously have been absurd [for the Nominating Committee of the APSA] to award the Caucus - which has never claimed more than a few hundred of 13,000 individual members - two of eight nominees [Henry Kariel and Lewis Lipsitz] for the Council seats." Before the election, probably not even most Caucus members would have wagered that "two of eight" would actually *underestimate* their electoral strength! The Herzberg letter is reprinted in *PS*, 2 (Fall 1969), 703-704.

If it had not been for the withdrawal of Meisel, it is likely that no Caucus-supported candidates would have been elected, since the lowest-ranking candidate supported only by the Representative Slate (Alan Sindler) received over 2,000 more votes than the highest-ranking candidate supported only by the Caucus (Theodore Becker). On the other hand, it seems fair to assume that since the four candidates supported only by the Caucus received an average of 2,672 votes, and the two candidates supported only by the Representative Slate received an average of 5,221 votes,

The APSA and Minority Representation

Caucus support among the voting members represented more than one-third of the voting membership (even conceding the fact that there was much "split-ticket" voting, as John E. Mueller points out in his article in this issue of *PS*).¹⁵ Only by the accident of a withdrawal, which perforce gave one contested seat to a non-Representative Slate candidate supported by the Caucus (and the Association), was the substantial minority which the Caucus represented not in effect totally disenfranchised in the election for the contested seats. Students (mostly graduate), representing about 40 per cent of the membership of the Association, did not even fare this well.

Conceptually, this contest can be viewed as a four-person nonzero-sum game (which is nonzero-sum because of the overlap in slates). We do not do much violence to this contest by eliminating the Association from the analysis, since its endorsements appear to have had little influence on the results: all exclusive Representative Slate candidates won, and all exclusive Caucus candidates lost (with the previously-explained exception of Kariel).¹⁶ If we do not count the Association as a party to the contest, no candidate was endorsed by more than one group, with one exception (Jewel Prestage). Since all candidates with this exception are exclusive to each slate when we ignore the Association (i.e., there is no overlap), what seats one group wins the other groups necessarily lose. Thus, with the Association eliminated, the game is not only reduced to three players but is also zero-sum for the seven seats contested by the Representative Slate and the Caucus, and effectively zero-sum for the Graduate Student committee if we assume their one candidate is specifically not in a contest (i.e., direct conflict) with the common candidate of the Representative Slate and the Caucus but rather seeks one of the seven remaining (contested) seats.

16 The Caucus candidates which the Association did support, however, garnered an average of 1,167 more votes than Caucus candidates it did not support; on the other hand, the Representative Slate candidates not endorsed by the Association actually received an average of 102 votes more than those endorsed by the Association. Taken at face value, Association endorsement helped considerably Caucus candidates (but not, except for Kariel, by enough to win) and hurt slightly Representative Slate candidates.

In order to make the election susceptible to our earlier calculations, it is necessary to reduce this three-person zero-sum game without the Association to a two-person zero-sum game, which we can do by eliminating the Graduate Student candidate from the analysis. This simplification seems justified not only because the Graduate Student candidate (James Elden) probably had no effect on the election results (even though he received more votes than received by any candidate supported only by the Caucus), but also because the avowed purpose of this single candidacy was not to seek alternative policies through electing an alternative slate but rather to gain some representation for graduate students on the Council. Thus, this group supporting only one candidate was not a "player" in the game in the sense of the other groups. Further, even admitting this group as a third player, it is difficult to determine what its level of support would have been had it put up a full slate, or with what other groups, if any, it might have coalesced, and what would have been such a coalition's combined voting strength and the division of payoffs among its members.

In sidestepping these questions, we shall abstract only the conflict between the Representative Slate and Caucus and conceptualize the election as fundamentally a zero-sum game between these two opposed groups.¹⁷ We shall now apply the calculations developed earlier in an attempt to see how the results might have been different if the proposed voting rules had been in effect.

Assume that APSA members had been free to allocate their eight votes for Council members among eight or fewer candidates. Then, the optimal strategy which the Caucus could have pursued (for the seven contested seats), with approximately one-third support among the

17 The analysis of the APSA election as an n-person, zero-sum game would require us to distinguish between "essential" and "inessential" elections (see Glasser, *op. cit.*, 155-156), but the aggregate election results provide us with insufficient information on the electoral support of the four contestants, and possible coalitions among them, to undertake this analysis. This might, however, be attempted with the ballot data analyzed by Mueller, *op. cit.*

membership, would have been to put up a slate of only two candidates and instruct their supporters to cast four votes for each.¹⁸ Similarly, the optimal strategy for the Representative Slate, with approximately two-thirds support among the membership, would have been to put up a slate of five candidates and instruct their supporters to divide their eight votes equally among these five (giving each $1\frac{2}{5}$ votes). The Caucus would then have won two seats and the Representative Slate five. Of course, the same reasoning could be applied to the election of the three vice-presidents: it would have been rational for the Representative Slate to support three candidates (but only two if its leaders believed it might slip below a 60 percent majority), the Caucus one, with the result that the Representative Slate would have won two of the vice-presidential seats and the Caucus one.

These strategies would have insured approximate proportionate representation for each group. To the extent that each group wished to take a chance by spreading its support "thinner" across additional candidates, it would have been risking the built-in insurance that the optimal "defensive" strategies provide (which are "defensive" in that they assure a group of a guaranteed minimum, or "security level" in game-theoretic terms). Presumably in the Council election, each group would have instructed its members to support the one candidate both agreed on (Jewel Prestage), but perhaps not to the extent that each group supported their "exclusive" candidates—under the assumption that the "common" candidate would have no difficulty in getting elected, anyway.

As a practical matter, the proposed voting scheme for the Council and vice-presidential offices could be enacted only by an amendment to the APSA Constitution. The relevant section of the Constitution (Article V, Para-

18 Prior to the election, of course, Caucus leaders did not know how much support they could count on among the membership, but the results of the 1969 election should now make their planning easier, as well as the planning of leaders of the Representative Slate or a group with similar views.

graph 1, given in *P.S.*, 2 [Fall 1969], 672-673) now reads:

... if the number of nominees for the vice-presidencies or for Council membership exceeds the number of offices constitutionally to be filled, all such nominees shall appear on the mail ballot, members shall be entitled to vote for a number equal to the number of offices in the set, and the nominees ranking highest in the poll in a number equal to the number of offices, shall be declared elected.

It would seem that the proposed voting scheme could be enacted by amending the phrase beginning "members shall be entitled . . ." to the following:

... members shall be entitled to cast a total number of votes equal to the number of offices in the set, with this total number either to be divided equally among a number of nominees less than or equal to the number of offices, or to be divided in unequal whole numbers among a number of nominees less than the number of offices, and the nominees ranking highest . . .

This amendment preserves the option of allowing members to cast (improper) fractional numbers of votes only if they choose to divide their total number of votes equally among a number of candidates fewer than the number of offices.

Conclusion

It is necessary to express the caveat that the representation of a minority in a voting body in rough proportion to its electoral strength is no guarantee that its views will be able to be expressed effectively. Obviously, a minority on an elected body can be systematically out-

19 Unless, perhaps, the small minority holds the balance of power, as explained in footnote 7. For a discussion of the relationship between the number of voters in an electoral district (in our terms, of a group) and their opportunities to be pivotal in a voting body through their representatives, see William H. Riker and Lloyd S. Shapley, "Weighted Voting: A Mathematical Analysis for Instrumental Judgments," in J. Roland Pennock and John W. Chapman (eds.), *Representation: Nomos X* (New York: Atherton Press, 1969), pp. 199-216; and John F. Banzhaf III, "Multimember Electoral Districts—Do They Violate the 'One Man, One Vote' Principle?", *Yale Law Journal*, 75 (July 1966), 1309-1338.

voted by the majority; furthermore, even when the absence of a single majority necessitates the formation of different voting coalitions to obtain a majority, the pivotal voting power of a small minority's bloc of representatives (and, by extension, the voters they represent) will usually be considerably less than their proportional numerical strength, and that of a large minority considerably more, so again the advantages of size are magnified.¹⁹

One can only hope that the electoral disenfranchisement that the proposed voting scheme works against will not be reinstituted by a tyrannical majority, or coalition of minorities, on the elected body. Toward this end, it seems that taking the choice of what minority members will be supported in an election away from even a benevolent majority, and putting it in the hands of the leaders of the minority through the operation of voting rules that can insure their approximate proportionate representation, is a step toward more equitable representation.²⁰ Hopefully, this analysis has helped to clarify the nature of the voting rules that satisfy the general requirements for a system of proportional representation – both of minorities and majorities.

20 If the majority is indeed "benevolent," or operates on a concept of *noblesse oblige*, it may reach an *a priori* compromise with opposition groups by offering them "side payments" (e.g., some of their own candidates on a compromise slate), which would not necessitate their running opposition slates. It is precisely the proposed rules for insuring proportionate representation to which opposition groups might resort, however, which would give these groups the bargaining power necessary to negotiate the composition of a compromise slate in line with their proportionate electoral support.

The Effects of Size

In order to illustrate with some numerical examples some effects which the size of the elected body has on the strategies available to the minority and majority under the proposed voting rules, we start by asking the following question: If the minority wishes to insure itself of one-third representation on the body, and the majority two-thirds representation, what is the minimal support which each group must receive from the electorate in order to achieve these goals?

First consider an elected body of three members. If the majority wishes to insure itself of two of the three seats, it can do so if over 50 percent of the electorate allocate their three votes to two majority candidates, for no matter what strategy the minority pursues, with less than 50 percent of the remaining votes it cannot give two candidates the more than $\frac{50}{2} = 25$ percent of the votes received by the two majority candidates. It can at best insure the election of only one candidate with less than 50 percent support from the electorate.

In fact, it is only necessary that the minority give one candidate more than 25 percent of the total number of votes to insure itself of one seat, because the majority with less than 75 percent of the total number of remaining votes cannot give each of three majority candidates the greater than 25 percent received by the one minority candidate. In a three-member body, therefore, the majority can insure itself of two of the three seats if more than 50 percent (say, 51 percent) of the voters allocate their three votes equally to two majority candidates, and the minority can insure itself of one of the three seats if more than 25 percent (say, 26 percent) of the voters cast their three votes for one minority candidate.

The majority can insure itself of more than two seats only if more than 75 percent (say, 76 percent) of the voters allocate their three votes equally among three majority candidates. In this case the minority, with less than 25 percent of the votes, cannot match the more than $\frac{75}{3} = 25$ percent of the votes that the majority

is able to distribute among its three candidates.

Put another way, if fewer than 25 percent (say, 24 percent) of the voters support a minority candidate, this candidate will not be elected if the majority pursues an optimal strategy of instructing its supporters to divide their three votes equally among three candidates. In other words, as many as 24 percent of the voters may be *unrepresented* in a three-member body if a 75 percent majority pursues an optimal strategy.²¹ Or in still different terms, the maximum number of voters that can be unrepresented (24 percent), as a proportion of the minimum number that can insure itself of all seats (76 percent), may be viewed as the maximum amount by which the represented voters are *overrepresented*, which in this case is .32. In a three-member body, therefore, there may be as much as a 32 percent inflation of the votes of those members of the electorate who do support successful candidates. Furthermore, these successful candidates need not be those supported by our previous 76 percent majority: if a 50+ percent majority elects two candidates, and a 25+ percent minority elects one candidate, another (smaller) 25+ percent minority (or minorities) will go unrepresented – and so contribute to the overrepresentation of that portion of the electorate that casts votes for successful candidates.

Of course, even more might be unrepresented – and fewer overrepresented to a greater degree – if the three successful candidates receive less than a total of 75 percent of all votes cast due to the existence of more than two competing slates. For the purposes of the discussion which follows, our “minimal” and “maximal” figures are based on the assumption that there is a single majority and a single minority operating under the proposed voting

rules in a two-person zero-sum game.

The figures we have calculated above for a three member body are given in the top row of Table 2. Applying the same reasoning as described above to elected bodies of 6, 9, 12, 30, and 99 members (all these figures are exactly divisible by three in order that we could obtain integer values for $\frac{1}{3}$, $\frac{2}{3}$, and $\frac{3}{3}$ representation in these bodies), we have calculated for these larger bodies the minimal percentage of the electorate necessary to insure representation of a $\frac{1}{3}$ minority and of $\frac{2}{3}$ and $\frac{3}{3}$ majorities, as well as the maximal percentage of the electorate that can be unrepresented and the maximal percentage by which the votes of those electing successful candidates can be overrepresented.

The minimal percentages clearly reveal that as the elected body gets larger and larger both the minority and majorities need the support of a greater percentage of the electorate in order to insure their representation at a particular level. When the elected body doubles in size from three to six members, for example, a majority needs the support of 58 percent of the electorate (instead of the previous 51 percent) in order to insure itself of two-thirds representation with four out of six seats; and when the size of the body doubles again to twelve members, the majority needs 61 percent support from the electorate to maintain the same two-thirds advantage with eight out of twelve seats.

A group's cost to insure the same proportion of seats rises because the group's votes must be distributed evenly over more seats as the body increases in size. This means that each seat is necessarily “held” by proportionately fewer votes, so an opposition group needs proportionately fewer supporters to capture an additional seat. Because each of the seats which gives a group a particular proportion are therefore more vulnerable in a larger body, the group needs a proportionately greater *total* number of votes to insure its representation at a particular level in a larger body.

21 This figure is a maximum value, in contradistinction to Black's (Carroll's) “mathematical expectation of the percentage of the voters represented” (or unrepresented), which is a function of both the percentages of the electorate unrepresented (based on the differences between the minimum percentages necessary to elect $n-1$ versus n members, for all n seats on the body) and the probability distribution of party (or group) preferences. See Black, “The Central Argument in Lewis Carroll's *The Principles of Parliamentary Representation*,” *op. cit.*, 10ff.

The APSA and Minority Representation

Table 2 Representation figures for elected bodies

Number of Members in Body	Minimal % of Electorate Necessary to Insure Representation of			Maximal % of Electorate That Can Be <i>Unrepresented</i>	Maximal % Over- <i>Representation</i> of Those Voting for Successful Candidates
	$\frac{1}{3}$	$\frac{2}{3}$	$\frac{3}{3}$		
3	26	51	76	24	32
6	29	58	86	14	16
9	31	61	91	9	10
12	31	62	93	7	8
30	33	65	97	3	3
99	34	67	100	0	0

It is evident from the figures given in Table 2 that the maximal percentages necessary for a group to insure itself of one-third, two-thirds, and three-thirds representation approach the values of $\frac{1}{3}$, $\frac{2}{3}$, and $\frac{3}{3}$ as the body increases in size – but less rapidly as the body gets larger. When the body increases from three to six members, for example, the minimal percentage necessary to insure a two-thirds majority increases by 7 points (from 51 to 58 percent); from six to nine members, the percentage rises 3 points (from 58 to 61 percent), and from nine to twelve members only 1 point (from 61 to 62 percent).

The fact that this *marginal* increase in “representativeness” of the body decreases as more members are added to the body can be readily seen from the figures in Table 2 giving the maximal percentage of the electorate that can be unrepresented.²² These percentages are the complements of the minimal percentages of the electorate necessary to insure a majority of three-thirds representation (i.e., all seats) on the elected body. In doubling the size of the body from three to six members, the maximal size of the minority (or minorities) that can be unrepresented decreases from 24 percent to 14 percent (a 10 percent drop), and from 14 percent to 7 percent (a 7 percent drop)

when the body again doubles in size from six to twelve members. Similarly, the overrepresentation figures decrease most rapidly when the size of the body increases from three to six to nine members, and less rapidly when the size of the body increases from twelve to thirty to ninety-nine members.

Inequities caused by “unrepresentativeness” would therefore appear to be attenuated by the greatest amount as bodies go from small (say, three to six members) to moderate (say, nine to twelve members) size, and by lesser amounts as bodies become still larger. In the APSA Council of sixteen members, the election of a majority of nine members (56 percent) could be insured by as few as 53 percent of the electorate (a 3 percent discrepancy) under the proposed voting rules, and a maximum of 5 percent of the electorate, acting as an organized group, could be denied a single seat on the Council. If the Council were doubled in size to thirty-two members, the minimal percentage necessary to insure majority representation of seventeen members (53 percent) would be 52 percent (a 1 percent discrepancy), and the maximal percentage of the electorate that could be unrepresented would drop from 5 to 3 percent. In a practical situation involving a decision about how large an elected body should be, of course, these gains in “representativeness” would have to be weighed against the possible sacrifices in the cost and unwieldiness of a larger body.

²² Cf. these theoretical results with Rae’s (*op. cit.*, pp. 117ff.) similar empirical findings for Western democracies.

The Choice of Strategies

In footnote 5 we alluded to the fact that a "dominant" strategy may not always be a "safe" strategy. While a dominant strategy may allow one to exploit an opponent's failure to choose his optimal strategy – and thereby offer one the chance of capturing an additional seat – if a group's estimate of its electoral strength falls below expectations, this strategy may not only not succeed in giving it a chance at an extra seat but also may cost it a seat that could have been assured by choosing a more conservative strategy.

To illustrate this point, consider the example in the text where a two-thirds majority could insure itself of four out of six seats on an elected body by supporting five candidates – and possibly win a fifth seat if the one-third minority pursued a non-optimal strategy of supporting three (instead of two) candidates. Now let us assume that the majority over-estimated its strength and in reality only 59 (instead of 67) percent of the electorate followed its instructions of distributing their votes equally among its five candidates. Then each of these candidates would have received $\frac{59}{5} = 11.8$ percent of all the votes cast.

On the other hand, if the minority had supported three candidates, each would have received $\frac{41}{3} = 13.6$ percent of all votes and won three seats on the elected body, with the remaining three seats going to three of the five majority candidates with 11.8 percent of the votes each. Thus, the 50 percent majority would have ended up with only 50 percent representation.²³ However, if the majority had chosen the "safer" strategy of supporting four (instead of five) candidates, each would have received $\frac{59}{4} = 14.8$ percent of all votes and won the four seats (instead of three) that would have given it two-thirds representation.

23 For a real-life example where the choice of a risky strategy by a majority group led to its losing control of the board of directors in a corporate election based on cumulative voting, see Glasser, *op. cit.*, 154-155.

Obviously, then, the confidence a group has in its estimate of its electoral strength, and the likely strategy of its opponent, should play a part in its choice of a strategy. Although we shall suggest no formal scheme for incorporating subjective probabilities into a group's estimate of its electoral strength, and the strategy of an opponent,²⁴ we have given in Table 3 the minimal percentages at which one can pursue a *safe* strategy of insuring one-third and two-thirds representation, pursue a *dominant* strategy of capturing an extra seat without sacrificing an assured one-third or two-thirds representation, and pursue a *new-safe* strategy that insures the one-third and two-thirds representation plus the extra seat.²⁵ For example, from Table 3 we know that a group in a six-member body with a 58 to 62 percent majority can insure itself of two-thirds representation (i.e., four seats) by supporting four candidates, with a 63 to 71 percent majority can insure itself of four seats by supporting five

24 For a procedure for incorporating subjective probabilities in one's decision analysis using Bayesian methods, see Howard Raiffa, *Decision Analysis: Introductory Lectures on Choices under Uncertainty* (Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley, 1968); Bruce W. Morgan, *An Introduction to Bayesian Statistical Decision Processes* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1968); and J.C. Harsanyi, "Games with Incomplete Information Played by 'Bayesian' Players," Part I, *Management Science*, 14 (Nov. 1967), 159-189; Part II, *ibid.* (Jan. 1968), 320-334; Part III, *ibid.* (March 1968), 486-502.

25 In general, a group supported by n voters (out of N in the electorate) can pursue a *safe* strategy that insures the election of k candidates for m seats ($k \leq m$) whenever $\frac{n}{k} > \frac{N-n}{m-k+1}$; a group can pursue a dominant strategy of running $[k+1]$ candidates ($[k+1] \leq m$), and insure the election of k , whenever $\frac{n}{k+1} > \frac{N-n}{m-k+1}$; and a group can pursue a *new-safe* strategy that insures the election of $[k+1]$ candidates ($[k+1] \leq m$) whenever $\frac{n}{k+1} > \frac{N-n}{m-k}$.

For a given n , the maximum value of k which satisfies each of these inequalities determines the optimal strategy for a group, except when the same maximum value satisfies the inequalities for both the *safe* and *dominant* strategies; in that case, the dominant strategy of running an additional candidate (i.e., $[k+1]$ instead of k) is to be preferred (subject to the qualifications given in the text). Of course, when the same maximum value of k satisfies the inequalities for both the *dominant* and *new-safe* strategies, there is no necessity to choose between these two strategies since both involve running the same number of candidates (i.e., $[k+1]$).

Table 3 Minimal Percentages of Electoral Support Necessary for Adoption of Strategies

Number of Members in Body	Strategies					
	Dominant:			Dominant:		
	Safe:	Insure $\frac{1}{3}$,	New Safe:	Safe:	Insure $\frac{2}{3}$,	New Safe:
	Insure $\frac{1}{3}$	Pursue $\frac{1}{3}+1$	Insure $\frac{1}{3}+1$	Insure $\frac{2}{3}$	Pursue $\frac{2}{3}+1$	Insure $\frac{2}{3}+1$
3	26	15	41	10	51	61
6	29	9	38	5	58	63
9	31	6	37	4	61	64
12	31	5	36	3	62	65
30	33	2	35	1	65	66
99	34	1	35	0	67	67

candidates – and capture the fifth seat if the minority should pursue a non-optimal strategy of supporting more than two candidates – and assuredly win the fifth seat, no matter what strategy the minority adopts, if its majority should reach the 72 percent mark or greater. (From Table 2, we know in addition that a majority can insure itself of a sixth seat if, with 86 percent or more of the total vote, its supporters distributed their votes equally among six candidates.)

As we showed with our earlier example, however, when a group's estimated electoral support is based on unreliable information, it may be prudent for it to stick to a safe strategy even when this estimate dictates it should pursue a dominant strategy.²⁶ Either strategy is "optimal" in the sense of insuring the group with the same guaranteed minimum number of seats, but the advantage which the dominant strategy offers for winning an extra seat may be more than offset by the risk that, should the group's actual electoral support fall below the

dominant threshold, it would jeopardize the guaranteed minimum that a safe strategy would insure. Indeed, a group's risk aversion (or proneness) near a dominant threshold might be determined from whether it chooses to buy extra insurance for its guaranteed minimum with a safe strategy or chooses to forsake this insurance and attempts to exploit the possible weakness of an opponent with a dominant strategy.²⁷

The difference in thresholds between safe and dominant, and dominant and new-safe, strategies are given along the dotted lines in Table 3. As the size of the body increases, these incremental values decrease, since pursuing an extra seat (dominant strategy) and insuring an extra seat (new-safe strategy) take a smaller "expenditure" of votes when the votes must be divided among more candidates who are each worth proportionately fewer votes.

26 This is why Sawyer and MacRae argue that for a party with a 60+ to 75+ percent majority, the "expected number" (which they imply to be the optimal number) of candidates it would nominate for three seats would be two rather than three, even though it could pursue a dominant strategy of nominating three candidates and insuring the election of two. See Sawyer and MacRae, *op. cit.*, 939.

27 Some strategic consequences of different voting procedures and types of voting in situations where preference scales of outcomes can be defined for all voters – as contrasted with our analysis, where the object is not for an individual to obtain a preferred outcome but for a group to maximize (or more accurately, minimax) its representation on a voting body – are masterfully developed in Robin Farquharson, *Theory of Voting* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1969).

Curiously, however, the one-third minority must increment its safe threshold by a greater amount to get to the dominant threshold (by 15 percentage points for the three-member body) than increment its dominant threshold to get to the new-safe threshold (by 10 percentage points for the three-member body); the situation is reversed for the two-thirds majority.

The reason is that the step to a dominant strategy for the one-third minority involves spreading a smaller initial percentage of the votes relatively farther, and thus incrementing it by more, than for the two-thirds majority; on the other hand, the step from the dominant to the new-safe strategy for the one-third minority involves raising the percentage at the dominant level to the new-safe level for relatively fewer seats, and thus incrementing it by less, than for the two thirds majority. We would suspect, therefore, that majorities near a safe threshold would more often pursue dominant strategies (i.e., run one more candidate than their guaranteed minimum) than minorities, since dominant strategies involve a smaller departure from safe strategies for majorities; near a dominant threshold, however, we would suspect minorities would more often consummate new-safe strategies (i.e., win the extra seat) than majorities, since new-safe strategies involve a smaller departure from dominant strategies for minorities.

Finally, note that in the ranges that it is rational for the minority to pursue a dominant strategy (41 to 50 percent for the three-member body), it is rational for the complementary majority to pursue a safe strategy (51 to 60 percent), and vice versa. In other words, a dominant strategy for one group is incompatible with a dominant strategy for the other group: at most one group – and none in the special cases of one group's being able to insure itself of all seats or of a tie between the two groups (as described in footnote 13) – can pursue an optimal

(dominant) strategy of seeking an extra seat beyond its guaranteed minimum without risk of losing one of its guaranteed seats. The optimal strategy of the other group must therefore be safe, and the intersection of these pure dominant and safe strategies is a saddle point in the payoff matrix. Since there is one and only one safe strategy for every dominant strategy if the groups play according to the minimax (or maximin) criterion, mixed strategies, which are meaningless in this context, cannot arise.²⁸

28 The concepts of "saddle point" and "pure" and "mixed" strategies are defined and illustrated in Anatol Rapoport, *Two-Person Game Theory: The Essential Ideas* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 1966), chpts. 5 and 6; also, Kemeny, Snell, and Thompson, *op. cit.*, chpt. 6.

Teaching Notes

Analysis Using Primary Sources for Term Papers in the Introductory Course

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Many of the problems facing higher education are not capable of correction within the classroom setting. Yet, a great deal can be accomplished by an individual instructor in order to combat the often-spoken student criticism that classroom experiences are fundamentally deficient and unsatisfactory.¹ This article offers political scientists a reasonably simple method of increasing student interest and participation in the Introductory American Government course. It concerns the design of a term paper which attempts to gain the active involvement of students through the use of primary source material.

The teacher of an introductory American Government course today is probably very encouraged by enormous student interest in the workings of the political system. At the same time, it is not improbable that he is discouraged by the generally low level of substantive knowledge of current events and historical facts.² In addition, he is disturbed to find that students do not read books and rarely read newspapers, that they rely upon television and rumor to support their substantive beliefs. The instructor is, additionally, torn between the pull of current issues as a source of classroom learning, and the commitment to the subject matter and methodology of the discipline, as the focus of classroom attention.

In addition, those who assign term papers to their classes must fight the widespread and probably accurate student presumption that most term papers are added drudgery complementing the deadening succession of textbook assignments and blue-book examinations; that they are time-consuming, dull and irrelevant.³ Furthermore, students complain, again in justice, that their work is not usually read by the professor teaching them, or if read, is considered in a cursory fashion, so that hours of student effort result in simply a grade and possibly a one sentence comment along with, of course, the correction of a few grammatical and spelling errors.⁴

1 One such method, dialogue instruction, has been dealt with by Frank J. Macchiarola and Joseph T. Skerrett, Jr., "Creative Dialogue in the Classroom: The Technology of Teaching," in *Catholic Educational Review* (September 1968). See also Clement Jedrzejewski, "Toward a New Educational Order," in *The Dialogist* (Spring 1970).

2 R. Ned Lebow and Jeffrey B. Morris, "Dien Bien Phu — Isn't He the Emperor of Indonesia," in the forthcoming issue of *The Educational Forum*.

3 From an anonymous student evaluation of the course: "It was the first time a paper wasn't a chore." Another student: "It was one of the few papers I didn't mind doing." A third: "Marvelous — not the usual book browsing boredom."

It is our contention that the assignment of a term paper in an introductory political science course can produce results highly satisfactory to both the student and the instructor if the assignment is made creatively and with fuller attention to a student's educational needs.⁵ And although the particular paper spoken of here was assigned at the time of the quadrennial presidential election, it is clear that variations on this approach could be used throughout the teaching of political science and government and possibly in other subject areas as well.⁶

Our aim was to involve the student analytically in a major current political event, to assure that he would indeed follow it carefully, to force him to employ primary sources analytically — to enhance his involvement with conceptual tools learned in the classroom — and to force him to present and defend a position. It was our hope that the assignment would encourage the sharing of ideas among students and teacher, and encourage the student to be sufficiently expert in some areas so as to meet the teacher almost as an equal.⁷

The Paper⁸

"The Making of the President in 1968 in"
(the blank space represents a different state for each student) chose as its subject the most interesting political event of the Autumn of 1968, the United States Presidential election.

The assignment attempted to broaden knowledge of political parties, campaign techniques, the role of the media, as well as to increase knowledge of other parts of the United States and to suggest some of the similarities that unite Americans as well as some of the dissimilarities that exist in a hetero-

4 Is there a faculty member teaching today who cannot recall as a student his sense of disappointment at receiving a lengthy theme to which he had devoted hours of effort, with few if any comments?

5 We are, of course, aware that the normal assignment of a term paper in an introductory course offers special problems as undergraduates and non-majors do not have experience in research techniques, knowledge of methodology, or knowledge of the bibliographic tools of the discipline.

6 See the section on *Applicability of This Method in Other Areas*, *infra*.

7 In this age of mass education, the student has a desperate need for attention, for being noticed, for intellectual guidance, and for the feeling of uniqueness that may well stimulate his work.

8 The idea for this paper was conceived jointly and applied in Mr. Morris' Political Science 1 sections at City College in Fall 1968.

9 We should like to extend our appreciation to Mr. Theodore H. White whose *The Making of the President, 1960* (New York, 1961), was one of the books on the course syllabus during the election campaign.

geneous nation. Each student was assigned a different newspaper from a different state, fostering in some measure a feeling of reality and uniqueness, which the instructor attempted to encourage in class by displaying his own interest and stimulating that of other members of the class in the political developments of each state and of the coverage in each newspaper. An attempt was made to foster creative political analysis by requiring *in advance of the election* that the student formulate a retrospective analysis describing why and how a particular candidate had carried the state.

Method

The instructor compiled a list of representative newspapers from the major cities in each of the fifty states and the District of Columbia.¹⁰ No attempt was made to seek a sampling of "small town" or rural newspapers because of the more persuasive need for reliability of delivery. The instructor understood at the outset and informed his students that their exploration of the politics of their state would in large measure reflect the biases of a newspaper in an urban area of the state.

As the instructor had about 35 students in each of his three sections, there was rarely repetition of a state within the section. All fifty states and the District of Columbia were assigned; some of the smaller states were assigned to only one student while as many as four students in the three sections were assigned newspapers from the states that were felt to be crucial in the election – Ohio, Illinois and California.

Students were not permitted their choice of newspapers or states since part of the reason for the exercise was to expose them to a state somewhat removed from their experiences.¹¹

To remove the temptation of procrastination, students were informed that they would have to report to the instructor within one week if there were any problems with reception of their newspapers and that all adjustments would have to be made within that time.¹² No student had serious

enough trouble within that week to necessitate a switch nor did any of the newspapers fail of delivery within a reasonably prompt time.¹³ While active consultation with the instructor was encouraged during the period of the election and comparison of the campaigns in the several states took place in the classroom, active collaboration between students in the writing of the paper was made impossible given the different states and the different newspapers that were dealt with. Furthermore, the unique nature as well as the timing of the assignment made plagiarism from any other sources virtually impossible.¹⁴

Students were also asked to follow the reporting of the election, particularly as to events in their state, in the *New York Times*. To ascertain that research had indeed been done, the instructor required that clippings from the assigned paper be submitted with the essay.

It was expected that the paper would run 5 to 10 pages and, as noted, be titled, "The Making of the President in 1968 in". The paper was to open with a prediction of who would win the election in that state and a brief statement of the reasons why.

The first major section of the paper was a discussion of the political background of the state. It was not expected that the student would do extensive research into secondary material but rather that he would familiarize himself to some extent with the degree of two-party competitiveness, the party identification of the leading elected officials of the state – the Governor, Senators, Representatives and Houses of the Legislature – and the history within the state of the most recent Presidential elections, including the last one with a segregationist third party, 1948. The students were also expected to discuss any events within the state occurring in 1968

13 Alaska and Hawaii newspapers, sent by regular mail, arrive about three weeks after the date of issue. The due date was extended for these students to take into account this delay. It is interesting to note, however, that with 107 different newspapers, mail delivery was remarkably reliable.

14 To discourage reliance on post electoral analysis that would appear in the press, it was announced that the term papers were due on the day before the election and that no extension would be granted. A few exceptions were permitted in the case of deaths in the family, participation in the campaign, and for those students assigned Hawaii and Alaska. It should be noted that while the students were encouraged to do the research throughout the campaign, it was recommended that they reserve writing for the day or two before the due date so as to get in as much of the full feel of the campaign; this explains limiting the paper to 5 to 10 pages.

10 The newspapers in the United States are listed in the *World Almanac*. As some states are not represented on that list, the names of papers could be ascertained by use of telephone directories, or by calling telephone information for the relevant city directly. Alternatively, the student could be assigned a city and charged with the duty of finding the newspaper with the largest circulation.

11 A few switches were in fact permitted where students presented unusual reasons for peculiar interest.

12 It was, therefore, best for the students to place their subscription orders by telephone.

Teaching Notes

Analysis Using Primary Sources for Term Papers in the Introductory Course

which might affect voting, for example, previous primary elections and campaigns.

The second section of the paper was a chronology of the campaign within the states, beginning with a statement as to which candidate had started ahead when the student joined his newspaper – or in the alternative at the time of the Convention – then to a consideration as to whether his support increased or decreased as the campaign developed. Were there changing trends in State X or was the result clear from the very beginning? Was there a decisive moment(s) when the winner pulled irreparably ahead or the loser fell irreparably behind? Were there visits by the candidates? What effect did these have on the result? The students would also be expected to deal with problems of party unity within the state, the effect of the Wallace candidacy, the effect of the Peace Movement, as well as any group pressures affecting the election.

In the third part of the paper, the student was expected to consider which issues had been most important in affecting the electoral behavior of the voters, whether they were state and local and whether local elections had affected the Presidential result in the state.

Finally, some conclusions were expected as to why a candidate had not done as well as he could have, why a candidate won, perhaps with some attention to the importance of personality, issues and the times.

There was also to be a two-page appendix in which the student was to evaluate the coverage of the paper he read and to compare it with that of the *New York Times*. Among the items to be considered were the placing of articles, the bias of headlines, the comparative coverage allotted to the candidates in news stories, editorials and letters to the editor. The bias of the editorial page, the letters printed, and the syndicated columnists appearing in the paper were to be evaluated as well as the amount of coverage given to local elections.

The instructor encouraged conferences with his students about the problems they were finding in their state and indeed often induced them by asking questions of specific students before and after class. He also encouraged discussion by asking at the beginning of classes, "Mr., who is ahead in Iowa?", or "What are the major issues in Montana?", or "How is Senator McGovern doing in his fight for re-election?" Students hastened to volunteer their analysis of developments in their

states, contradicting one another when their general findings differed. They participated in voluntary discussions, which they often initiated, before and after class. The paper clearly fostered easy exchanges between instructor and student as the student felt himself somewhat of an expert in his field and therefore that he had something particular to communicate to his instructor in which he had confidence. This was particularly evident among female students, whom we have found generally shy away from discussions. Even more importantly, we feel, the assignment provoked dialogue among the students themselves when the teacher was absent from the room.¹⁵

The session held before the election, when student papers were handed in, was devoted to calling the roll of states, asking each student to inform the class who would win the states' electoral votes and why. The session after the election, a memorable one for the instructor, was devoted to a consideration of unexpected developments in various states.

Students were permitted to also hand in short re-evaluation papers two weeks after the election on a voluntary basis.

Problems

There were a few mechanical and a few substantive problems with this assignment. Generally, once the student got over his surprise in being assigned a Nebraska newspaper, he adjusted well. There were few difficulties in receiving the newspapers. All newspapers were agreeable to mail subscriptions and the rates were reasonable, generally under \$10 for a subscription for several months.¹⁶ Some newspapers demanded payment in advance; some took a week or two to start service; the delivery of a few was erratic, with only three or four papers arriving in some weeks. Enough came, however, to make the research valid.

As it had been recommended that the paper be written "at the last minute," it was expected that the writing would not be polished. Interestingly enough, the writing was above the level of most term papers we have received.

15 It is curious how students enter a classroom, sit down, take notes, never interact with each other, or even learn the names of those who sit beside them.

16 Some students complained of the expense, but most thought that it had been worth the money. It should be clear that the effectiveness of this assignment depends in large part on the students' receipt of their own copies; having students work from a library copy would not be effective here.

An interesting benefit of the paper was that it broadened many students' outlook on the nation. There is a good deal of regional superciliousness and sanctimoniousness in the United States and a group of City College students, middle class Jews and Italians, and Negroes from Manhattan, Brooklyn, the Bronx and Queens, tend as a first reaction to "look down" on South Dakota or Montana. When some newspapers were assigned, there often was laughter; the state appeared foreign to their experiences. It was revealing to note how interested and involved the students soon became with the problems and personalities of their distant states. Some comments were:

I discovered a good deal about Missouri.

... of great value ... I saw how people in another area of the country felt ... different editorial viewpoint.

There was a greater comprehension of the similarities that unite all people, the marriage announcements and death notices, for example. Some students were involved in local sports coverage; others found the emphasis on church activities fascinating.

In terms of their own effort we found that interest generated hard work. But the work did not interfere with the enjoyment. Among the comments received on the course evaluation concerning the paper were:

a lot of fun to do.

Challenging and different. Fun.

It was not only educational but it was also fun.

For the first time I can say I enjoyed doing a paper.

There is no reason why properly assigned scholarship should not be, at least in part, fun.

In the final sense, then, the appeal of the paper and the learning experience that resulted came from the fact that the topic was an important one, and that the student's role in dealing with that topic was also an important one. As one student said:

Although at times I found the collection of articles each day for this paper quite tedious, I received a tremendous jolt of ego when I found that by combining all my information I was able to draw

accurate conclusions about the results of the election.

The first one I ever wrote in which I felt I really learned anything. I now have a clearer understanding of the election system and how it works.

More serious problems resulted from the generally low quality of the journalism that students reported. Many complained of the lack of reporting of the local campaign, heavy reliance on the *New York Times* and Associated Press news services, of serious bias in coverage, and of the fact that nothing unique seemed to be happening in their particular states.

It has been suggested earlier that the instructor and the students were aware of the inherent bias of analyzing a state's politics from one source alone. Though it should be noted that while this differs from what is expected of accomplished scholars, it does not differ much from what scholars must do when studying subjects somewhat outside the range of their main area of competence – reading an established major source and then attempting to separate out fact and bias. Some students were not sophisticated enough to do this; most were. The inherent bias of the state's major newspaper, considered along with its letters to the editor column, usually accurately reflected the political situation in the state, at least in the 1968 national election.

Some students were not sophisticated enough to approach state politics with a limited background in the political process. Students with states such as Ohio and Illinois were favored at least as to the amount of campaign action over students who had been assigned one-party states or states with few electoral votes. This had to be kept in mind when assigning grades. Nevertheless, the instructor could expect a student reading a South Dakota newspaper to be able to reflect how a South Dakotan had been presented the national election, even if he sees much less direct campaigning than does a New Yorker.

Other students were unable to comprehend that the constant reference of national syndicated news services to candidate's remarks about crime in the streets and Viet Nam indicated a similarity of concern across state lines.

Finally, some students were unable to separate an assignment of who would win in a state from whom the student felt ought to win in the state or in the entire election.

Teaching Notes

Analysis Using Primary Sources for Term Papers in the Introductory Course

Results

The over-all results were satisfying; the assignment generated enormous student interest which continued long after the election. It stimulated dialogue between the instructor and student as well as between student and student. It aided the instructor in getting to know his students and created within the student a feeling of being an individual in the instructor's eyes. The papers produced were strong efforts, marked with dedication, interest, sound analysis and good writing.

The last class before the election and the one just after it were unusually lively and exciting experiences. Students came to understand that candidates relied on three or four issues wherever they campaigned, and that the 1968 election was decided primarily by a mood in the American people, one that was not reflected in the City of New York.¹⁷

Applicability of This Method in Other Areas

While the drama will inevitably prove to be at its greatest during the Presidential election, an imaginative instructor can adapt this device at other times.¹⁸ Gubernatorial elections in large states would lend themselves to such a treatment. Students can also be assigned newspapers from throughout the nation in order to compare political similarities and dissimilarities in a common event taking place throughout the nation – such as a Congressional election – or in order to compare media coverage in certain topical areas – like urban unrest.

Students could also compare how a continuum of political events, such as Presidential speeches and actions, are perceived in different areas of the country. Students could compare the coverage of a major institution, such as the Supreme Court. Still another possibility would be for students to compare and contrast specific local problems which have national implications – urban decay, ecology, civil liberties. It might also be worth considering the assignment of campus or interest group newspapers.¹⁹

17 As students compared observations while the campaign continued, they began to note the similarities – the limited effectiveness of the Wallace and Peace forces, the lack of competence in the running of the Humphrey campaign, the importance of polls, and the importance of the Salt Lake City Speech to the Humphrey campaign. They noted how Nixon, avoiding a discussion of the war and the furor over Agnew, remained steadily ahead in the popular polls throughout the campaign until the final few days. Disenchantment with the candidates was a national phenomenon.

18 The authors of this article will be happy to hear from those who attempt variations on our theme.

19 One cannot always count on being able to subscribe to and receive the average college newspaper.

Advantages of This Assignment

This assignment assured that the students would indeed actually follow an election and follow it with some degree of care and some degree of appreciation for the complexities of the American political process.²⁰ It also assured that the student would, for at least a few weeks, in this television age, read a newspaper, and read the news.

This gave the students experience in working with an important primary source, newspapers, almost at the very moment that the press was recording the news. It permitted them to contemplate the relationship of events to the reporting of those events. As a student stated:

It was unique in that research material was a changing day-to-day medium rather than massive boring texts.

It was valuable in that it asked for a new type of research – not just straight factual reporting but interpretive analysis of the facts.

In these frantic days it mandated writing in a dispassionate and balanced way. This was an assignment which demanded research, analysis and writing, and, as suggested, some attempt to present and defend a position.

A key part of any learning exercise is its ability to teach students how to make distinctions and to solve problems. Too often we say significant things without the benefit of correction. This assignment demanded the ability to read a source carefully, to weigh evidence, and then to offer a reasoned defense of a position. Making students predict with first-hand sources and then making them check these sources for credibility is an exercise suitable for real life decision making. One student wrote of the assignment's being "of a unique and stimulating nature, research at home instead of spending grueling hours in the library . . . very relevant to such an important election."

20 One student spoke of receiving "insight into the campaign tactics and general political workings of a state outside my own." Another said, "I'm sure many of us would not have followed the election so closely if we didn't do the paper."

Reports of the APSA Committee

Report of the Committee on Procedures and Agenda

The 1970 Annual Business Meeting of the American Political Science Association must deal not only with its usual concerns of resolutions, nominations, elections, and reports, but also with a new Constitution proposed by the Council acting upon the recommendations of its Constitutional Revision Committee. This will put especially heavy pressures upon the limited time available for business meetings and will call for understanding and tolerance by all the Association's officers and members.

The present Constitution gives the Council "general charge and supervision of [the Association's] business and interests" and authorizes it to "adopt the rules for the regulation of the Association's business." (Art. VII, sec. 2) The Council's 1969-70 Committee on Procedures and Agenda was appointed by President Deutsch on October 23, 1969. After consultation with the President, the Program Chairman, the Chairman of the 1968-69 Committee on Procedures, and other officers and members of the Association, our Committee met in Chicago on March 5, 1970, and agreed upon the recommendations made in this report.

Rules of Procedure

The Committee on Procedure and Agenda proposed, and the Council adopted the following updated version of the 1969 rules to govern the conduct of the Association's business at and pursuant to the 1970 Annual Meeting.¹

1. Annual Business Meeting: Attendance and Participation

The right "to attend and participate in the Annual Business Meeting of the Association" is constitutionally accorded "all members, upon payment of such registration fee as the Council may approve." (Art. III, sec. 7)

- 1.1 Attendance at the Annual Business Meeting shall be restricted to members of the Association who have paid the approved registration fee and to registered representatives of the Press. Participation in the Annual Business Meeting shall be restricted to members of the Association who have paid the approved registration fee.
- 1.2 Members upon registration shall be issued nontransferable badges readily distinguishable from badges issued nonmember registrants and representatives of the Press.
- 1.3 The Registration Desk shall be open (in addition to the normal registration hours) at least during the first hour of the Annual Business Meeting or, if the Meeting is held in separate time periods, during the first hour of each such period.

2. Conduct of the Annual Business Meeting

- 2.1 The agenda of each Annual Business Meeting shall include proposed constitutional amendments, nomination and election of officers, resolutions, and other business.
- 2.2 The Council shall prepare and publish a full agenda for each Annual Business Meeting, including the texts of all proposed amendments and resolutions, with statements of the Council's recommendation on each, such full agenda to be made available to members at the beginning of the Annual Business Meeting.
- 2.3 On any proposed constitutional amendment or resolution, the first signer of a proposed amendment or resolution (or his designee) shall be recognized as the first speaker on that amendment or resolution and shall be allotted a maximum of five minutes.
- 2.4 In accordance with the Council's constitutional

1 The rules are substantially the rules followed at the 1969 Annual Meeting, with changes, additions, and deletions we feel are indicated by the 1969 amendments to the Constitution and experience gained at the 1969 Annual Business Meeting.

Reports of the APSA Committee

Report of the Committee on Procedures and Agenda

Rules of Procedure

authority to make recommendations on all proposed amendments and resolutions (Art. VIII; Art. IX, sec. 1), the second speaker on any proposed constitutional amendment or resolution not sponsored by the Council shall be a member designated by the Council to present its views. That member shall also be allotted a maximum of five minutes.

- 2.5 Each speaker after the first two speakers specified in Rules 2.3 and 2.4 shall be allotted a maximum of three minutes. The President shall recognize alternately proponents and opponents of the proposed amendment or resolution being considered, so long as members of each group seek recognition, subject to the previous question being ordered.
- 2.6 The proposer of any amendment offered from the floor to a proposed amendment or resolution shall be recognized as the first speaker on that floor amendment, and shall be allotted a maximum of three minutes. Each subsequent speaker on that floor amendment shall be allotted a maximum of three minutes. The President shall recognize alternately proponents and opponents of the floor amendment being considered, so long as members of each group seek recognition, subject to the previous question being ordered.
- 2.7 Debate on any proposed amendment or resolution or amendment from the floor shall close and a vote be taken when a member moves the previous question and a majority supports the motion.
- 2.8 In order that the members may have the material available for study prior to the Annual Meeting, reports of officers and committees of the Association shall be published and distributed to members prior to the Annual Meeting. Copy for such reports shall be received by the Executive Director no later than *June 15*.
- 2.9 Normally no oral reports of officers and committees of the Association shall be presented at the Annual Business Meeting, save for the report of the Chairman of the Nominating Committee. However, an opportunity for members to question and discuss the written reports shall be provided.

3. Proposal of Resolutions and Constitutional Amendments.

The present Constitution provides, "Amendments to this Constitution may be proposed by the Council or by fifty (50) members of the Association. The Council shall transmit all proposed amendments to the next Annual Business Meeting and may make

recommendations on those amendments originating outside the Council." (Art. IX, sec. 1)

"The Council shall have any proposed amendment printed in an official publication of the Association prior to the next Annual Business Meeting. The Council shall then place the proposed amendment on the agenda of that Business Meeting. The Business Meeting may accept or reject the proposed amendment with or without further amendments to it. Within thirty (30) days the Executive Director shall submit amendments supported by at least forty percent of those members present and voting at the Annual Business Meeting to the entire membership for vote by mail ballot. Ballots must be returned within thirty (30) days to be counted. A proposed amendment will be ratified if approved by a majority of those voting. An amendment shall take effect immediately upon ratification unless the amendment itself provides otherwise." (Art. IX, sec. 2)

A resolution may be proposed by the Council under its general responsibilities and the constitutional mandate to "give its recommendations upon all questions (except the election of officers) to be presented to the Annual Business Meetings." (Art. VII, sec. 2) The Constitution contemplates the initiation of resolutions by others than the Council but is silent upon the specifics of such initiation. (Art. VIII) Accordingly, a resolution may be proposed by a single member of the Association. In practice, member-initiated constitutional amendments and resolutions sometimes record the names of sponsors in excess of the number constitutionally required.

The Constitution requires that every resolution and proposed constitutional amendment (unless initiated by the Council itself) shall be referred to the Council for consideration and recommendation before submission to the Association at its Annual Business Meeting, and that every thus-referred resolution and proposed amendment, regardless of Council recommendation on it, shall be submitted by the Council to the Association for action at its Annual Business Meeting. (Arts. VIII and IX)

To implement these Constitutional requirements, we propose the following rules:

- 3.1 No resolution or proposed constitutional amendment shall be considered by the Council or transmitted to the Annual Business Meeting unless it bears the personal signatures of the fifty proposers in the case of a constitutional amendment or at least one proposer in the

case of a resolution, except that in the former case any of the proposers may authorize their identification as proposers by a signed communication to the Executive Director specifically indicating the proposed amendment they support.

- 3.2 The Council shall delete all listed names of supporters beyond those constitutionally necessary for a resolution or proposed amendment with the exception of names personally signed by such supporters or names of listed supporters who authorize such use through individual, signed communications separately received by the Executive Director, specifically identifying the resolution or proposed amendment supported.
- 3.3 The Constitution stipulates that "the Council shall have any proposed [constitutional] amendment printed in an official publication of the Association prior to the next Annual Business Meeting." (Art. IX, sec. 2) To implement this requirement, all proposed amendments to the Constitution shall be published in the Summer issue of *PS*. The texts and the signatures or authorizations of the sponsors of any such amendment shall therefore be received by the Executive Director no later than *July 15*.
- 3.4 The Constitution stipulates that "all resolutions shall be referred to the Council for its recommendations before submission to the vote of the Association at its Annual Business Meeting." (Art. VIII) To implement this provision, all resolutions, except those proposed by the Council, shall be received by the Executive Director no later than noon of September 6. After August 30 resolutions shall be sent to the Executive Director in care of the Annual Meeting headquarters hotel. However, to encourage full discussion and consideration by the membership as well as the Council, proposers of resolutions are urged to deliver them to the Executive Director by *June 15* so that they may be published in the Summer issue of *PS*.

4. Adoption and Ratification of a New Constitution.

As a result of the unusually large number of constitutional amendments proposed during 1968-69, the Council on February 16, 1969 established a Constitution Revision Committee to examine the constitutional structure of the Association. The Committee has drafted a proposed new constitution which will be considered by the Council and submitted by it to the Annual Business Meeting in September. The present Constitution makes no

specific provision for the adoption of a new constitution, through the adoption of constitutional amendments is a closely related activity. The Constitution provides that "the Executive Director shall submit amendments supported by at least forty percent of those members present and voting [at the Annual Business Meeting] to the entire membership for vote by mail ballot. . . . A proposed amendment shall be ratified if approved [in the mail ballot] by a majority of those voting." (Art. IX, sec. 2)

The Council anticipates the possibility of disagreement with respect to the nature of the proposed new Constitution. This conceivably may take several forms varying from a preference for the existing Constitution i.e. total rejection, through a desire for the amendment of one or more of the articles of the proposed new Constitution to total acceptance of the new document. The Council is desirous of providing the greatest degree of freedom possible for the expression of all these viewpoints yet is also sensitive to its constitutional responsibility to "give its recommendations upon all questions (except the election of officers) to be presented to the Annual Business Meeting (Article VII, Section 2)".

The only total and carefully integrated draft of a new Constitution to be presented to the Annual Business Meeting for its initial consideration and action is that prepared over the course of the past year and a half by its Constitutional Revision Committee chaired by Professor Wildavsky. The fact that this draft may be amended by floor action at the Annual Meeting creates, of course, a consequent possibility of the introduction of serious inconsistencies or even incompatibilities in the text that emerges from this meeting for presentation to the entire membership by mail ballot. Such potentially inconsistent floor amendments could have the further effect of denying to the membership at large an opportunity to choose freely among the existing constitution, the product of the Constitutional Revision Committee, or some variant thereon.

In order to deal as effectively and fairly as possible with this complex situation, the Council feels it necessary to make the following provisions with respect to the adoption and ratification of this new Constitution: the rules of procedure governing this disposition of constitutional amendments shall apply to the disposition of the new constitution except as provided below:

- 4.1 The first order of business at the session devoted to consideration of the proposed new constitution shall be the discussion of the con-

Reports of the APSA Committee

Report of the Committee on Procedures and Agenda

Rules of Procedure

stitutional draft prepared by the Association's Constitutional Revision Committee. The procedure will first require tentative adoption or rejection of the draft in toto without possibility of amendments. If the draft receives the support of forty percent or more of those present and voting, its provisions will subsequently be presented to the membership at large for a mail ballot. If it does not receive support at the forty percent level, under the provisions of the present constitution, this will foreclose the possibility of further consideration of a new constitution at this Business Meeting.

(Only in this way does it seem possible to insure that: 1) One internally consistent draft will be presented to the entire membership for consideration, and 2) appropriate consideration will be made possible for a draft that is the product of upwards of a year of careful work by a broadly representative committee of the Association).

4.2 If the Constitutional Revision Committee draft is approved by forty percent of those present and voting, this draft shall be opened for article-by-article consideration and amendment from the floor. For the purpose of debate and voting each article of the constitution shall be treated as one constitutional amendment. Any proposed changes in that draft commanding the support of forty percent or more of those present and voting at the session shall also be presented to the membership at large for a mail ballot.

5. Nominations and Elections of Officers.

To implement the procedures for making nominations for elected officers and for conducting contested elections by mail ballot of the entire membership (Art. V), we propose the following rules:

5.1 Each notification to the Secretary of proposed additional nominations (whether for a slate of nominees for all offices, for a set of nominees for certain offices, or for a nominee for one office) shall be valid only if it carries the personal signatures of at least ten members, or if listed members who have not signed the original document certify their co-sponsorship by signed individual communications to the Secretary or his designee indicating specifically the nominations sponsored.

5.2 The Secretary or his designee shall receive at the Association's Washington offices, or after September 6, 1970, at the Association's Annual Meeting office in the headquarters hotel all nominations and any individual certifications by members of authority for the inclusion of their names on an original

nominating document. In accordance with Article V, section 2 of the Constitution, all such nominations and certifications must be received at least 24 hours before the session of the Annual Business Meeting at which the nomination and election of officers is scheduled to take place.

5.3 Well in advance of the Annual Business Meeting the President shall appoint three to five members to serve as the Committee on Elections, and shall designate one member as Chairman. The Committee on Elections shall implement the Constitution's requirements and the Council's rules in the preparation and mailing of the ballots and the information supplements to be mailed with the ballots both for elections of officers and for referenda on proposed amendments to the Constitution.

5.4 No person who requests withdrawal of his name shall be considered a nominee. If any nominee withdraws his name, the group which nominated him may replace him with another candidate by notifying the Chairman of the Committee on Elections at any time up to a deadline to be fixed by the Committee on Elections.

5.5 If two or more persons are nominated for any Association office and a mail ballot is thereby necessitated, the Committee on Elections shall set a maximum number of words for use by the nominees or their representatives for the description of the nominees' professional careers and accomplishments, and shall set another maximum number of words for the nominees or their representatives to use for a statement of views. The Committee on Elections shall inform each nominee and his or her sponsors of the availability of this opportunity and the deadlines for the receipt of materials.

5.6 In preparing the ballots, the Committee on Elections shall make sure that:

- (1) Each office or set of offices is listed on the ballot separately, in an "office-group" ballot form.
- (2) The candidates in each office group are listed in alphabetical order of their surnames.
- (3) Under each candidate's name appears:
 - (a) His current institutional affiliation; and
 - (b) The names of the persons, group, or groups nominating him.

5.7 The Committee on Elections shall, within the time limits stipulated by the Constitution (Art. V, sec. 1), fix the date on which the ballots will be mailed out and the date by which they must be returned.

5.8 The ballots will be mailed to all members of the Association in good standing as of the close of business on the last working day prior to the mailing date.

5.9 The Committee on Elections shall also implement the Council's rules in preparing the mail ballot on the proposed new constitution and any proposed amendments thereto. Two situations are conceivable:

1. If the Constitutional Revision Committee draft receives a forty percent level of support at the Annual Business Meeting and no proposed amendments thereto receive this level of support, the Committee draft shall be presented to the membership for adoption or rejection by a majority vote conducted by mail ballot.

2. If the Committee draft receives support at the forty percent level and proposed amendments thereto also qualify at this level, a two-stage balloting procedure will be necessary. The first stage will involve submission for mail balloting of all proposed amendments to the Committee draft together with the text of the Committee draft and explanatory comments and statements. Any amendments supported by a majority of those voting shall be incorporated into the Committee draft by a drafting group appointed by the Council. To assure internal consistency, this draft Committee will also edit and clarify the document's text. The resulting amended draft will then be submitted to the membership for a second round of mail balloting. If approved by a majority of those voting, it will be the new constitution.

(This two-stage procedure is necessary so that the membership will have as clear an understanding as possible of the precise nature of the provisions they are being asked to approve. In the absence of a first-round clarification of views with respect to controverted amendments, it would be necessary to ask the membership to vote simultaneously on the document as a whole and controverted amendments thereto without prior knowledge of which of the latter were to be incorporated into the final document).

6. Council Meetings: Observers.

6.1 Meetings of the Council shall be open to attendance by members of the Association.

6.2 Members attending Council meetings under Rule 6.1 are entitled to observe, but not participate in, the Council's discussions.

7. Calendar of Deadlines.

Monday, May 25, 5:00 p.m.

All suggestions on the proposals of the Committee on Procedures and Agenda must be received by the Executive Director.

Monday, July 15, 5:00 p.m.

All proposed constitutional amendments must be received by the Executive Director.

Sunday, September 6, noon.

All proposed resolutions must be received by the Executive Director. (The Council meets at 9:00 a.m. on Monday, September 7. After August 30 resolutions should be sent to the Executive Director in care of the Annual Meeting headquarters hotel.)

Thursday, September 10, 4:00 p.m.

All nominations must be received by the Secretary or his designee (24 hours prior to the session of the Annual Business Meeting scheduled to receive nominations).

Reports of the APSA Committee

Preliminary Report of the Committee on Academic Freedom

The Committee on Academic Freedom was created in the fall of 1969 consistent with the terms of the Annual Business Meeting resolution on Academic Freedom and is charged with making a thorough inquiry into the meaning, current status, and prospects for academic freedom for both faculty and students.

During the past year the Committee, appointed by President Deutsch, has met on two occasions and has sought to define its mission as mandated by the resolution and to begin the task of carrying it out.

In its exploration the Committee has concluded that there is not now an adequate definition of the scope and meaning of academic freedom appropriate to the current situation and that a study should be undertaken in cooperation with the American Association of University Professors (AAUP) and other learned societies to discover the dimension of the problem, to develop systematic knowledge about situations and attitudes and to make recommendations on means to insure the protection of academic freedom as defined in the study.

In support of its initial conclusion to undertake a major study of the contemporary scope and meaning of academic freedom the Committee has moved concurrently to set in motion the process to have the Association engage in such a cooperative study project while beginning to explore the nature of the problem by gathering substantive information. Specifically, therefore, the Committee has:

advised the Association's Executive Director on his communication with government officials and political science department chairmen on academic freedom.

met with officials of the AAUP and other learned societies on common problems and concerns in academic freedom.

planned a session on academic freedom at the 1970 Annual Meeting.

proposed the appointment of a Special Association Representative on Academic Freedom.

I. Consultation with the Association's Executive Director on his communication on Academic Freedom with government officials and political science department chairmen.

Under the terms of the 1969 resolution on academic freedom, the Executive Director was instructed to communicate with government officials and depart-

mental chairmen about the resolution.* Following consultation with the Committee, the Executive Director wrote to John N. Mitchell, U.S. Attorney General; Robert H. Finch, Secretary, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare; Senator Ralph W. Yarborough, Chairman, Senate Labor and Welfare Committee; and Representative Carl D. Perkins, Chairman, House Committee on Education and Labor, and brought to their attention the resolution with special reference to sections three, four and six as specified by the resolution.

On his letters to departmental chairmen, the Committee suggested the Executive Director bring not only the resolution to the attention of chairmen, but also initiate the first step in the Committee's inquiry into academic freedom by requesting chairmen to have their departments and appropriate student groups comment on a series of issues in the area of academic freedom on which the Committee seeks further information and knowledge. The areas are listed in Section III of this report which is also intended to serve as an agenda for the Committee's general session at the Annual Meeting.

II. Meetings with officials of the AAUP and other learned societies on common problems and concerns in the area of academic freedom.

At both of its meetings the Committee on Academic Freedom consulted with officials of the AAUP, Jordan E. Kurland, Associate General Secretary, and Joseph E. Schwartz, Associate Secretary, in order to explore the current positions of the AAUP in matters of academic freedom and to share the Committee's mandate and emerging plans concerning academic freedom. The preliminary view of the Committee is that the AAUP's current position based generally on the 1940 Statement on Academic Freedom and Tenure is not sufficient despite an elastic interpretation to encompass a response to the current dimensions of problems falling within a new formulation of academic freedom. The Committee, however, has been impressed with the role of the AAUP in executing the protection of academic freedom as traditionally defined by the 1940 Statement and believes that the Political Science Association should not currently contemplate establishing permanent investigatory machinery which has been developed effectively by the AAUP. Rather, the Committee noting that the problems are not confined to those in the discipline of political science hopes to engage in a joint study with the AAUP and other learned societies in order

*A copy of the resolution on academic freedom is attached to this report as Appendix A.

to develop a new formulation of academic freedom.

In July, under the auspices of the AAUP, the Chairman of the Association Committee met with his respective counterparts in several other disciplines and it is hoped that this will be the first of several sessions leading to the development of a major study of academic freedom.

III. 1970 Annual Meeting session on Academic Freedom

As a part of its initial inquiry into the current status of academic freedom, the Committee has planned a session at the 1970 Annual Meeting on Thursday, September 10, at 1:00 p.m., in the Mission Room of the Los Angeles Hilton. The purpose of the meeting will be to report in further detail on the work and plans of the Committee, to seek suggestions on general areas of inquiry for the Committee, and to learn of specific situations which may be of interest and assistance to the Committee. The Committee itself intends to place before the session a number of areas of interest which it considers worthy of exploration in its proposed study of academic freedom; it will welcome additions to its agenda. The general areas selected by the Committee for discussion were first developed in connection with its letter to department chairmen; additions and deletions were made to the list at its second meeting following re-examination. The general areas are:

1. Personnel policies on selection, promotion and termination

Are political or ideological criteria explicitly applied in the selection, promotion and termination of faculty appointments?

Is personnel selection influenced and/or restricted by commitments to particular approaches to the study of the discipline?

Are there adequate disclosures of the basis of the standards employed in personnel policies?

Are questions relative to these criteria [as stated above] raised when calling for or submitting letters of recommendation?

2. Governmental intervention as an infringement of academic freedom

What actions of government tend to penalize institutions and individuals for political views and activities, "trouble-making," and other behavior which ought to be protected as an expression of academic freedom?

Role of statutes?

Role of actions cutting off government funds: to student or faculty "activists," for faculty research and/or to institutions?

What are the effects of overt and covert law enforcement activities on the campus?

What should be the response to requests for requirements for organization membership lists and student records?

What should be the response to investigations by public authorities?

3. Institutional restraints of faculty and/or students as an infringement on academic freedom

To what extent do institutions undertake:

Surveillance of teaching, research, and extramural activities?

Censorship of faculty and student publications?

Cooperation in governmental investigations?

Institutional arrangements with government (in regard to research, ROTC, etc.)?

Does an association with government in such activities impair the academic integrity of the institution?

On the other hand, does an institution infringe on academic freedom if it proscribes the participation of faculty or students in government sponsored activities such as classified research, war research, ROTC?

Does the failure of the institution to protect faculty and students against intimidation by students, faculty and/or outside groups constitute a violation of academic freedom?

In what ways may collective faculty action infringe upon the academic freedom of individual faculty members and students?

4. Limits of permissible dissent

Does a requirement for "civility" in behavior constitute an infringement of academic freedom?

Does the absence of such a requirement result in unwarranted interference with academic freedom?

Reports of the APSA Committee

Preliminary Report of the Committee on Academic Freedom

5. Violence and other forms of intimidation

What kinds of activities do universities and colleges engage in that may generate situations of violence, and other forms of intimidation? If and when violence does erupt, what norms should be applied in dealing with such violence and intimidation?

Whose responsibility is it to involve the "law" in cases of violence? Is the concept of self-policing by the academic community impractical given the current relationship of the academic community to the wider policy? Does the institution abandon any opportunity for maintaining control once it calls in law enforcement authorities?

6. Student participation

To what extent is student participation in the governing process of an academic institution a prerequisite of academic freedom or a threat thereto?

7. What are the circumstances, if any, in which academic freedom must yield to other values?

IV. Proposal for the appointment of a Special Association Representative on Academic Freedom.

In order to explore the extent to which the Association and the profession of political science can play a useful role in dealing with problems of academic freedom today, the Committee recommends the appointment of a Special Representative on Academic Freedom to serve for a period of one to two years. The Committee has placed the matter of the appointment before the Association's Council for action at its September meeting. At the present time the Committee seeks authorization 1) for the appointment and 2) to seek outside funds from a foundation for the position. It is the view of the Committee, if outside funding cannot be secured, that due to the importance of the work the Special Representative will undertake and because of the mandate on academic freedom voted at the 1969 Business Meeting, the Association should fund the appointment. The functions of the Special Representative would be, in light of the current inadequate information on the problems of academic freedom, and of a general inability to achieve satisfactory formulation of them

1) to gather information and complaints on infringements of academic freedom from members of the profession and their students whether their complaints refer to individual or collective situations.

2) to serve at least in an exploratory manner as an

individual liaison and act in selected instances of possible and various violations of academic freedom in looking toward an accommodation.

3) to develop contacts with the AAUP and other professional bodies interested in the formulation of a new definition of academic freedom.

4) and, drawing on his experience in the above roles, to serve as the Association staff member and representative in a sustained effort by all those concerned to update and if necessary, reformulate the AAUP 1940 Statement of Principle on Academic Freedom and Tenure. The Special Representative on Academic Freedom would report in the first instance to the APSA Committee on Academic Freedom and he would maintain also especially liaison with the new APSA staff member on working on problems of discrimination in the profession.

Conclusion

The Committee on Academic Freedom believes that the disturbing events on campuses around the nation in the past year lend urgent support for its proposed effort to undertake a major study of the contemporary scope and meaning of academic freedom and to have a special Association Representative on Academic Freedom appointed. The Committee further believes that the Committee, with enlarged representation, should be continued in order that it can complete its task.

Philip E. Jacob, Chairman, *University of Pennsylvania*
Leon D. Epstein, *University of Wisconsin*
Philip Green, *Smith College*
Harold Guetzkow, *Northwestern University*
C. Herman Pritchett, *University of California, Santa Barbara*
James W. Prothro, *University of North Carolina*
H. Mark Roelofs, *New York University*
Allan P. Sindler, *University of California, Berkeley*
James Q. Wilson, *Harvard University*

Appendix

Resolution on academic freedom as adopted with amendments at the 1969 business meetings of The American Political Science Association

Whereas, resolutions and correspondence on the topic of academic freedom have been addressed to the Council and Officers of the American Political Science Association;

Whereas, the membership of the APSA is mindful of the continuing importance of American colleges and universities remaining as centers of independ-

ent inquiry and criticism in a time of social crisis and political polarization;

Whereas, the Association maintains a profound concern for the conditions under which so many of its members teach and study;

Whereas, in accordance with Article II, Section 2, of the Constitution of the APSA, the Association may adopt resolutions in support of academic freedom;

Therefore, be it resolved that the 1969 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association—

1) *reaffirms* the 1947 endorsement by the American Political Science Association of the 1940 *Statement of Principles on Academic Freedom and Tenure* of the American Association of University Professors;

2) *calls upon* Departments of Political Science and all college and university authorities to refrain from the application of political and ideological criteria in the recruitment and promotion of political scientists;

3) *expresses opposition* to the investigation of campus political activities by governmental authorities, to proposals designed to penalize institutions and individuals by the withdrawal of governmental financial aid, and to the keeping as well as the turning over of files or other information on the political views and activities of students and teachers to private or governmental investigatory agencies by university administrators.

4) *urges* governmental authorities to leave to the faculties, student bodies, administrations, and trustees of the colleges and universities the resolution of campus conflict;

5) *directs* the President of The American Political Science Association to appoint a committee to make a thorough inquiry into the meaning, current status, and prospects for academic freedom for both faculty and student with particular attention to

(A) situations where pressures from any source establish a climate of intimidation leading to restriction of academic freedom, (B) the responsibilities of administration, students, and faculty to prevent such restriction, (C) the feasibility of the Administration of sanctions by The American Political Science Association against violators of academic freedom, and (D) linkages between dangers to academic freedom on the one hand

and serious threats to political freedom in the wider community on the other, since the freedom of public life is the last analysis indivisible.

6) *authorizes* the Executive Director of The American Political Science Association to communicate, both in writing and in oral testimony, the contents of this Resolution to governmental bodies and officials; and

7) *refers* to the committee herein authorized all other resolutions proposed to the 1969 Annual Meeting of The American Political Science Association on the subject of academic freedom.

Reports of the APSA Committee

Report of the Committee on Program Planning and Review

The basic mandate of the Committee involves it in a long-term study of the programmatic role of the Association. It is charged with surveying present programs, with recommending new programs, and with suggesting procedures for the supervision of all programs.

The Committee spent the early part of the year drafting a policy statement on procedures for program review. (The first draft of that statement appeared in the winter, 1970, issue of *PS*; it was formally adopted by the Council in June, 1970.) That statement clarifies and regularizes the control of programs by supervisory committees reporting to the Council through the Committee on Program Planning and Review. It also reorganizes budgetary control of the planning for these programs through a strengthened Finance Committee.

In its substantive review of the existing programs of the Association, the Committee surveyed the Congressional Fellowship program, and to a lesser extent other internship programs. It has recommended to the Council several revisions in the program, including the extension of internship opportunities to non-legislative and even non-governmental positions. The Committee has also surveyed possible roles for the Association in pre-collegiate and collegiate education in political science. It has supported new programs in this area and urged the Council to maintain the highest priority for program development that meet the needs of that vast segment of the profession who are primarily teachers.

The next programmatic concern on the Committee's agenda will be a thorough review of the annual convention – its format, its role in scholarly communication, its clientele and their expectations. Any member of the Association who would like to convey to the Committee any views or suggestions about the annual meeting is urged to send them to the chairman: Frank J. Sorauf, 1414 Social Science Building, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minnesota 55455.

In addition to these longer range concerns, the Committee was occupied during the year in two short-range assignments. The Council asked it, first of all, to advise it on the most satisfactory mechanism for responding to the needs of minority and disadvantaged groups not yet included in Association programs. It was secondly delegated by the Council the responsibility for recommending immediate Association responses to the crisis in the

market for young political scientists. The Committee took the lead in recommending a policy of full listing of vacancies by all political science departments, in gathering basic data on the market (reported elsewhere in this issue of *PS*), and in exploring new kinds of employment opportunities for political scientists.

The membership of the Committee at the beginning of the academic year was Merle Kling, Washington University of St. Louis; Francis Rourke, Johns Hopkins University; Herbert Spiro, University of Pennsylvania; and Frank Sorauf, University of Minnesota. At the time Professor Kling's term on the Council expired (and his membership on this Committee thereby ended), the Committee was expanded from four to six members with the addition of Samuel Huntington, Harvard University; Henry Kariel, University of Hawaii; and Robert Lane, Yale University.

Frank J. Sorauf, Chairman, *University of Minnesota*
Samuel P. Huntington, *Harvard University*
Henry S. Kariel, *University of Hawaii*
Robert E. Lane, *Yale University, ex officio*
Francis E. Rourke, *Johns Hopkins University*
Herbert J. Spiro, *University of Pennsylvania*

Reports of the APSA Committee

Conceptual Analysis: Report of the APSA Committee on Undergraduate Instruction

I.

The Committee met April 3-5, 1970, and addressed itself to the present state of undergraduate teaching, and concluded that *the enduring goal of undergraduate instruction in political science is conceptual analysis* – to make the student conscious of and provide training in modes of analysis, so that he is able to think analytically about politics. Just as the case method in law and experimental investigation in natural science provide students with modes of analysis, so undergraduate instruction in political science should develop a conceptually rich and analytically skilled mind, whose capacities can be applied to the problems of governing society.

Political science should go beyond substantive description, philosophical analysis and the teaching of research techniques, to the application of concepts and skills to interesting and important political problems. Consequently we feel that political science should teach *transferable* skills.

II.

We perceive *conceptual analysis* to include skills useful in dealing with political problems, such as

1. concept definition and clarification: knowledge of such concepts as alienation, elitism, etc.
2. concept use: manipulation of conceptual symbols, recognition of the boundaries of concepts, and the nature of theoretical and general statements
3. use of evidence: data collection and processing; measurement, probability and the nature of inference.

These skills should produce the ability to analyze the impact and consequences of processes, policies and institutions in society. Students should use these skills to bring causal theories to the level of consciousness, and to understand ends-means relationships in the light of values.

Thus the introductory course – and any other course – might have a variety of topics but at the core will have an identical purpose and result for both majors and non-majors. The substance, complexity and scope will vary according to the student clientele, the time available, and the type of institution.

III.

We discussed those attempts known to us to experiment in teaching, particularly those that appear to be consistent with these objectives. In the framework of existing teaching methods we should explore the uses of:

research laboratories

programmed learning
simulation and gaming
audio-tutorial methods
case studies
interdisciplinary courses
internships
computer-assisted instruction
electronic medial resources

This will involve, first, the discovery of instances where these and perhaps other techniques are being used to meet the distinctive needs arising from the widely divergent circumstances in which different departments find themselves. Second, it will mean a detailed description of those experiments, and their cost in faculty or institutional time and effort. Third, an assessment of the impact of these approaches in view of the goals of *conceptual analysis* should be made. This involves an appraisal of current attempts at evaluation and an estimate of the degree of precision with which it is possible to test how well such goals are being achieved.

IV.

This committee, with the assistance of the APSA staff, has been authorized to undertake a preliminary survey of the available procedures for discovery and description of promising experiments, for evaluating them and for disseminating information about those that meet the stated objectives.

The scale of this undertaking should be determined after the staff has had opportunities to explore the possibilities of outside funding but this should be undertaken at the earliest possible moment.

William Buchanan, Chairman, *Washington and Lee University*

Russell L. Adams, *Federal City College*

William J. Daniels, *Union College*

Valerie A. Earle, *Georgetown University*

Theodore B. Fleming, Jr., *Wayne State University*

William C. Havard, *University of Massachusetts*

Robert J. Huckshorn, *Florida Atlantic University*

A. F. K. Organski, *University of Michigan*

Reports of the APSA Committee

Report of the Ad Hoc Committee on Mexican Americans in the Profession

The Political Science profession is out of touch with America's second largest disadvantaged minority: the Mexican Americans. We have failed to interpret the political role of these people, who represent our first and also our most recent immigrants. Conversely, we have also neglected the equally important task of translating the complexities of American society to the Mexican American people.

While we have written extensively about European immigrants and, more recently, about Black Americans, our regional focus has been the east coast, the midwest, and the south. The southwest, where most Mexican Americans live, is conspicuously absent from our scholarly deliberations. This is an area with a long history of violent encounters between conquered, non-conforming Mexican Americans and determined Anglo-American conquerors. In the popular literature the area is often romanticized and the Mexican American people are explained away as "social problems". But if we, as political scientists, are guilty of the sin of scholarly omission, we are also liable for errors of commission.

Few among these eight million people understand basic notions about the American political system. They have never really joined this social order. Unknowing and unknown, Mexican Americans assume defensive social positions at the edge of the social system. This is the problem.

But if we have not interpreted, we have also failed to help Mexican Americans to do their own interpretation. We have neglected the recruitment and training of Mexican American political scientists. For example, we know only two political science Ph.D.'s of Mexican American descent. One was raised and educated *outside* of the southwest. Both left academe for government service. We know less than one dozen Mexican American graduate students of political science *in the nation*. One large public university, located in a heavily Mexican metropolitan area has two graduate students doing resident work in political science.

There is something basically wrong with political science when we 1) fail to adequately interpret the political presence of eight or more million people; and 2) when we fail to recruit and train more than a handful of their representatives. This, of course, means a substantial loss to our body of knowledge, and beyond this, it may represent a serious insensitivity, on our part, to the contemporary problem of mankind.

The Committee makes the following recommendations:

I That the American Political Science Association establish a Committee on Chicanos in the Profession.

II That the Council of the American Political Science Association appropriate sufficient funds to meet the costs of three meetings of the Committee on Chicanos, after which the Committee would be expected to present its own budget proposal.

III That the following items be considered for possible inclusion in the charge to the Committee:

- 1) To examine the question of the relevance of political science course offerings for Chicanos at both undergraduate and graduate levels.
- 2) To examine the relation of political science to Chicano studies.
- 3) To examine professional criteria and practices as they affect Chicano students, with special reference to admission to undergraduate and graduate programs.
- 4) To examine problems limiting advancement toward and achievement of graduate degrees by Chicano students.
- 5) To examine possibilities of providing greater financial assistance to Chicano students.
- 6) To examine college, university and departmental criteria and practices affecting professional accreditation and promotion of Chicanos.
- 7) To explore means of assisting government in the recruiting and placement of Chicanos in public service.
- 8) To explore the possibility of establishing a means for reporting the interests and achievements of ethnic groups and of communicating such information to political scientists and public officials.
- 9) To make recommendations on any or all of the above.

Grant McConnell, *University of California, Santa Cruz (Chairman)*
Charles Cottrell, *St. Mary's University*
Thomas V. Garcia, *U.S. Civil Service Commission*
Ralph Guzman, *University of California, Santa Cruz*
Henry S. Johnson, *California State College, Long Beach*
Joseph Nogee, *University of Houston*
Charles Ornelas, *Univ. of California, Santa Barbara*

Reports of the APSA Committee

The APSA Committee on the Status of Women in the Profession: A Progress Report, September 1970

Conception of the Committee

With Council approval, the president, David Easton, appointed in March 1969, a Committee on the Status of Women in the Profession. This action was precipitated by a 1968 petition from the membership urging the Association to investigate the role of women in the profession and in the affairs of the Association (see *PS* Fall 1968).

Charge and membership of the APSA Committee on the Status of Women

The major purposes of the APSA Committee, as outlined at the first meeting, were to elicit information about the problems faced by women entering the profession and to suggest a program to the profession for encouraging women to become political scientists. The Committee was also to suggest ways of improving the professional situation for women. Because of limited financial resources, the Committee decided it could not undertake major research tasks on all aspects of the problem but would consider proposals from the APSA membership and if within the scope of the Committee's charge would assist in the search for funding.

The original Committee members were Josephine Milburn, Chairman, Simmons College, Marian D. Irish, American University, Joyce M. Mitchell, University of Oregon, Jewel L. Prestage, Southern University, and Susanne H. Rudolph, University of Chicago. President Easton named three additional members of the Committee in 1969: Peter Bachrach, Temple University, Philip E. Converse, University of Michigan, and Warren F. Ilchman, University of California, Berkeley; and President Karl Deutsch appointed three members in the autumn 1969 – Susanne Keller, Princeton University, Kay Klotzburger, Rutgers University, and Victoria Schuck, Mount Holyoke College. Mae King has served as assistant to the Committee since September 1969. James W. Prothro and Irene Tinker have from time to time assisted in the deliberations of the Committee.

Work of the Committee June 1969-May 1970

The Committee held six meetings from June 1969 to July, 1970 – in June, September and October 1969 and in January, May and June 1970. The major work of the Committee during this period involved mailings to department chairmen requesting an enumeration of faculty members and graduate students; recommendations for implementation of these resolutions; preparation of an inventory of sources and a bibliography on the subject, the preparation and distribution of a questionnaire about problems that women may face in the pro-

fession; interviews with chairmen of departments and with women in governmental administration; meetings with representatives of other professional associations, chairmen of departments and graduate students in Louisiana and California; and the consideration of resolutions to be presented to the Association in 1969 and 1970.

Survey of Political Science Departments

The preliminary questionnaire sent to department chairmen in May 1969 was designed to determine 1) the number on the political science faculty by sex and rank, 2) the number of undergraduate majors in the department by sex, 3) the number of M.A. and Ph.D. candidates by sex, 4) the number of graduate students who applied for admission for the coming year and the number accepted by sex. The Committee sent out approximately 960 questionnaires and received approximately 450 in return. An analysis of the information returned in this survey "Women in Political Science, Some Preliminary Observations," by Victoria Schuck, was published in *PS* Fall 1969.

An Inventory of Sources and Bibliography

The bibliography on women, begun in May 1969, was enlarged by Joyce Mitchell and colleagues during the summer (when they prepared an inventory of sources and proposed approaches and questions on the subject) and is now being continued by Kay Klotzburger in cooperation with the Washington office.

Questionnaires about possible problems of women in the profession sent to 3100 women and 800 men

A major project undertaken by the Committee dealt with a questionnaire about professional problems of women sent during the spring of 1970 to women in the profession and to graduate women as well as to a selected number of men in the profession and in graduate schools. Philip Converse was responsible for the sampling and the final drafting of the questionnaires. At its December 1969 meeting the Council approved funds for the preparation and processing of the questionnaires. A preliminary review of the data is scheduled for completion by September 1970.

Interviews with Chairmen of Departments and Study of Women in Governmental Administration

The Committee conducted interviews with selected chairmen of departments under the direction of Susanne Rudolph. The study of non-academic women political inventories to provide information on alternative job opportunities was directed by Irene Tinker.

Reports of the APSA Committee

The APSA Committee on the Status of Women in the Profession: A Progress Report, September 1970

Meeting with Representatives of other Professional associations

The meetings held with representatives of other professional associations included those from: the American Anthropological Association, the American Economic Association, the American Historical Society, the Modern Language Association, the American Sociological Association, the American Psychological Association and the American Association of University Professors, as well as with representatives from the Radcliffe Institute, the Civil Service Commission and Educational Testing Service. The Committee also met with representatives of the Association for Women Psychologists, and Bureau of Social Science Research.¹

Meeting with Louisiana and California departments

In addition to informal conferences with faculty members in the East it should be noted that the Committee held two regional meetings: one in the South and the other on the West Coast to confer with faculty and students. In Louisiana the Committee met with faculty members and students from Tulane, Southern University, Louisiana State University, and Loyola. In California meetings were held with faculty and students from San Francisco State, Stanford, and University of California, Berkeley.

The recommendations in this progress report are for immediate (September 1970) action. Long range proposals will be a part of the 1971 final report.

Resolutions adopted by the Association September 1969

In the last year the Committee has also worked to implement resolutions on the status of women in the professions passed by the Association's membership at the 1969 Annual Business Meeting. Three specific resolutions were proposed by the Caucus for a New Political Science. These were considered and revised by both the Committee and the Council and presented to the Association on September 4,

1. In discussions with the various professional associations we discovered that in October 1969, one of the associations had undertaken a survey of their membership regarding the problems women might face in entering their respective professions. Individual members of the American Sociological Association and the American Psychological Association, however, had already reported on problems as perceived by a section of their membership. Under the auspices of the Radcliffe Institute a detailed survey was conducted among women associated with the Institute and with another selected group of women attached to Harvard. More recently the American Historical Society and the Modern Language Association have established committees to survey problems of women members.

1969. The resolutions and amendments adopted at that time provided:

1. That the APSA support an active recruitment program, especially in any scholarship and fellowship program in which it participates, and actively take special steps to expand the number of places that are occupied by women.
2. That the APSA, especially at its convention, provide for more active participation of women political scientists in offices, committee assignments, convention panels, and other programs and activities of the association.
3. That these and similar programs which create opportunities for women in our profession and encourage women to seek them be continued until some reasonable parity between men and women in the profession is achieved. [The Resolution supported by the APSA Committee on the Status of Women in the Profession and presented by Josephine Milburn for the APSA Council.]
4. That the APSA, especially at its convention, provide generous facilities by which members can organize on problems of women political scientists. [Amendment presented by Kay Klotzburger for the Caucus for a New Political Science.]
5. That the APSA officially disapprove of discrimination against women in admittance for study, awarding financial support, academic employment, and consideration for promotion; and publicize the information about specific instances of such discrimination. [Amendment presented by Judith Stiehm for the Women's Caucus.]
6. That the APSA resolve never again in the future will it use the facilities of any hotel that follows a policy of discrimination against women. [Amendment presented by Kirsten Steinmo.]

Implementation of Section 2: Women Participants in the Affairs of the Association

With respect to Section 2 of these resolutions, in January 1970 the Committee forwarded lists of members to the President, the President-Elect and the Chairman of the Nominating Committee of the APSA reminding these officials of the 1969 resolution providing for increased participation by women in the affairs of the Association.

Implementation of Section 5: Specific cases of Discrimination

For the implementing of Section 5 of these resolutions the Committee referred the following recommendations to the Council:

- a. Consider appropriate alternative means for handling issues of discrimination in the profession. It requests consideration of means that are responsive to a wide variety of situations of differential treatments because of sex, race and religion, including machinery for publicizing specific instances of discrimination and an ombudsman.
- b. Join with other academic associations in urging the AAUP to expand its present concern relating to academic freedom and to include responsibility for considering cases of discrimination against members of the academic community relating to race, religion or sex.

At the Council's request, in March 1970, the Academic Freedom Committee considered the problem and heard a presentation of Marian Irish about methods for handling specific cases of discrimination as suggested by the Committee on the Status of Women. These are: 1) that the APSA appoint a special Association (staff) representative on academic freedom to receive information and complaints on infringements of academic freedom, including discriminatory practices with respect to sex, with respect to graduate women in political science, women political scientists in the academic community (teaching and research), and women in government and public administration; and 2) that the American Political Science Association maintain liaison with the American Association of University Professors Committee on the Status of Women in the Profession together with AAUP's Committee A on Academic Freedom and Tenure to insure investigation of violations and the administration of sanctions in cases of discrimination on grounds of sex.

The Association announced June 16, 1970, that consistent with the mandate of the 1969 Annual Meeting resolution regarding instances of discrimination against women, it has established an understanding in principle with the staff of AAUP that in situations involving a pattern of unacceptable practices involving discrimination against women or actions detrimental to the status of individual women faculty members, the AAUP will receive information on these matters and will make appropriate inquiries.

Implementation of Section 4: The Women's Caucus

In September 1969 the Women's Caucus for Political Science was formed at the APSA Annual Meeting. The Committee on the Status of Women gave formal recognition to the Women's Caucus at its January 1970 meeting as "an organization sharing in the functions described in Section 4 of the resolution passed in 1969 providing for the organization of members on problems of women in political science."

Recommendations to The Council, June 1970

I. Placement Practices

The Committee on the Status of Women recommends that the Council continue the study of placement procedures, and offers two proposals for the Council's consideration:

(1) to upgrade the Association's placement procedures by organizing and adequate continuous listing and prompt and efficient retrieval of information;

(2) to establish a more elaborate and regionally based evaluation procedure comparable to that now used in the selection of the Woodrow Wilson scholars for the purpose of shifting candidates who apply for listed positions. (This recommendation was referred by the Council to the Program Planning Review Committee, June 1970.)

We have found that present recruitment processes in the profession which rely disproportionately on grapevine methods fail to serve women as adequately as men, and so we have moved to consider problems of recruitment more generally.

Experience with the present APSA Personnel Service and our interviews with departmental chairmen convince us that the proposal for open listing of positions as it now stands before the Council would be ineffectual. Many institutions of standing will not use it and institutions whose listings are considered desirable may be penalized by unmanageable numbers of unevaluated applicants. As a consequence, we fear open listing may well become an impractical formalism.

II. Anti-nepotism Rules

The American Political Science Association recommends that institutions employing political scientists should abolish nepotism rules, whether they apply departmentally or college or university-wide. Employment and advancement should be based

Reports of the APSA Committee

The APSA Committee on the Status of Women in the Profession: A Progress Report, September 1970

solely on professional qualifications without regard for family relationships. (This proposed resolution will be considered by the Administrative Committee of the Council, for placement on the agenda of the next Council meeting.)

Nepotism rules were formulated to discourage favoritism based on family relationship. However, their impact has been to fall disproportionately upon women, and often to serve as an instrument of injustice to these women. Universities and colleges may wish to formulate conflict of interest rules to serve the legitimate functions nepotism rules served in the past, to assure that no department or cross-divisional officer is in a position to act upon the appointment, promotion, or prerequisites of his/her spouse.

III. Part-time Employment

We propose that the American Political Science Association recommend that institutions employing political scientists should make more flexible use of part-time positions for full qualified professional women and men, just as is now done for those professionals with joint appointments or part-time research positions. These positions should carry full academic status, equivalent rank and promotion opportunities, equal rates of pay, commensurate departmental participation, and commensurate fringe benefits, including access to research resources. This recommendation is not intended to condone any practice such as moon-lighting or any use by employers to circumvent normal career ladder appointments. (This proposed resolution will be considered by the Administrative Committee of the Council, for placement on the agenda of the next Council meeting.) These are professionals who find a full time job commitment a hindrance to their professional performance. For this reason both professional norms and fairness can best be served by a more flexible definition of what defines a competent political scientist.

Continuing Work of the Committee

Among the other subjects to be studied by the Committee are: part-time study and part-time scholarships; academic counselling; training and retraining for teaching and government service; child care provisions; advising systems in secondary, college, and graduate institutions; and procedures for handling specific instances of discrimination. The Committee will continue to support and cooperate closely with groups such as the Women's Caucus which are active in working for equal opportunities for women. The Committee will

continue to inform the members of the Association of its activities and will welcome suggestions from the membership.

Recommendations on Committee work

On recommendation of the Committee the Council at its June 1970 meeting approved continuation of this Committee for one more year, at the end of which it would be reconstituted with a membership of three to five and with essentially a watchdog function. The Council also approved additional funds to complete the coding and analysis of data collected in the second series of questionnaires. (Resources available before July 1, 1970, were sufficient to code, punch and analyze a subsample of some 600 questionnaires.) The added funds will provide for processing the 900 additional completed questionnaires. The results are to be published in *PS* and should serve as a basis for further recommendations to be developed by the Committee during the 1970-71 year.

Josephine Milburn, Chairman, *Univ. of Rhode Island*
Peter Bachrach, *Temple University*
Philip E. Converse, *University of Michigan*
Warren F. Ilchman, *University of California, Berkeley*
Marian D. Irish, *American University*
Kay Klotzburger, *Rutgers University*
Jewel L. Prestage, *Southern University*
Susanne H. Rudolph, *University of Chicago*
Victoria Schuck, *Mount Holyoke College*

Reports of the APSA Committees

Part II of the Committee Report

Some Comparative Statistics on Women in Political Science and Other Social Sciences

Victoria Schuck
Mount Holyoke College

The number of women political scientists listed in the 1968 *Directory* total 554.¹ Of these 404 were in full-time political science teaching and 150 in such other work as government, research, and journalism. The total constituted some seven percent of the entire listing²

Statistics on women in the profession may be analyzed in various ways. Of the women listed in the *Directory* who hold Ph.D.s, 117 or 56 percent report having received their degrees since 1960. If one looks at the *absolute numbers* of women awarded doctoral degrees over a number of years as reported by the National Academy of Sciences, the Census Bureau or the U.S. Office of Education, it is apparent that no decade has shown a decrease. Since the 1940s, for example, the number has doubled and redoubled every ten years, reaching 246 in the '60s (1960-1968). The figure is 258 for the decade 1958-1968.

If one examines the *rate of growth* in the number of doctorates in political science granted women during the decade 1958-1968 and compares this with the rate of growth for women Ph.D.s in such disciplines as economics, sociology, and psychology, or the social sciences generally, it is seen that the growth rate in political science exceeds that of all others except economics. Indeed it exceeds not only the growth rate for women Ph.D.s in all fields but also the growth rate of the population. And the rate is more than double that of men in political science. But the average number of Ph.D.s awarded in political science to women per year in the period 1958-1968 was 24, as compared with 264 for men, and is the lowest average in any field except for economics (20). (See Table 1 and Figures 1-4.)

It is in terms of *ratios* of women to men awarded the Ph.D. degree in political science that the significant minority of women becomes apparent. The peak

was 10.0 percent for women and was reached in the first half of the 1930s. Then the ratio of women receiving doctorates fell to 5.8 in the 1950s, and although it rose in the 1960s, the proportion has not gone beyond 8.7 percent.

Questionnaire

From a questionnaire sent out by this Committee in March 1969 to department chairmen requesting information about women faculty members, their rank, etc., the minority and differential status of women is again apparent. Some 473 or 51.4 percent of the chairmen responded, half of whom (49.5 percent) reported have one or more women on their faculties. Of the 4,401 faculty members represented, 371 or 8.4 percent were women.³

In three-fourths (76 percent) of the institutions reporting women in political science faculties the departments were small (0-15 members). Indeed almost two-thirds of the women (63.0 percent) were teaching in small departments, while less than half of the men (43.3 percent) were so reported. It was also revealed that the larger the department, the more likely the presence of women, but the smaller the proportion of women. A greater proportion of women (44 percent) than men (29.0 percent) were teaching undergraduates exclusively in spring of 1969.

To relate the number of departments and the rank of women in them: Table 2 reveals that in more than 90 percent of departments there were no women at the rank of full professor and in more than 88 percent, none at the rank of associate.

Although the largest proportion of women teaching political science in 1969 was at the rank of instructor (a disappearing rank in modern day academia) women were but 17 percent of all instructors (see Table 3). In terms of numbers, women clustered at the rank of assistant professor, but women still constituted only about 9 percent at this level.

Table 4 shows clearly that in 1969 most women teaching political science were concentrated in the two lower ranks. The ratio of women to men at the level of instructor was two to one. On the higher ranks it was increasingly less likely to find more than one woman in any except that of assistant professor. A woman full professor was an exception.

1 Unless otherwise noted, this section of the report is adapted from Victoria Schuck, "Women in Political Science: Some Preliminary Observations," in *PS*, Fall 1969, vol. II, pp. 642-653.

2 In 1963, women constituted 12.5 percent of the American Sociological Association. See Ann E. Davis, "Women as a Minority Group in Higher Academics," *The American Sociologist*, May 1969, vol. 4, p. 98. There is a growing literature on women in the professions. For recent articles pertinent to the subject of women in teaching and research in institutions of higher learning see Jessie Bernard, *Academic Women*, University Park, Pennsylvania, The Pennsylvania State University, 1964; Ann Fischer and Peggy Golde, "The Position of Women in Anthropology," *American Anthropologist*, April 1968, vol. 70, pp. 337-343; Alice S. Rossi, "Status of Women in Graduate Departments of Sociology, 1968-69," *American Sociologist*, February 1970, vol. 5, pp. 1-11.

3 Jessie Bernard, *op.cit.*, p. 30 reported that women constituted 19.5 percent of all faculty members in colleges and universities in July 1960.

Reports of the APSA Committees

Part II of the Committee Report

Some Comparative Statistics on Women in Political Science and Other Social Sciences

Figure 1. Doctorates in Political Science by years.

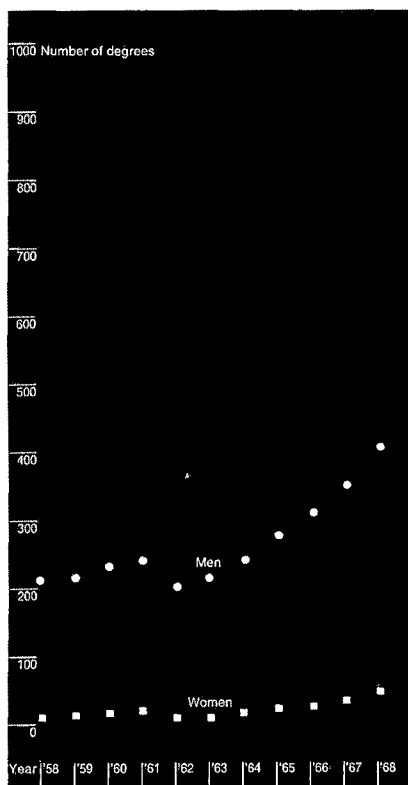
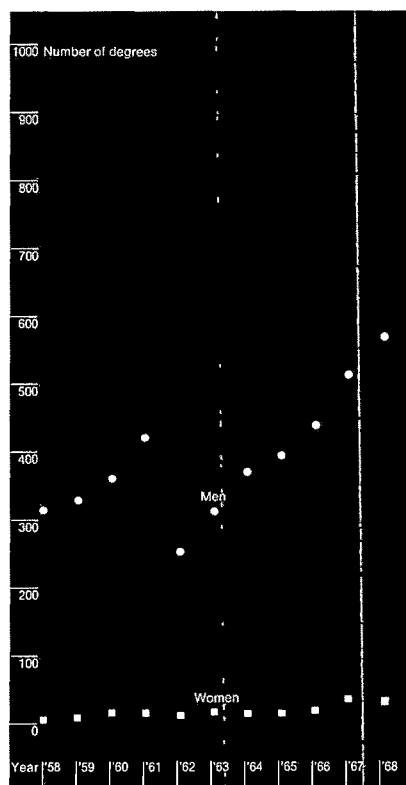


Figure 2. Doctorates in Economics by years.



Political Science

Year	Men	Women	Total
<i>Doctorate Production in U.S. Universities, 1920-1962</i>			
1958	213	13	226
1959	215	15	230
1960	233	18	251
1961	240	24	264
<i>Statistical Abstract of the United States</i>			
1962	202	12	214
1963	215	13	228
1964	242	21	263
1965	278	26	304
1966	307	29	336
1967	352	38	390
1968	405	52	457

Economics

Year	Men	Women	Total
1958	314	8	322
1959	326	12	338
1960	357	18	375
1961	417	17	434
<i>Statistical Abstract of the United States</i>			
1962	253	15	268
1963	311	20	331
1964	368	17	385
1965	393	17	410
1966	436	22	458
1967	509	37	546
1968	565	35	600

Figure 3. Doctorates in Sociology by years.

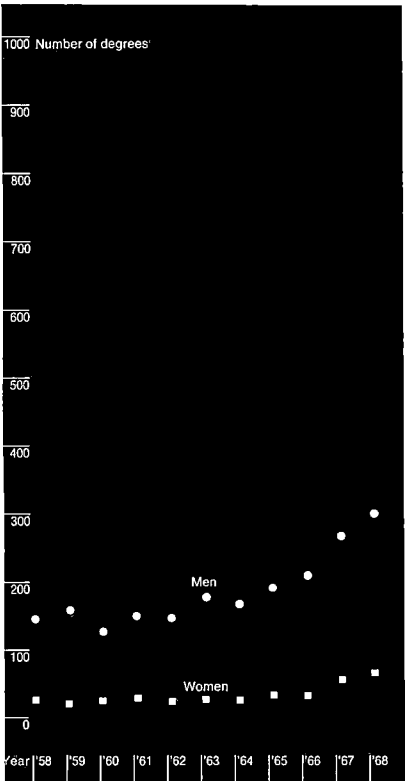
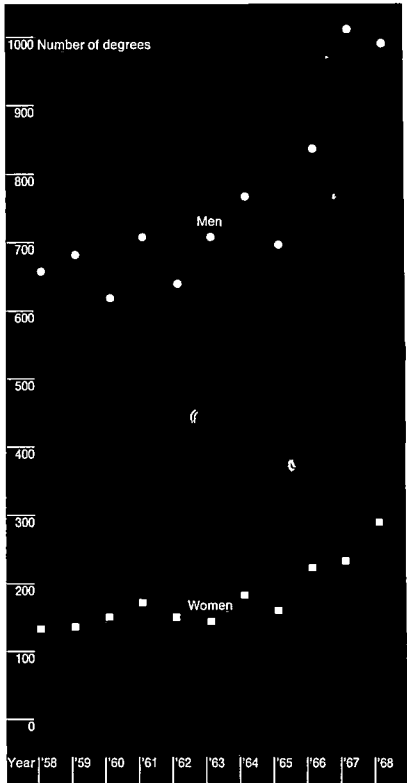


Figure 4. Doctorates in Psychology by years.



Sociology			
Year	Men	Women	Total
Doctorate Production in U.S. Universities, 1920-1962, Nat'l Academy of Sciences			
1958	146	28	174
1959	159	24	183
1960	128	28	156
1961	151	32	183
Statistical Abstract of the United States			
1962	147	26	173
1963	177	31	208
1964	169	29	198
1965	194	36	230
1966	208	36	244
1967	268	59	327
1968	299	68	367

Psychology			
Year	Men	Women	Total
Doctorate Production in U.S. Universities, National Academy of Sciences			
1958	647	133	780
1959	674	135	809
1960	613	149	762
1961	699	171	870
Statistical Abstract of the United States HB, Un3; 1964-1968			
1962	632	149	781
1963	700	144	844
1964	757	182	939
1965	688	159	847
1966	826	220	1046
1967	999	232	1231
Earned Degrees Conferred: Part B-Institutional Data			
1968	982	286	1268

Reports of the APSA Committees

Part II of the Committee Report

Some Comparative Statistics on Women in Political Science and Other Social Sciences

Table 1 Average Annual Compounded Rates of Growth in Doctoral Production 1958-1968

Field	% Women	% Men	% Total	Average Number of Ph.D.s 1958-1968		
				Women	Men	Total
Political Science	12.6	5.8	6.4	23.72	263.81	287.54
Economics	13.4	5.3	5.6	19.81	368.27	406.09
Sociology	8.1	6.5	6.7	36.09	186.	222.09
Psychology	6.8	3.7	4.4	178.1	747.	925.1
Social Sciences	2.3	3.3	3.1	240.27	1,810.91	2,051.18
All fields	8.8	7.9	8.1	1,603	12,587.3	14,994
Population	1.3	1.2	1.2			

Source: National Academy of Science - National Research Council, Doctorate Production in the United States Universities 1920-1962 . . . compiled by Lindsey R. Harmon and Herbert Soldz, Washington, D.C., Publication No. 1142, National Academy of Sciences; Office of Scientific Personnel, Summary Report 1968, Doctorate Recipients from U.S. Universities, prepared in the Education Employment Section, Manpower Studies Branch OSP-MSOZ, Ap. 1969, Washington, D.C.; U.S. Bureau of the Census, Statistical Abstract of the United States, Washington, D.C., U.S. Government Printing Office, 1964 ff.; U.S. Department of Health, Education

and Welfare, Office of Education, Earned Degrees Conferred, Bachelor and Higher Degrees, Washington, D.C., U.S. Government Printing Office, OE-54013-66, Cir No. 721; U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Estimates of the Population of the United States and Components of Change: 1940 to 1969, Washington, D.C., U.S. Government Printing Office, Series P-25, No. 418, March 14, 1969. Formula $P_2/P_1 = e^{rn}$. P_1 =number at beginning of period; P_2 =number at end of period; r =rate of growth; n =number of years.

Table 2 Departments as of 1969 with no Women in Political Science at the Rank of

Instructor	83.1 percent of 473 reporting
Assistant professor	78.9 percent of 473 reporting
Associate professor	88.2 percent of 473 reporting
Full professor	90.1 percent of 473 reporting

Table 3 Number and Percent in 1969 of Female and Male Faculty and Percent of Female by Rank in 478 Political Science Departments

Rank	Female	Male	% Female
Instructor	93	457	16.9
Assistant professor	121	1,287	8.6
Associate professor	58	814	6.7
Full professor	53	1,228	4.1
Other	46	244	11.7
	371	4,030	

Table 4 Distribution of Faculty by Rank in Political Science 1969

	% Instructor	% Asst. Prof.	% Asso. Prof.	% Other	% Full Prof.	%
Male (4,030)	11.3	31.9	20.2	6.1	30.5	100.00
Female (371)	25.1	32.6	15.6	12.4	14.3	100.00

Table 5 Faculty by Rank in 180 Graduate Departments of Sociology 1968-69

Rank	Female	Male	% Female
Instructor	90	244	26.9
Assistant professor	127	830	13.3
Associate professor	54	519	9.4
Full professor	29	752	3.7

Source: Alice S. Rossi cited in Malcolm G. Scully, "Women in Higher Education: Changing the Status

Quo," *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, February 9, 1970, vol. IV, p. 3

The future increase in the number of women in political science is suggested by enrollment figures at the undergraduate and graduate levels in the spring of 1969 and the admission figures for the fall of 1969. At least 23.2 percent of the 11,670 undergraduates in political science in the spring of 1969 were women. Women comprised only 17.5 percent of the overall graduate enrollment, as compared with 33 percent represented in sociology in the academic year 1968-69. In political science women constituted 20.6 percent or 1,131 of the master's candidates and 14.7 percent or 539 of the doctoral (in sociology, 30 percent). The number of women admitted to graduate study in political science for the academic year 1969-70 totaled 1,027, or 48.9 percent of the female applications. Overall, women were still only 22.9 percent of the acceptances and 20.8 percent of the applications.

Differential access to scholarship and teaching may be indicated by another measurement. A comparison between women in the so-called "distinguished" and "greatest producers" departments and women in "all other" departments showed an inverse relationship at all ranks: the "distinguished" departments and those most productive of doctorates had a smaller ratio of women than the "all other" except for a small fraction at the associate professor level in the category of "greatest producers." Females in the prestigious groups did not exceed 4.5 percent, whereas in "all other" institutions they reached 9.1 percent.

The apparent concentration of women in the lower untenured ranks may be attributed to fewer advanced degrees, youth, and recency of appointment. As pointed out in the earlier analysis, appointments may also mirror the problem of meeting the requirements of a particular field, for in 1967 (the 1968 *Directory*) 59 percent of the women listed the first field as comparative government or political development.

Yet recent studies show a similar pattern of minority and differential status for women in other academic disciplines. In anthropology, for example, a 1965 study revealed that women constituted 10.4 percent of the full-time faculty members, but a slightly higher proportion than found in political science in 1969. In anthropology, as in political science, most of the women were in small institutions offering more undergraduate teaching than graduate.⁴

In sociology a study of 180 graduate departments in 1968-69 (see Table 5) revealed that women were concentrated in the lower ranks: one woman in four at the level of instructor and one in 25 at that of full professor. Furthermore, there appeared to be little chance of a woman's rising above the rank of assistant professor. And although in this study women were listed on the graduate faculties, 55 percent were teaching undergraduate work exclusively. Finally, differential access to "prestige" departments for women faculty was found to exist in sociology as well as in political science.⁵

4 Fischer and Golde, pp. 340-341, 343.

5 Rossi, pp. 5-7.

Reports of the APSA Committee

Report of the APSA Finance Committee

Minutes, March, 1970

The first item considered was the salary of the Executive Director. It was decided to recommend to the Council that the Executive Director be given a 6% increase retroactive to January 1, 1970, and an additional 6% increase to become effective on January 1, 1971.

The Committee re-affirmed its earlier decision to publish the Association's investment portfolio twice annually.

There was a lengthy discussion on the implementation of the investment policy of the Association. Mr. Ben Stavis, who had written to the Chairman about the implementation of the investment policy, was invited by the Chairman to the meeting to share his thoughts on the subject. A copy of his letter of March 16 and a memo of March 31, which formed the basis of his discussion with the Committee, are attached to the minutes.

Following its discussion, the Committee decided that the Association:

Should consolidate all of the existing savings and loan holdings, amounting to \$10,000, into one account and invest it in the Independent Federal Savings and Loan Association of Washington, D.C., which serves the community as a whole with emphasis on developing the economic resources of the inner city.

Should take the revenue from the remaining mutual funds, up to an amount of \$25,000, and put it in savings and loan firms that are primarily providing investment capital for inner city low income projects.

Should sell the Association's holdings in Honeywell, Inc.

Should ask the national office to develop a list, on the basis of consulting with other appropriate groups, of desirable and undesirable stocks consistent with the investment guidelines which would then be approved by the Finance Committee and then sent to the Association's investment counselling firm, Loomis, Sayles & Company.

Should instruct Loomis, Sayles & Company to send the General Motors Corporation 1970 proxy to the Treasurer of the Association so it can be voted in favor of the proposed new directors - Betty Furness, Rene Dubos and Channing Phillips.

Should ask Loomis, Sayles & Company to do further research on M-Reit, a real estate investment trust committed to investing in housing open to all.

Should issue a press release in which it is indicated that the Association has adopted the policy of investing a portion of the Association's portfolio in business firms whose activities promote the establishment of a democratic and humane social order, and that as part of the implementation of these guidelines, the Association intends to:

Invest a substantial part of its resources in firms which are conducting activities beneficial to low income residents of inner-city areas.

Sell the Association's stock in Honeywell, Inc. because of the controversy which has arisen over its involvement in the development of weapons of warfare which are believed to be inconsistent with the Association's investment guidelines.

Vote the Association's General Motor stock in behalf of the group which is trying to make the corporation more responsive to its obligations to American society.

The press release will also state that the Association has divested itself of investments in mutual funds because of its inability to maintain control over investments by these firms to insure that the investment guidelines are not being violated.

This press release will be published in the Summer issue of *PS*, as well as being released to the media.

There was discussion of the possibility of a Constitutional amendment to enable the Council to raise membership dues which might be necessary in the event the proposed revised Constitution is not adopted. It was decided to request the advice of the Council as to whether or not such an amendment should be prepared.

The Finance Committee expressed its strong support of the guidelines adopted by the Administrative Committee that sites and facilities for all Association committee meetings which require expenditure of funds from the general operating budget shall be selected so as to minimize travel costs charged to the Association by participants and to ensure reasonable per diem costs, and directed that these guidelines be brought to the attention of all committee chairmen. The Committee also recommended

that guidelines be prepared on travel for individuals attending Association activities and functions. These guidelines should include a statement that individuals should travel tourist class.

It was also decided that when membership dues bills are mailed, a statement should be included that, because of increased Association activities and efforts such as the Committee on Academic Freedom, the Committee on the Status of Blacks, the Committee on the Status of Women, and Committees in the area of pre-collegiate, under-graduate and graduate education, etc., the Association is running a large deficit; that because increasing membership dues requires a Constitutional amendment which is not immediately possible; and because faculty salaries have almost doubled since the dues were last increased, we are requesting a voluntary contribution from Association members.

Because of the concern about the financial condition of the Association, the Committee on Finance requested the national office to consider ways and means of finding additional appropriate sources of revenue, in addition to dues.

The Committee recommends that institutional membership dues be raised to \$35 effective at the next billing date. These memberships will entitle subscribers to receive two Association journals, *The American Political Science Review* and *PS*.

The Committee also recommends to the Council an increase in dues from \$15 per year to \$25 per year for Annual Members and from \$6 per year to \$10 per year for Student Members. The Committee feels these amounts are in line with increases in academic salaries; are comparable to dues of other Associations; and would provide additional revenue equal to the Association's anticipated deficit. The Committee also recommends that dues for Family Membership and for Retired Members not be raised.

The Committee requested that if there are programs and activities being considered by other Committees which require financial support not already allocated by the Council, these Committees, with any required assistance from the national office staff, should submit their proposals to the Council as soon as possible.

The Committee also strongly endorsed the proposed policy statement adopted by the Administrative Committee regarding funding of new Association activities, as follows: in approving any new Associ-

ation program or activity requiring expenditure of funds, the Council shall indicate either 1) new sources of financial support for such activities, or 2) existing programs or activities which are to be curtailed or eliminated to provide the requisite financial support. Nothing in this statement of policy shall preclude the Council from approving new Association activities or programs contingent upon the availability of new funds to support them.

There was discussion of the request of the Committee on the Status of Blacks to the Association for one million dollars to support research for black political science faculty and the need to obtain foundation support for this project, the Black Fellowship Program and the Conference on Black Politics. The Finance Committee urged that the staff of the national office, in consultation with the Committee on the Status of Blacks, prepare proposals on these projects in order that the Finance Committee can assist in obtaining support for such programs.

Francis E. Rourke, *Chairman*
Gordon E. Baker
John R. Raser

(see p 416--417)

Reports of the APSA Committee

Report of Committee on Travel Grants

Approximately 300 applications were received for financial support for travel to the forthcoming International Political Science Association meeting in Munich. This gratifying display of heightened interest in IPSA – about five applications were filed for every one in 1967 – was not matched by any increase in funds available for this purpose – the NSF grant was \$10,000 in both years. In order to spread extremely scarce resources as far as possible and to insure the maximum number of participants at the IPSA meetings, the committee limited individual grants to the travel costs of the Association's charter flight from New York to Munich; in a few special cases, the grants were considerably reduced from that modest figure.

In making the selections, the committee employed a number of criteria in order to obtain a strong, representative APSA delegation at the meetings. Panel chairmen (exclusive of those who were also IPSA officers and thus otherwise funded) were automatically supported. Many more applicants indicated that they had been invited to give papers than can be funded, even if the entire \$10,000 were to be invested in them alone. We therefore awarded a grant to one paper-giver per panel, supplementing this minimum as much as possible for plenary panels and for specialist panels scheduled to hold more than one session. Within these guidelines preference was given to those paper-readers with demonstrated competence in their respective fields and/or clearly defined research papers in advanced stages of preparation. (Many applicants in this category failed to provide even a working title of their paper, a fact which we had to assume indicated a low probability of a quality product.) Approximately two-thirds of the funds were expended in this way.

The remainder of the travel grants were allocated giving preference to those with invitations to serve as panel discussants and to younger scholars, members of minority groups, faculty members at less well-known institutions, and others who ordinarily would not be expected to obtain other financial support. Graduate students and those without several years of professional experience were excluded. The results of these not always easy decisions are reflected in the list of grantees printed below. Undoubtedly we have perpetrated some individual injustices. But we think our policy of widening the range of political scientists able to attend the IPSA meetings is sound and will serve the goals of APSA and IPSA well in the long haul.

We would like to close this report with several recommendations of the APSA Council. First, and most

importantly, we urge the council to make strenuous efforts to obtain a higher level of funding for this purpose in the future. Second, we recommend that the IPSA be exhorted to complete its program planning at an earlier date. Finally, future Travel Grant Committees would be assisted by a more thorough application procedure in which applicants are required to provide much more information about themselves, their prior work and prospective role at the IPSA meeting than was the case in 1970.

Donald R. Matthews, Chairman, *Brookings Institution*
Charles V. Hamilton, *Columbia University*
Henry Teune, *University of Pennsylvania*

Recipients

Gilbert Abcarian, *Florida State University*
Hayward R. Alker, Jr., *MIT*
David E. Apter, *Yale University*
William T. Bluhm, *University of Rochester*
Gerard Braunthal, *University of Massachusetts*
Walter D. Burnham, *Washington University*
Richard W. Chadwick, *University of Hawaii*
Teh-Kuang Chang, *Ball State University*
Sue Ellen Charlton, *Colorado State University*
Jack Dennis, *University of Wisconsin*
David Easton, *University of Chicago*
Heinz Eulau, *Stanford University*
Harvey F. Fireside, *Ithaca College*
Philip J. Hannon, *Skidmore College*
Ronald D. Hedlund, *Univ. of Wisconsin, Milwaukee*
Ronald Inglehart, *University of Michigan*
Mark Kesselman, *Columbia University*
Samuel Krislov, *University of Minnesota*
Yasumasa Kuroda, *University of Hawaii*
Martin Landau, *University of California, Berkeley*
Ned Lebow, *New York City College*
Lewis Lipsitz, *University of North Carolina*
Milton G. Lodge, *University of Iowa*
Norton E. Long, *University of Illinois*
Thomas W. Madron, *Western Kentucky University*
George E. Marcus, *Williams College*
Ruth P. Morgan, *Southern Methodist University*
Sanjeeva Nayak, *Southampton College*
Peter C. Ordeshook, *University of Rochester*
William J. Parente, *Antioch College*
Paul F. Power, *University of Cincinnati*
Paul L. Puryear, *Fisk University*
Fred W. Riggs, *University of Hawaii*
Arnold A. Rogow, *City University of New York*
David C. Schwartz, *University of Pennsylvania*
Lester G. Seligman, *University of Oregon*
Albert Somit, *State University of New York at Buffalo*
Peter W. Sperlich, *University of California, Berkeley*
Kenneth H. Thompson, *Univ. of Southern California*
Henry Wells, *University of Pennsylvania*
Wayne Wilcox, *Columbia University*

The Profession

Introduction to Employment Information in Political Science

As the job opportunities for young political scientists became scarcer last year and this, it became clear to the council of the Association that it ought to review the Association's role in this area. The Council directed the committee on Program Planning and Review to survey the problem and make recommendations to it within the year. In addition, at least, one other committee of the Association (The Committee on the Status of Women) and one ad hoc group (Committee for Rational Recruitment in Political Science) have developed proposals for reforming the marketplace for political scientists. Individual political scientists and the Washington staff of the Association have also been constructively concerned.

As of mid-June, 1970, the main outcomes of this activity and concern would appear to be the following:

1. The Council has, on recommendation by the Committee on Program Planning and Review, adopted a policy statement that **it is the professional obligation of all political science departments to list publicly all vacancies for which they are recruiting.** A task force of the Committee is presently drawing up guidelines for the implementation of that policy in a much-expanded Personnel Newsletter for the coming academic year.
2. The Washington staff has been exploring new employment opportunities for political scientists. Announcements have been placed, for example, in the *State Government Newsletter* and *Nation's Cities*. Government agencies have also been encouraged to recruit social scientists through the Association placement service, and plans are under way to list some of these opportunities in the Newsletter.
3. The Council at its June meeting agreed to the creation next-year (1970-71) of a standing committee of the Association with full-time responsibility for problems of placement and the market.
4. The Program Chairman is setting up a spe-

cial panel on the marketplace for the September, 1970, meetings in Los Angeles.

5. There also appears to be considerable agreement that the Association ought to collect and disseminate periodically some data on the supply of "new" political scientists and the demand for them.

The articles below represent the first attempt to gather and present some useful data on the marketplace. The first of the two reports is an APSA staff report based on a questionnaire sent to 93 doctorate-granting departments of political science. Its limitation to graduate departments restricts its findings largely to estimates of "supply." Happily, however, Martin O. Heisler of the University of Maryland was sending a questionnaire to a much broader universe of political science departments, in cooperation with the Association. He here makes the first report of his findings. His data speak to estimated "demand" in the near future for young political scientists. Taken together, these two reports will hopefully raise discussion and planning somewhat above the level of total conjecture.

Frank J. Sorauf

Chairman, Committee on Program Planning and Review

The Profession

A Survey of the Graduate Academic Marketplace in Political Science

For approximately a decade, an optimistic attitude concerning demand for political scientists, particularly teachers of political science at all levels, has prevailed.¹ It was part of a wider set of attitudes shared by the higher education community generally, encouraged by the governmental education agencies and helped along by the attitudes of legislators, public educators, parents and citizens. But recent indications have raised questions about this view.²

The Survey and Its Findings

To provide information on the employment supply and demand situation for political scientists, a survey of graduate departments in political science was conducted for the Association's Committee on Program Planning and Review, Council, and members. The survey consisted of a brief questionnaire sent out with a covering letter from the Chairman of the Committee, Frank J. Sorauf, to graduate department chairmen. The questionnaire requested information on political science Ph.D.'s or candidates entering the job market, new graduate student admissions, and positions being filled in the graduate departments.³ The first mailing took place on February 18 and the second mailing was made a month later. Of the 93 doctorate-granting departments, 76 or 82% responded.⁴

The results can be summarized as follows.

1. After an increase of 40% over the past two years in the number of people entering the job market, 1970 and 1971 appear to be a period

Earl M. Baker

American Political Science Association

of peak supply for political scientists emerging from professional training, over 1100 each year. There is virtually no increase (3%) expected from 1970 to 1971, with an 8% decline in market entry the following year. (Figure 1)

2. New graduate students admitted for the academic year 1970 were approximately 2500, while departments anticipated admitting 2100 for 1971. This 16% drop would represent a return almost to the 1966 level of 2000 entering political science graduate students.⁵ (Figure 2)

3. Graduate departments expect to hire about 200 people during 1971, the same number hired in 1969 and 1970. In each year half of this number, 100, are *new* positions, not made available by replacement hiring. (Figure 3)

The survey included only doctorate-granting departments. Thus it did not cover M.A. granting departments and the four year colleges with political science departments (about 1000), nor did it include the less defined market of colleges without political science departments, the expanding number of junior and community colleges, or non-academic employment.⁶ The master's degree and four year college departments were surveyed separately by Martin O. Heisler, Director of Graduate Placement at the University of Maryland, in cooperation with the Association.⁷

The Survey of Earned Doctorates shows that the number of Ph.D.'s awarded in political

1 U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Employment Outlook for Social Scientists* (Political Scientists), 1968-69 (Washington, D.C.).

2 One indicator of concern about employment in political science has been registration in the Association's Personnel Service. Normally membership in the service falls off abruptly from over a thousand, after January (when all memberships expire) to a few hundred as those who have found jobs or lose interest in following the job market drop out of the service. The buildup of new members then takes place slowly, reaching a peak toward the end of the year. In 1970, this trend was dramatically reversed, with no drop-off in membership at all at the end of the membership year.

3 See Appendix for questionnaire.

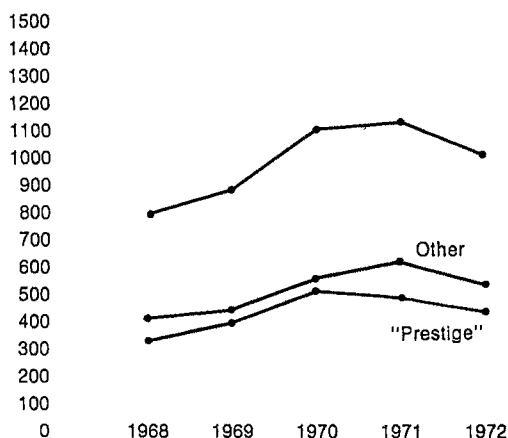
4 Since the non-responding institutions were known adjustments could be made for them in the tabulation of responses for questions 1 and 2.

5 Office of Planning and Policy Studies, National Science Foundation, *Graduate Student Support and Manpower Resources in Graduate Science Education*, Fall 1965-Fall 1966 (Washington, D.C., 1968).

6 Most full time political scientists are employed in the academic field. Of those qualified for the political science section of the National Science Foundation Register of Scientific and Technical Personnel, 76% were employed in academic institutions. "Initial Report: Information on Political Scientists in the NSF Register," *PS*, Winter, 1969, p. 4. This agrees with the percentage of new doctorates entering teaching over the past ten years. National Academy of Sciences, *Doctorate Recipients from United States Universities, 1958-1966* (and supplements), (Washington, D.C.).

7 Results of the Heisler study are published in this issue of *PS*, "The Academic Marketplace in Political Science for the Next Decade: A Preliminary Report on a Survey." The opportunity to exchange information and ideas with Professor Heisler has contributed to the preparation of this article.

Figure 1. Entry into Market of Ph.D.'s and Ph.D. Candidates in Political Science



Total	819	911	1127	1164	1059
"Prestige"	364	423	532	503	478
Other	455	488	595	661	581

Figure 2. New Ph.D. Students Admitted in Political Science

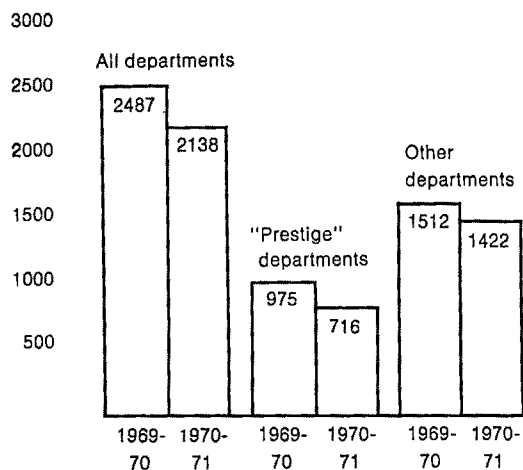


Figure 3. Positions Filled in Graduate Departments in Political Science

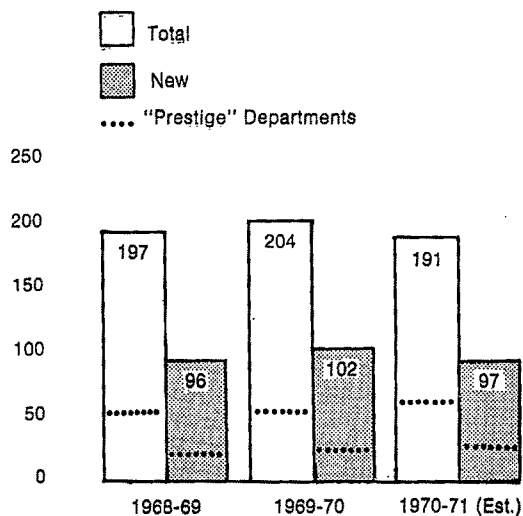
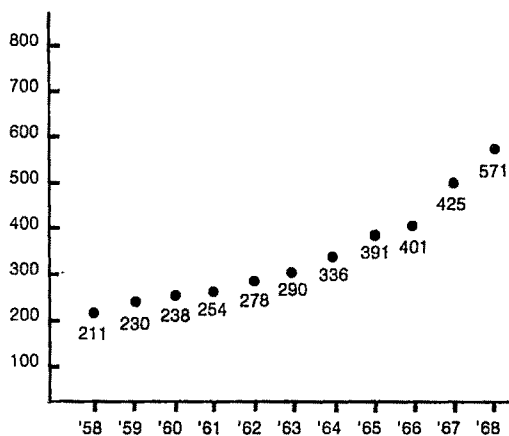


Figure 4. Number of Ph.D.'s Awarded in Political Science (Including Public Administration and International Relations) from Survey of Earned Doctorates. Source: National Academy of Sciences.



The Profession

A Survey of the Graduate Academic Marketplace in Political Science

science in 1969 was 559 and this figure did not include most of the students admitted during the years of highest graduate school admission, who are entering the market now and in 1971.⁸ The APSA survey figures thus reveal that the traditionally sought-after appointments at the graduate school level are relatively scarce, by a ratio of at least 5-1 (and higher if non-degree market entry is included). That is, for every 5 Ph.D.'s leaving graduate school, there is one new opening at the graduate school level.

"Prestige" and Other Departments

To trace the effects of the market situation on the internal structure of the discipline of political science, separate tabulations were also made for departments rated "distinguished" and "strong" in the Cartter survey.⁹ Those institutions, numbering 18, were compared with all other institutions. The prestige schools as a group have normally produced about 40% of political scientists coming onto the market although this group of institutions is only 1/5 of the total number of departments.

The difference between the two groups of schools can be seen in Figure 1 with the peak taking place this year among prestige schools, while for others the momentum continues through next year.

On the admissions questions, the difference is more marked. Among prestige schools, admissions will drop about 25% from this year to next as projected by the chairmen, while for other institutions the drop is less than 10%. (Figure 2)

The prestige schools account for about 25% of the graduate school openings each year, 50 or so, with the same proportion as among all institutions — half — being *new* positions. This is true for last year, this year and 1971, a stable prediction given the trends in admission and production. (Figure 3)

There are implications for the makeup of the discipline in the role of the developing Ph.D. programs. A count of new Ph.D. programs in the compendium of graduate studies published by the American Council on Education reveals that over the brief period from 1965-1969 17 new Ph.D. programs had been added.¹⁰ These are generally institutions which do *not* intend to cut back on graduate student admissions according to the survey, while those gearing their intake to perceived requirements of the traditional market tend more to have established programs.

Comparison of Surveys

Although the time periods, populations, and estimating methods are overlapping rather than comparable, by putting the findings of the APSA and Heisler surveys together, accepting the trends (if not the absolute number estimates) indicated, it is possible to foresee a change in the employment structure in the discipline. If new openings do average 480 per year between 1970 and 1973, with about 20% at the graduate level,¹¹ this would indicate a generally lagging market given the predicted market entry. Since the APSA survey used absolute numbers in the questionnaires, it is possible the APSA figures for *graduate* employment needs indicate the higher end of the Heisler all-institution ranges should be accepted. If that is the case, the Ph.D. supply and demand during the three years would be approximately in balance at perhaps 625-650 per year. This does *not*, however, account for the yearly increment of non-degree holders entering the market, and would imply an even greater drop in graduate admissions than is already evidenced by the APSA survey results. And that balance would extend only through 1973. After that year, the demand estimates fall off even more. Even if the drop in graduate admissions continues in anticipation of the trends suggested in both the APSA and Heisler surveys, the "surplus" of political scientists

8 National Academy of Sciences, *op. cit.*, 1969 Supplement.

9 Allan M. Cartter, *An Assessment of Quality in Graduate Education* (Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1966), p. 40.

10 American Council on Education, *A Guide to Graduate Study* (Washington, D.C.: 3rd Edition, 1965; 4th Edition, 1969).

11 The Heisler mean figures would suggest about 60 new openings per year. If the maximum figures are used, 90, it coincides with the APSA survey estimate of 100.

which will be created by the entry of students admitted during the high admissions era will make new job situations in political science. What could happen would be the movement of trained political scientists into the junior and community colleges, secondary schools and non-academic employment such as private and non-profit policy research or governmental program analysis. This would include the "enrichment" model for higher education now being forecast by Falk and others in the light of tightening academic markets.¹² It raises the question of the adequacy of a "filter-down" or "bumping" process, since oversupply is now being recognized in the secondary teaching field, with the possibility of a "floor" being established below which Ph.D.'s are not welcomed, or will not be satisfied.

Information on the Marketplace

As most of the information on employment in higher education, the results of this exploratory survey should be used with some restraint. One of the side-effects of a slack job market is the lack of attention to its operation, and the kind of information needed to detect change is not highlighted. This survey is just the beginning of a continuing program of survey and analysis by the Association on the manpower needs of political science. As Cartter recently put it, referring to apparent shifts in higher education's need for new doctorates:

Such a dramatic change should also give us pause to reflect upon how little we know about ourselves – how little thought we have given to the development of our educational system, and how inaccurately we have cast our objectives and done our planning. No great powers of intuition or prophecy were required to see that the academic environment was about to change dramatically; all one really had to do – like Al Smith – was to look at the facts and not put the blind eye to the telescope.¹³

12 Charles E. Falk, "Science and Engineering Doctorate Supply and Utilization, 1968-80," *Mosaic*, Spring, 1970, pp. 14-19.

13 Allan M. Cartter, National Conference on Higher Education, March 1970.

14 Allan M. Cartter and Robert L. Farrell, "Academic Labor Market Projections and the Draft," in Joint Economic Committee, *The Economics of Higher Education* (Washington, D.C., 1969), pp. 357-374.

The disagreement and lack of comparability of projections in higher education are not unusual,¹⁴ and this study reveals another set of questions about the projections which emerge from the survey and the figures recently published in the Behavioral and Social Sciences Survey.¹⁵ The National Academy of Sciences data on Ph.D.'s awarded show that the BASS survey understates the supply of Ph.D.'s in political science for the most recent years. The survey reported here asked for information on political scientists entering the market – whether or not the Ph.D. had been awarded – and thus the market entry figures are somewhat higher than simply degrees awarded.

Another lack in information on political science is the propensity of some statistical sources to classify all social sciences in one category. For instance NEA Fellowships are now approximately one third of the number of such fellowships two years ago, yet the changes this means in political science must be inferred from aggregate figures. Office of Education statistics on the demand for college teachers suffer from the same deficiency. The recent National Research Council study on the academic employment situation, which indicated "unemployment" of 1969 Ph.D.'s in social sciences as .7%, used that same inclusive, thus somewhat uninformative, category.¹⁶

Note on the Survey

The questionnaire used in the APSA survey called for some choices on the part of chairmen which the language of the questionnaire did not define for them. "Ph.D. candidates or new Ph.D.'s seeking academic employment" could be interpreted according to the formal categories of the institution or vary from those who must find a job to those who are "looking around" and not certain of market entry. Asking for candidates "admitted" left open the possibility that admissions and enrollments differ. And those questions that call for estimates of future numbers are obviously just that.

15 Heinz Eulau and James G. March (eds.), *Political Science* (Behavioral and Social Sciences Survey) (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1969), p. 70.

16 *Science Magazine*, "Employment Status of Recent Recipients of Doctorate," May 22, 1970, p. 932.

The Profession

A Survey of the Graduate Academic Marketplace in Political Science

Residual differences between market entry and graduate student admissions figures in the APSA survey are assumed to be caused by attrition.

Tabulations were adjusted in Figure 1 for partial information (no response for a year while providing information on another), and for the non-responding institutions in Figures 1 and 2. A continuity model was used to adjust partial information, using comparable data for nearest subsequent year, with 1969-70 as a base since there was complete response information for it. This adjustment builds in a slight static bias. Non-response in Figure 1 was adjusted by projecting from the National Academy of Sciences doctoral survey data, 1960-1966, a factor which (accounting for growth and non-degree market entry), when compared as a possible check, agreed with the proportion of non-responding departments.

These limits on the survey information mean the figures should be used carefully. Since the purpose of the survey, however, was to provide information fairly rapidly on a subject on which almost no data has been available, the value of the survey is that it 1) emphasizes the importance of collecting and distributing such information on the discipline in as complete a form as possible, 2) illustrates several trends affecting supply and demand which converge in the market of any given period, and 3) contains information for establishing some idea of where we are now.

Conclusion

In the face of a great deal of doubt about the direction of the present job market in political science, it may be well to remember that the employment market is cyclic, and there have been other periods when jobs seemed scarce.

In one year during the 1930's, for instance, there were only four openings for teachers of political science in graduate schools in the United States. But there was balance, in that there were also only four new Ph.D.'s, and each was interviewed for each job!¹⁷ The nomi-

nee for President-Elect of the APSA, Heinz Eulau, has written of his entry onto the political science job market.

*In June, 1941, when I was issued my walking papers by the University, properly certified as a Ph.D., there were no teaching jobs to be had – at least none of the kind I might have cared for.*¹⁸

He was voicing a similar reaction to a restricted market situation which illustrates that it may not be the *jobs* that are scarce, but the jobs the individual *expected* to obtain. Thus instead of widespread unemployment in political science, what we are likely to see – and are now seeing – is a widespread readjustment of expectations about the type of jobs with which one will be satisfied. Hans Rosenhaupt, President of the Woodrow Wilson Foundation discussing those trained as scholar-teachers, has said:

*Sooner or later, many will have to accept jobs which, while socially useful and intellectually challenging – and, incidentally, decently paid – do not carry the prestige of academic appointments at the leading institutions.*¹⁹

The prospects for political science are not bleak, but cautionary, and the trends indicated in the survey are problematic enough to suggest that we are just beginning to see the structure of political science as a profession.

17 Related by Professor Howard Penniman, Georgetown University.

18 Heinz Eulau, "The Behavioral Movement in Political Science: A Personal Document," in *Micro-Macro Political Analysis: Accents of Inquiry* (Chicago: Aldine, 1969), p. 375.

19 Hans Rosenhaupt, "Are There Too Many Doctors in the House?", Woodrow Wilson Fellowship Newsletter, May, 1970, p. 1, 8.

Appendix

- I. How many doctorate candidates or new Ph.D.'s were (or are) there in your department seeking academic jobs (junior or community colleges, college or university):
- a. two years ago (jobs beginning Sept., 1968)?
 - b. last year (jobs beginning Sept., 1969)?
 - c. this year (jobs beginning Sept., 1970)?
 - d. next year (jobs beginning Sept., 1971)?
 - e. in two years (jobs beginning Sept., 1972)?

- II. How many new graduate students did your department admit for:

- a. this academic year (1969-70)?

How many are you admitting for:

- b. the coming year (1970-71)?

Of the numbers reported in a and b, what number were admitted to terminal M.A. or non-Ph.D. programs?

- c. in this academic year (1969-70)?
- d. for the coming year (1970-71)?

- III. How many new academic colleagues did your department hire on regular appointments:

- a. for the academic year 1968-69?
- b. for the academic year 1969-70?

How many are you hiring this year

- c. for the coming year 1970-71?

- IV. For the same years, how many colleagues did you hire on regular appointments for *new positions* or to fill *old positions* vacated by someone no longer in college teaching? (That is, take the totals listed above in III and subtract the number that were replacements for people still in teaching.)

- a. for the academic year 1968-69
- b. for the academic year 1969-70
- c. for the coming year, 1970-71

The Profession

The Academic Marketplace in Political Science for the Next Decade: A Preliminary Report On a Survey

Numerous reports of a growing shortage of academic positions — or, viewed from the other side, of a surfeit of new Ph.D.s — have appeared during the past eighteen months in such diverse publications as the daily press, news weeklies, newsletters of scholarly associations and *Science* magazine. The theme has been adumbrated before committees of Congress; and it has become the principal subject of rumors at professional meetings, at the lunch tables of faculty clubs and in queries from understandably anxious graduate students about "my chances of finding any kind of job."

But the public disquietude about market conditions in Political Science is far from pervasive or consistent; and it is difficult to establish the empirical basis of the rumors. Most of the reports of a shortage of positions seem to be based either on fragmentary information (as, for instance, the ratios between vacancies listed and applicants registered with a single personnel service or at the personnel desks of professional meetings) or impressionistic (though, of course, not necessarily erroneous or worthless) personal observations by deans and chairmen feeling a budget pinch and by candidates seeking positions.¹ Further, while some departments have already acted to compensate for what they perceive to be a shrinkage of the market by cutting back — in the case of some of the "top ten" departments by as much as 40-50% within a two or three year span — admissions into their Ph.D. programs, others are beginning or contemplating new doctoral programs. Many, if not most of those

This study was facilitated by the financial support of the Department of Government and Politics, University of Maryland, by the general assistance of Rona Wolfe and by the assistance and encouragement of Earl M. Baker of the APSA. The study was made possible by the cooperation of the respondents. The suggestions and constructive criticisms of my colleagues Donald J. Devine and Daniel Melnick on an earlier draft are greatly appreciated. Neither they nor those whose coding and machine-related help is acknowledged below are to be deemed guilty of any errors in calculation or interpretation, of course. A more detailed analysis is in progress; and follow-up studies are planned.

1 Cf. Office of Scientific Personnel, National Research Council, "Employment Status of Recent Recipients of the Doctorate," *Science*, Vol. 168, No. 3934 (May 22, 1970), p. 930.

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who have prophesied a lemming-like fate for the present and future generations of graduate students lack a clear image of the nature of the market, of its dynamics and trends. The estimates of respected observers are not consistently bearish: quite recently, some even predicted a continuation of the sellers' market of the 1950's and 1960's.²

In order to generate at least a partial data base for comprehending and making prognoses about the academic market in Political Science, a very brief and simple questionnaire was sent to the APSA list of chairmen of all four-year college and graduate departments, bureaus and institutes.³ This is a preliminary report of the findings.

The Survey

The survey had three purposes: (1) to obtain information about the distribution of departments in terms of faculty size and the type of institution in which they are located; (2) to gain some impression of the short-term and long-term recruitment projections in those departments; and (3) to ascertain the spread of their future staff needs across the fields of Political

2 Admittedly, the market conditions seem to have changed suddenly. Thus, a publication lag of even a few months may have influenced such projections. In a volume published a few months ago, Richard L. Merritt and Gloria Pyszka observed that "the demand for teachers of political science exceeds the supply, and this picture is not likely to change in the foreseeable future." (*The Student Political Scientist's Handbook* [Cambridge, Mass.: Schenkman Publishing Co., Inc., 1969], p. 169).

3 At least 18 of the 908 addressees are bureaus, institutes and other bodies that do not formally employ political scientists, although they may utilize their services. These, therefore, have been eliminated from calculations of the base.

4 This represents a net response rate of 66.1%. The base is divided into the "A" and "B" lists for some purposes — in order to distinguish between Ph.D. granting departments (the "A" list) and all others (the "B" list). The "A" list response rate was markedly higher: 79.6% (74 of 94) of the departments had responded by June 8 (and several since — these will be incorporated in later analyses). The "B" list rate was 64.6% (514 of 796) as of June 8. On both lists, but particularly the "B" list, larger departments showed a substantially higher rate of response than smaller departments. (It is estimated that approximately 80% of the departments that will be classified "medium" or "large" below responded, while only about 60% of the more numerous "small" departments returned completed questionnaires.) Thus, while the data in this report refer to only 66% of the departments, about 80% of the academic positions in the discipline are represented.

Science. From a mailing of 908 questionnaires, 588 codable, completed questionnaires were received in time for tabulation.⁴

The questionnaire (a copy of which is appended) sought to ascertain (1) the type of institution in which the responding department is located, (2) the approximate size of the Political Science faculty, (3) the approximate range of increase expected in that faculty by September, 1973 and (4) by September, 1980. Respondents were also asked to rank their recruitment priorities by fields of specialization for (5a) 1973 and (5b) 1980. Finally, a closing sentence invited chairmen to make comments or suggestions regarding the academic marketplace and doctoral training in Political Science.

Configuration of Institution Type and Department Size

The first and second questions were designed to shed light on the configuration of department size and institution type; since it seemed possible that market conditions were affected by these two variables. It was learned that the overwhelming majority of Political Science departments in American colleges and universities is small; and most of the smallest departments are in private or church-affiliated schools. Most of the large departments are in state-supported schools. (See Tables 1, 2 and 3 below.)

Given the dearth of broadly and empirically based information about the institutional configuration of the discipline, these findings are not uninteresting in themselves. Their real sig-

nificance for the purposes at hand, however, is indirect: they help to put the increment projections into a discipline-wide perspective. Such a perspective has been lacking because most studies to date have either dealt solely with Ph.D. producing departments or similarly narrowly circumscribed universes or they have not identified the Political Science segments of general higher educational samples.⁵

Projections of Recruitment Needs

In the third and fourth questions department chairmen were asked to indicate the approximate number of *new positions* they anticipated opening during the next three years (by September, 1973) and during the next ten years (by September, 1980). Three years can be regarded as the most distant point in time for which relatively specific budget estimates are made. Ten year projections are not unusual in university budget planning. Departments or other units in the university are often expected to keep a running ten year estimate of staff needs.

5 Both the APSA survey conducted by Earl M. Baker for the Committee on Program Planning and Review (in this issue of *PS*) and the BASS report (Heinz Eulau and James G. March [eds.], *Political Science* [The Behavioral and Social Sciences Survey; Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1969]) gathered information from the "A" list schools. The U.S. Office of Education, in *Projections of Educational Statistics to 1977-79* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1969), Tables 28-32, presents data in which Political Science is not distinguished. Similarly, the utilities of Allan M. Cartter and Robert L. Farrell, "Academic Labor Market Projections and the Draft," in Joint Economic Committee, *The Economics and Financing of Higher Education in the United States* (Washington, D.C., 1969), pp. 357-95, are limited by the absence of breakdowns of projected faculty positions by discipline. (The Cartter-Farrell projections reach to 1985-86.)

Table 1 Institution Types

Type	% of Responding Departments
State-supported	37.76%
Private	31.63
Church-affiliated	29.59
Municipal	0.68
Other	0.34
	(N=588) 100.00%

The Profession

The Academic Marketplace in Political Science for the Next Decade: A Preliminary Report On a Survey

Table 2 Size of Political Science Faculty*

Size	% of Responding Departments
1- 5	59.35%
6-10	19.56
11-15	8.16
16-20	3.57
21-30	5.61
31-40	2.55
41+	1.19
(N=588) 100.00%	

*For certain calculations, faculty sizes were clustered into three "size groups:" "small" = 1-10; "medium" = 11-20; and "large" = 21 or more. (In subsequent analyses, departments of 1-5 size will be treated as "small," while "medium" will extend from 6 to 20.) Treated in terms of size groups, Political Science faculty distribution takes the configuration indicated in the table below.

Size Group	% of Responding Departments
Small (1-10)	78.91%
Medium (11-20)	11.73
Large (21+)	9.35

Table 3 Configuration of Institution Type and Department Size

Type of Institution	Size of Department							Total by Institution Type
	1-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	21-30	31-40	41+	
State-supported	80	53	33	16	27	11	2	222
Private	112	47	12	5	3	3	4	186
Church-affiliated	156	14	3	....	....	1	..	174
Municipal	.....	1	....	....	2	....	1	4
Other	1	....	....	....	1	....	..	2
Total by Size	349	115	48	21	33	15	7	

While, obviously, all such estimates entail guesswork on the part of the respondent, it is not unreasonable to regard the three year projections as close to the number of positions for which departments will actually recruit in 1970-71, 1971-72 and 1972-73. The ten year projections involve much more tenuous calculations (or hopes), of course. Their principal value derives from the insights they give into the general directions in which chairmen expect their departments to move. In this

sense, they are a "state-of-mind" indicator, as well.

Given the limits of this study, only a tentative general judgment can be ventured about the market for the next decade: **expectations of growth are conservative, especially in the long run. Growth in Political Science faculty positions by 1973 and 1980 will fall far below the rates of increase that prevailed during the last decade.** The bases for these predic-

tions become evident when the data generated by this survey are compared with the data and estimates presented in the BASS report:

The growth of both graduate and undergraduate enrollment has not been accompanied by a satisfactory growth of faculty personnel. Between 1961 and 1966, faculty personnel increased by 48 percent, a substantial increase, yet an increase lagging behind enrollment growth. Estimated growth between 1966 and 1971 is 41 percent, and between 1966 and 1976 it is 75 percent. The growth rate 1966 to 1976 still does not match the growth rates projected for the various degree categories, both graduate and undergraduate. Unless steps are taken to make university teaching more attractive and to recruit qualified faculty, this anticipated shortage of teaching personnel will seriously affect the quality of higher education in political science.⁶

The expected increase categories 0-3 and 4-6 proved too gross for measuring growth in the numerous "small" departments (1-10).⁷ In light of this constraint – the consequence of a flaw in the questionnaire design – substantive statements about growth expectations in small departments can be made only with great caution; and, since only ranges of numbers were used in estimating expansion, projected growth can be discussed only in terms of approximate ranges, not in terms of exact numbers. **It is nevertheless evident from the data presented in Tables 4, 5 and 6 below that neither the 1961-66 rate nor the pro-**

jected 1966-76 rate (in the BASS report) will be approached during the coming years – the magnitude of the anticipated or actual needs notwithstanding.

Not only is the rate of faculty growth likely to fall below that of the last decade and below the rates projected only two years ago (in the BASS report), but *it will fall far behind projected Ph.D. production* in Political Science as well. While even now general projections of sustained, high levels of graduate enrollments so common a year or two ago⁸ are being revised downward,⁹ it seems that a great imbalance between doctorate output and new college and university positions is threatened. Using the projections for 1970-73 and 1970-80 generated by this survey, a very rough (and statistically clearly less than rigorous or neat) estimate of the range of total new market positions can be ventured: it appears that somewhere between 1,200 and 1,700 new positions will be put on the market by 1973, while, if the outlook for the decade is borne out at all, from 2,900 to 4,100 new positions will be generated between 1970-80.¹⁰

According to the APSA survey of Ph.D. producing departments (reported elsewhere in this issue) more than 1,000 persons are entering the market each year (and will continue to do so through 1972 – the last year for which the survey collected data) – and the BASS report projections indicate that this figure is likely to obtain through 1977.¹¹ While it is possible that both graduate school enrollments and Ph.D. output will be influenced by the constricted market, it nevertheless seems reason-

6 Eulau and March, pp. 72-73.

7 I strongly recommend that subsequent studies use the exact numbers 0, 1, 2 and 3 – and perhaps 4 and 5 as well for registering expected increment responses. Judging by the written-in observations of a few (7) chairmen, it might be useful to include a response category for decrease also.

Even if the mean growth fell at the median of each category, the total of new positions for the most numerous "small" category (N=463 for 1973, N=451 for 1980) is rather small: approximately 1,000 for 1973 and approximately 1,452 between 1970 and 1980. If the 1970-73 growth rate is proportional with the 1970-80 rate (as is reasonable to assume), then the 1970-73 total of new positions is approximately 440. Judging by information volunteered by respondents, a substantial number of small departments will add zero or 1 positions by 1973, rather than the median 1.5. Thus, the 1970-73 figure of 440 seems generally reasonable, and the 1980 figure is closer to 1,000 than to the median-based 1,452 for small (1-10) departments.

8 The authors of the BASS report wrote that "overall departmental forecasts are for a tripling of the number of doctorates from 1966 to 1977. Well-known departments . . . expect to double their Ph.D. output over that period; less well-known departments . . . expect to increase their output more than sixfold" (p. 115).

9 Note that the APSA survey reported in this issue of *PS* projects a downturn in both graduate admissions and Ph.D. entry into the market during the near future.

10 These gross approximations were derived by taking the means of the ranges of growth indicated on the questionnaires (adjusted for non-response), and displayed in Tables 4 and 5, below. These estimates will be refined (so far as the constraints of the data educed by the survey will permit) for the next report on this study – the report to be presented at the forthcoming (1970) APSA Annual Meeting in Los Angeles.

The Profession

The Academic Marketplace in Political Science for the Next Decade: A Preliminary Report On a Survey

able to predict that unless Ph.D.s in Political Science seek careers outside higher education in larger proportions than they have in the past,¹² many will be disappointed.

Distribution of the Impact

In proportional terms, "medium" sized departments (11-20 members) exhibit expectations of greater growth than do "large" departments (21 or more). (See Tables 4 and 5 below, but especially Table 5.)

(Thus, for instance, a projected growth of 4-6 for a "medium" sized department represents a higher proportional increase than 4-6 new positions would be for a "large" department, as in the 1973 figures in Table 5.)

11 See Eulau and March, pp. 70-71. As the APSA survey findings show, the number of new entrants into the market is greater than the number of Ph.D.s awarded in any given year. The BASS report, using the U.S. Office of Education's 1967-77 projections, showed 508 new Ph.D.s for 1970-71, and 554 for 1971-72, while the APSA survey educed figures of 1164 new entrants into the market for 1971 and 1059 by the end of the 1971-72 academic year. The BASS report showed a projected Ph.D. output of 855 for the last year of the estimates, 1976-77.

12 Using information based on the institutional affiliation of individual members of the APSA for 1967, the BASS report's authors found that 75% of the membership was located in academic positions, with 12% in government.

When one controls for institution type and for the "A" list-"B" list variable, the relatively greater growth projected for "medium" departments holds. (See Tables 6 and 7.) It should be noted, however, that state-supported, medium-sized institutions are more bullish than are private or church-affiliated schools. The single-strongest category is the state-supported, Ph.D. granting department with a present faculty of 16-20.

One of the most striking features of the growth projection data is the very low propensity for expansion shown by departments in private and church-affiliated institutions. Since slightly more than 61% of the responding schools fall into one or the other of these categories, the finding is significant. Because most private and church-affiliated schools' departments are small, these responses were not altogether unexpected.

A comparison of Tables 5 and 6 shows that the general picture for both 1973 and 1980 among the "A" list schools parallels the patterns for the sample as a whole. The large departments expect a lower rate of growth, proportionately, than do medium sized departments; and when institution type was controlled for, state-supported institutions showed the highest propensity for expansion.

Table 4 Expected Increases by Department Size

Present Size of Faculty							
Expected Increase	1-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	21-30	31-40	41+
1973							
0-3	96.0%	82.6%	58.3%	47.6%	66.7%	33.3%	42.9%
4-6	3.7	14.8	35.4	42.9	27.3	60.0	42.9
7+	0.3	2.6	6.3	9.6	6.1	6.7	14.3
	N=348	N=115	N=48	N=21	N=33	N=15	N=7
1980							
0-3	72.8%	32.7%	14.6%	15.8%	6.9%	7.1%	16.7%
4-6	24.6	40.7	33.3	21.1	37.9	42.9	16.7
7-10	2.1	20.4	20.8	42.1	37.9	21.4	50.0
11+	0.6	6.2	31.3	21.0	17.2	28.5	16.7
	N=338	N=113	N=48	N=19	N=29	N=14	N=6

Table 5 Expected Increases by Department Size Group

Expected Increase	Faculty Size Group		
	Small	Medium	Large
1973			
0-3	92.7%	55.1%	54.5%
4-6	6.5	37.7	38.2
7+	0.9	7.2	7.3
	N=463	N=69	N=55
1980			
0-3	62.7%	14.9%	8.2%
4-6	28.6	29.9	36.7
7-10	6.7	26.9	34.7
11+	2.0	28.4	20.3
	N=451	N=67	N=49

Table 6 Expected Increases by Faculty Size Group: The "A" and "B" Lists Compared^a

Expected Increase	The "A" List			The "B" List		
	Small ^b	Medium	Large	Small ^b	Medium	Large
1973						
0-3	88.2%	50.0%	54.1%	92.8%	57.1%	55.6%
4-6	11.8	40.0	37.8	6.3	36.7	38.9
7+	.....	10.0	8.1	0.9	6.1	5.6
	N=17	N=20	N=37	N=446	N=49	N=18
1980						
0-3	43.7%	20.0%	6.5%	63.3%	12.8%	11.1%
4-6	37.5	25.0	41.9	28.4	31.9	27.8
7-10	18.7	30.0	32.3	6.2	25.5	38.9
11+	.....	25.0	19.4	2.1	29.8	22.3
	N=16	N=20	N=31	N=436	N=47	N=18

^aThe "A" list consists of Ph.D. granting departments, while the "B" list encompasses all others.

^bThe "small" departments on the "A" list are larger than those on the "B" list: a higher proportion of the former is in the 6-10 category, while the overwhelming majority of the latter consists of departments with 1-5 members.

The Profession

The Academic Marketplace in Political Science for the Next Decade: A Preliminary Report On a Survey

Table 7 Expected Increases by Institution Type^a

Expected Increase	State-supported	Private	Church-affiliated	Total by Institution Type
1973				
0-3	67.7%	93.5%	97.1%	84.7%
4-6	27.5	5.9	2.9	13.1
7+	5.0	0.5	....	2.2
	N=222	N=185	N=174	N=581
1980				
0-3	18.7%	72.1%	75.0%	52.4%
4-6	43.0	20.7	21.4	29.5
7-10	22.4	6.1	3.0	11.5
11+	16.0	1.2	0.6	6.8
	N=219	N=178	N=164	N=561

^aThe six institutions classified "Municipal" and "Other" have been removed from this tabulation.

Table 8 Recruitment Needs by Fields^a

Rank	Field	Percentage of Respondents Indicating Need	
		1973	1980 ^b
1	American Government and Politics	56%	42%
2	State and Local Government (including Urban Politics) ^c ..	49	37
3	Comparative Politics and/or Area Studies	45	36
4	Public Administration	36	25
5	International Relations	31	24
6	Political Theory	24	18
7	Public Law	12	11

^aFields are ranked in order of percentage of indicated need. Rankings for the two periods, it will be noted, are identical.

^bIt should be kept in mind that the figures for 1980 are lower than those for 1973, because some respondents did not indicate any needs by fields for 1980.

^cWrite-in comments by respondents indicate that much of the need in this category is in Urban Politics, rather than in State and Local Government.

Recruitment Needs by Fields of Specialization

In general, the data on priorities by fields of specialization are more reliable than are the estimates of new positions, for two reasons. First, it seems reasonable to assume that the greatest needs will be filled first and that the less pressing may be sacrificed if budgetary or other restraints impinge upon recruitment. Second, while inconsistent modes of response (noted below) introduced a modicum of distortion into the data, the difficulty is not nearly as serious as the problem created by the grossness of the 0-3 response category in the questions dealing with expected increases.

A number of respondents did not (or could not) indicate their priorities by ranking their three most pressing needs (as the questionnaire had requested). Instead, they simply marked the fields in which they had interest. In order to derive maximum utility from the information obtained, two separate codes were used. First, a frequency count was used to record all marks (including numerical rankings) by field.¹³ The percentage figures presented in Table 8 below represent that count: they show all marks (rankings and simple marks) for each of the seven fields used. Second, so that the valuable information on priorities would not be lost, a separate count was made of the rankings. These are presented separately, in Table 9 below.

The field data for 1973 and 1980 are not directly comparable, since many respondents did not rank or mark in the 1980 column or ranked fewer than three – making the bases different. Nevertheless, the figures for the two periods can be viewed in conjunction with each other for some limited purposes.

When field priorities were analyzed with

department size and institution type variables controlled, some interesting relationships became evident. Thus, there is an overwhelming need by 1973 for people in American Government in departments of 21-30 present size (87.9%), and a much lesser need in the larger departments (those with 31 or more members). (This need drops dramatically by 1980 – to 42.4% for the 21-30 size category.)

In Comparative Politics and Area Studies the greatest short-term demand is among the smallest departments and in departments with 31-40 members; while for 1980 the needs even out – with the smallest and largest departments showing somewhat greater demand. Small private and church-affiliated departments indicate a greater need in this field (especially for the next three years) than do departments in state-supported schools.

The demand for specialists in International Relations is rather uneven, in terms of department size. The smallest departments (1-5) and those with faculties of 16-20 exhibited substantial short-term demands, while, to 1980 “medium” and “large” departments seem to have little need in this field.

While there is no clear pattern discernible in the field of Public Administration (aside from the rather significant one of a steady, if moderate demand for the next decade in departments of all kinds), it appears that the need will be somewhat less in the smallest and largest departments. The picture is virtually identical in State and Local Government (with Urban Politics included): the distribution of need is rather even, with, again, the smallest and largest departments showing less demand.

There is a clear pattern with regard to the short-term needs in Political Theory. The larger departments will be recruiting more vigorously in this field during the next three years than will other types of schools. The picture for 1980 shows neither peaks nor noticeable depressions.

No clear patterns emerge with regard to Public Law, either in the short-term or to 1980. If

13 No mark was coded as 0, a mark or ranking was coded as 1. For these and all other computations, the DATA-TEXT program was used on the University of Maryland Computer Science Center's IBM 7094. The coding assistance of Loughlin R. McHugh, Jr., and Rona Wolfe and the machine-related assistance of Mike McKinney, Virginia Lussier and Jonathan Wilkenfeld is gratefully acknowledged, as is the customary helpfulness of the Computer Science Center staff.

The Profession

The Academic Marketplace in Political Science for the Next Decade: A Preliminary Report On a Survey

Table 9 Rankings of Recruitment Needs by Field

Field	First	Second	Third	Mark ^a
1973^b				
American Government and Politics	155	67	80	29
Comparative Politics and/or Area Studies	72	92	78	23
International Relations	43	69	62	12
Public Administration	80	57	53	18
State and Local Government (including Urban Politics) ^c ..	78	123	61	27
Political Theory	41	38	60	5
Public Law	18	21	29	7
Other ^d	5	....	....	....
	492	467	423	121
1980^b				
American Government and Politics	125	53	46	23
Comparative Politics and/or Area Studies	67	72	49	23
International Relations	36	46	47	15
Public Administration	46	38	50	13
State and Local Government (including Urban Politics) ^c ..	59	93	48	21
Political Theory	20	32	44	15
Public Law	6	16	34	11
Other ^d	5	....	1	2
	364	350	319	123

^aSome questionnaires were returned with check or "X" marks in one or more of the field boxes, in lieu of numbers indicating rank ordering.

^bThe rankings for 1973 and 1980 cannot be compared directly, since many respondents did not rank in the 1980 column or ranked inconsistently — making the bases different. The figures for the two periods do lend themselves to internal analysis.

^cSee note c, Table 8.

^dFields written in were: International Relations (3), Black Studies (3), Methodology (2), Political Sociology (2), Mathematical Political Science (1).

would appear that the field will have a low order of priority for most recruiters during the next decade. (This judgment is borne out by the rank-orderings of priorities, as well. Public Law was much more likely to be a second or third order priority than first – especially in the long-run.)

Conclusions and Observations

As noted, there are two sources of imprecision in this study: (1) shortcomings of questionnaire design; and (2) the very nature of the sorts of projections elicited by the survey. Given the information obtained in this survey, it is not possible to distinguish between “desired” and unwanted stability in faculty size. It is, of course, quite likely that some departments that indicated little or no growth expectations have reached desired enrollment levels, faculty-student ratios and teaching loads. The data available simply do not shed light on this question. Such limitations militate in favor of extremely cautious and tentative conclusions. Nevertheless, it seems justifiable to conclude that in the 1970’s – unlike the 1950’s and 1960’s – there will be more political scientists looking for positions in colleges and universities than there will be vacancies.

While it is not unreasonable to expect some drop in doctoral output as an accommodation to this condition, there are pressures extrinsic to the market that will not allow an adequate “rationalization” of production rates. The reasons for initiating and sustaining Ph.D. programs often have little to do with market conditions. Intra-university pressures, budgetary considerations (such as a “capitation” scheme, whereby departments with large graduate enrollments are rewarded in terms of money, lower teaching loads, electric typewriters and other perquisites), pursuit of the rewards of prestige that are often attached to doctoral programs and other extraneous factors – so far as the current market conditions are concerned – will probably continue to influence doctorate production.

Consumption – i.e., the opening of new positions – is influenced by such factors as the political climate in state legislatures, the birth

rate, federal, state and private sources of research and other supporting funds and the like. Clearly, many of these forces are beyond the realm of control (and perhaps even the influence) of the discipline.

At this juncture, the most obvious and pressing needs are informational and educational: (1) a systematic, regular survey of recruitment needs and Ph.D. output should be established (with a sounding at least every other year); (2) presently enrolled graduate students should be apprised of the state of the market; (3) alternative career paths should be explored; and (4) incoming and prospective graduate students should be counselled regarding their career aims in light of the market situation. Clearly, operating on the catch-as-catch can basis that has characterized academic placement in this discipline (as well as in others, to be sure) during the last two decades can no longer be tolerated.

I suggest that the Association assume the responsibility for establishing the market survey – a survey that should be far more thorough and precise than this private effort has been. It would not be inappropriate, in my judgment, if the Association also took the initiative in educating members of the discipline in matters of the market. Finally, the Association might encourage the development of more efficient and more equitable recruitment practices than the casual ones that seemed to suffice during the years of the sellers’ market. It is encouraging – but it should not lead to complacency – to note that the APSA’s Council and staff have already begun to move on a number of these fronts.

The Profession

Faculty Opinion Survey

The Carnegie Commission on Higher Education has released the tabulations of a Fall, 1969, survey of a sample of 60,447 faculty members in American universities. Results will be analyzed as part of a larger project by Seymour Martin Lipset, Harvard University, Martin A. Trow, University of California,

Berkeley, and Everett C. Ladd, University of Connecticut. Many questions were asked of each respondent concerning academic and political life. Those for which distributions were available by discipline follow.

"What do you think of the emergence of radical student activism in recent years?"

Field	Unreservedly approve	Approve with reservations	Disapprove with reservations	Unreservedly disapprove
Sociology (1,035)	9.2	65.5	21.9	3.4
Anthropology (458)	7.0	55.5	29.5	7.0
Psychology (2,111)	5.3	59.2	29.2	6.0
Economics (1,514)	5.3	50.6	35.1	8.5
Political Science (1,268)	5.9	56.8	30.3	6.3
Social Work (512)	8.0	63.9	24.2	2.7
Geography (402)	2.5	41.0	38.8	17.4
English (3,409)	6.4	55.3	30.3	7.4
Languages (2,809)	4.3	44.6	36.4	13.9
Philosophy (785)	7.9	59.9	28.0	3.8
History (2,015)	5.1	56.3	31.0	7.1
Religion (539)	4.8	61.0	27.6	6.3
Fine Arts (3,473)	3.7	48.6	37.5	9.9
Architecture (514)	5.4	51.0	32.9	9.7
Biology (4,567)	2.0	38.6	43.9	15.0
Medicine (2,384)	1.4	35.0	47.1	16.1
Mathematics (2,919)	4.4	37.5	42.0	15.2
Chemistry (1,891)	2.3	36.5	45.2	15.4
Geology (810)	2.2	32.5	45.8	19.1
Physics (1,713)	2.9	45.8	38.4	12.2
Law (611)	3.8	42.9	38.1	14.4
Education (3,161)	2.5	45.1	40.1	11.8
Business (2,343)	1.4	27.5	47.7	23.3
Engineering (4,383)	1.6	25.6	47.8	24.3
Physical Education (1,208)	0.6	24.3	51.8	22.8
Home Economics (580)	0.7	27.4	51.6	20.0
Library Science (245)	1.6	41.6	43.7	12.7
Nursing (835)	0.8	39.0	48.4	11.3
Agriculture (1,402)	0.9	18.5	52.6	27.7
All Respondents (60,447)	3.3	41.0	39.7	14.4

“How would you characterize yourself politically at the present time?”

Field	Left	Liberal	Middle of the road	Moderately conservative	Strongly conservative
Sociology (1,035)	19.4	61.4	11.7	4.9	0.1
Anthropology (458)	15.3	54.1	16.6	9.6	0.4
Psychology (2,111)	8.5	60.6	18.5	10.0	0.7
Economics (1,514)	8.7	53.0	20.7	12.7	1.8
Political Science (1,268)	13.8	58.0	16.2	8.4	0.7
Social Work (512)	11.5	67.2	12.3	5.9	0.4
Geography (402)	3.5	42.5	29.4	20.1	2.5
English (3,409)	11.4	54.4	17.5	12.3	1.7
Languages (2,809)	8.0	48.0	22.2	16.9	2.1
Philosophy (785)	17.6	59.5	12.6	6.6	1.3
History (2,015)	14.0	54.7	16.9	11.2	0.9
Religion (539)	8.7	59.7	18.4	10.2	0.9
Fine Arts (3,473)	4.4	48.9	24.6	17.9	1.7
Architecture (514)	7.0	51.9	18.7	17.9	1.9
Biology (4,567)	3.8	40.2	28.0	24.6	1.7
Medicine (2,384)	2.0	38.6	28.4	26.8	2.2
Mathematics (2,919)	7.3	40.0	27.7	20.2	2.5
Chemistry (1,891)	3.6	41.2	28.7	22.1	2.1
Geology (810)	3.0	34.4	30.5	27.2	3.0
Physics (1,713)	4.8	49.6	24.5	16.6	1.8
Law (611)	7.5	49.1	24.2	14.6	2.5
Education (3,161)	2.6	42.1	29.5	22.7	1.1
Business (2,343)	0.9	29.5	30.1	33.7	3.3
Engineering (4,383)	2.2	26.7	29.5	34.9	4.5
Physical Education (1,208)	0.5	18.6	31.8	43.8	3.8
Home Economics (580)	0.2	20.2	36.7	37.8	2.6
Library Science (245)	1.6	46.9	27.3	22.4	0.4
Nursing (835)	0.5	30.4	32.5	32.7	1.2
Agriculture (1,402)	0.1	17.9	31.2	45.7	3.6
All Respondents (60,447)	5.5	41.5	24.9	22.2	2.2

The Profession

Faculty Opinion Survey

“Which of these positions on Vietnam is closest to your own?”

Field	immediately Withdraw	Encourage coalition government	Reduce commitment but prevent Communit takeover	Defeat Communists whatever cost
Sociology (1,035)	35.2	49.8	11.8	1.3
Anthropology (458)	35.8	45.0	15.7	0.9
Psychology (2,111)	26.7	53.0	15.9	2.5
Economics (1,514)	22.3	51.4	20.9	2.8
Political Science (1,268)	22.5	50.9	20.3	2.9
Social Work (512)	34.6	46.7	14.1	2.1
Geography (402)	12.2	47.3	33.1	5.5
English (3,409)	31.3	46.5	16.9	2.8
Languages (2,809)	28.0	41.4	23.1	5.1
Philosophy (785)	29.4	52.5	13.6	1.9
History (2,015)	26.5	48.8	19.8	2.2
Religion (539)	20.2	56.6	19.5	1.7
Fine Arts (3,473)	23.9	43.5	26.3	3.9
Architecture (514)	22.0	46.1	24.1	5.3
Biology (4,567)	17.8	43.0	32.1	5.2
Medicine (2,384)	15.8	47.3	29.2	5.5
Mathematics (2,919)	20.6	43.5	28.7	4.7
Chemistry (1,891)	15.7	47.3	29.8	4.6
Geology (810)	12.8	44.4	33.8	6.7
Physics (1,713)	20.4	49.9	23.1	4.0
Law (611)	18.5	48.3	26.7	4.1
Education (3,161)	14.7	42.1	35.1	5.7
Business (2,343)	9.3	37.3	39.5	10.8
Engineering (4,383)	11.3	35.6	40.2	10.0
Physical Education (1,208)	7.5	29.8	45.4	14.7
Home Economics (580)	9.5	33.4	45.5	8.1
Library Science (245)	18.4	40.4	33.9	4.9
Nursing (835)	11.4	40.2	39.9	5.6
Agriculture (1,402)	5.4	29.8	50.5	11.8
All Respondents (60,447)	19.0	42.1	29.1	6.0

“Whom did you vote for in 1968?”

Field	Humphrey	Nixon	Wallace	Another candidate	Did not vote
Sociology (1,035)	69.6	8.0	0.1	6.5	12.5
Anthropology (458)	61.1	10.9	0.4	7.4	14.6
Psychology (2,111)	68.2	14.6	0.0	2.7	10.9
Economics (1,514)	60.8	18.0	0.0	3.8	13.1
Political Science (1,268)	71.2	11.8	0.1	2.9	9.5
Social Work (512)	79.9	5.9	0.0	3.9	6.6
Geography (402)	52.7	26.4	0.7	1.0	13.4
English (3,409)	64.8	14.5	0.6	4.8	11.3
Languages (2,809)	50.4	18.1	0.8	2.8	20.1
Philosophy (785)	66.5	9.4	0.4	6.1	13.6
History (2,015)	68.3	12.9	0.4	4.7	10.1
Religion (539)	70.3	15.6	0.0	1.5	8.7
Fine Arts (3,473)	55.3	26.7	0.9	2.3	10.2
Architecture (514)	50.2	24.5	1.2	2.3	15.0
Biology (4,567)	50.0	32.9	0.8	1.5	10.1
Medicine (2,384)	45.5	41.3	0.5	0.5	8.5
Mathematics (2,919)	49.5	26.1	1.1	3.9	13.9
Chemistry (1,891)	50.9	31.0	1.0	1.4	10.6
Geology (810)	41.6	37.5	0.9	1.2	14.0
Physics (1,713)	55.5	21.2	0.5	2.6	13.6
Law (611)	63.8	25.2	0.7	1.0	6.7
Education (3,161)	53.7	33.1	0.6	1.1	6.5
Business (2,343)	38.2	46.2	1.2	0.8	8.1
Engineering (4,383)	32.9	47.2	1.4	1.1	10.7
Physical Education (1,208)	31.3	54.4	1.4	0.2	6.6
Home Economics (580)	30.7	51.6	0.9	0.7	8.3
Library Science (245)	59.6	25.7	0.8	1.6	9.0
Nursing (835)	43.4	44.6	0.4	0.4	6.5
Agriculture (1,402)	30.0	58.3	1.7	0.1	5.0
All Respondents (60,447)	50.1	29.8	0.8	2.2	10.5

The Profession

Faculty Opinion Survey

"In what religion were you raised and what is your present religion?"

Field	Protestant	Catholic	Jewish	Other	None
Sociology (1,035)	59.2 (30.6)	13.7 (8.8)	16.3 (9.7)	3.2 (6.3)	5.8 (41.7)
Anthropology (458)	62.4 (21.2)	10.5 (4.6)	11.4 (5.0)	3.9 (6.1)	8.7 (56.1)
Psychology (2,111)	57.5 (25.4)	13.8 (7.2)	19.8 (12.4)	2.0 (7.7)	5.4 (44.1)
Economics (1,514)	61.2 (38.6)	12.9 (8.7)	15.3 (10.2)	3.2 (5.4)	5.0 (32.4)
Political Science (1,268)	60.6 (36.4)	12.9 (8.1)	15.9 (10.8)	3.8 (6.4)	4.6 (33.4)
Social Work (512)	60.4 (41.4)	13.5 (11.1)	19.1 (14.1)	1.8 (7.2)	3.3 (23.6)
Geography (402)	76.1 (53.5)	10.4 (6.0)	3.2 (2.7)	3.7 (6.7)	5.2 (26.6)
English (3,409)	64.5 (34.8)	18.4 (13.1)	8.6 (4.6)	2.2 (6.2)	4.3 (35.3)
Languages (2,809)	52.2 (30.7)	25.8 (17.6)	9.0 (5.8)	5.0 (6.7)	5.5 (32.9)
Philosophy (785)	54.9 (23.2)	26.9 (19.7)	8.9 (3.6)	1.7 (7.8)	6.0 (40.8)
History (2,015)	64.3 (39.6)	15.6 (11.6)	11.9 (6.7)	2.5 (4.2)	4.2 (32.7)
Religion (539)	69.9 (66.8)	24.5 (24.7)	2.2 (1.9)	1.3 (2.6)	0.9 (2.2)
Fine Arts (3,473)	69.8 (46.0)	13.2 (9.3)	8.0 (4.9)	3.1 (6.8)	3.8 (27.0)
Architecture (514)	65.8 (38.7)	15.6 (9.7)	8.2 (4.9)	3.5 (8.6)	4.3 (32.3)
Biology (4,567)	67.2 (43.5)	11.9 (8.9)	11.1 (7.1)	3.8 (6.8)	4.4 (30.0)
Medicine (2,384)	61.2 (47.6)	12.7 (10.0)	19.0 (15.2)	2.3 (4.7)	3.2 (19.3)
Mathematics (2,919)	61.5 (39.2)	15.2 (11.6)	12.6 (8.4)	3.9 (6.4)	5.0 (30.3)
Chemistry (1,891)	66.5 (46.3)	15.5 (11.8)	8.1 (5.3)	3.5 (5.7)	4.0 (25.3)
Geology (810)	74.2 (47.4)	11.9 (8.6)	3.2 (2.5)	2.8 (6.2)	5.4 (31.4)
Physics (1,713)	57.5 (35.6)	13.0 (8.7)	15.2 (9.3)	4.7 (6.8)	7.5 (34.9)
Law (611)	54.5 (40.3)	16.4 (13.6)	22.7 (16.7)	1.6 (3.1)	2.6 (22.4)
Education (3,161)	73.1 (61.0)	14.7 (11.6)	5.9 (4.3)	2.3 (4.8)	2.1 (14.2)
Business (2,343)	68.4 (58.5)	16.0 (13.9)	8.5 (7.3)	3.4 (5.0)	1.6 (11.8)
Engineering (4,383)	64.6 (53.5)	14.3 (12.1)	8.4 (6.3)	5.9 (7.2)	4.5 (16.8)
Physical Education (1,208)	76.2 (65.6)	15.4 (15.1)	2.9 (2.3)	2.4 (3.9)	1.3 (10.3)
Home Economics (580)	83.1 (77.8)	9.8 (9.7)	0.7 (0.5)	3.8 (5.3)	1.0 (4.7)
Library Science (245)	73.9 (55.9)	11.8 (9.0)	7.8 (4.5)	2.9 (8.2)	2.4 (17.6)
Nursing (835)	66.7 (57.0)	26.9 (27.2)	1.4 (1.2)	1.2 (3.6)	1.7 (7.8)
Agriculture (1,402)	82.5 (76.2)	8.2 (7.3)	1.1 (0.9)	4.6 (5.4)	2.3 (7.3)
All Respondents (60,447)	64.0 (45.3)	15.4 (11.8)	10.0 (6.7)	3.5 (6.0)	3.9 (24.6)

Present religious beliefs are shown in parentheses.

The Profession

Professional Notes

Washington International Semester

The American University's School of International Service will offer a new Washington International Semester Program for undergraduates beginning in the fall of 1970. This is the third in a set of field study and research programs in public affairs offered by the American University, the other two being the Washington Semester and the Washington Urban Semester. Like them, the Washington International Semester consists of a course of seminars in the field and an independent research project. The focus of the Program is on the processes of foreign policy formation, diplomatic relations in Washington, and the forces affecting United States' policy-stands. Operating in conjunction with the Washington Semester and the Washington Urban Semester, the Washington International Semester will be open to students from other universities. Further information on all three programs may be obtained from Nathaniel S. Preston, Director, Washington Semester Program, The American University, Washington, D.C. 20016.

Brookings Presidential Selection Studies

The Brookings Institution has launched a program of studies on "Presidential Selection in the United States" supported by a grant of \$230,000 from the Ford Foundation. Donald R. Matthews, formerly of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, will direct the program. William Keech (on leave from the University of North Carolina), Judith Parris, and Daniel Mazmanian will make up the remainder of the resident staff of the program.

The program will take a fresh look at how presidents are selected in the United States, weighing the costs and benefits of the present system against the probable consequences of various possible changes.

The program will take up three central issues of presidential selection – the role of presidential primaries, of minor parties and of the party nominating conventions. When combined with the studies of the electoral college and of financing television campaigning already under way at Brookings, they should help clarify most of the issues about presidential selection which have emerged in recent years. An additional volume of studies on presidential selection consisting of articles and essays prepared by younger scholars at colleges and universities will also be published.

Center for Political Studies

The Institute of Social Research, University of Michigan, formally acquired its fourth research center on May 15 when the Board of Regents approved the establishment of the Center for Political Studies.

The new Center is a further development of the Political Behavior Program which has been a part of the Survey Research Center since the mid-1950s.

Warren Miller will be the director for the new Center. He has been research Coordinator in SRC since 1968 and executive director of the Inter-University Consortium for Political Research since 1962.

In its fifteen years of existence, the Political Behavior Program has established an international reputation for political research. The Program's first efforts were concerned mainly with interpreting American political behavior through national election surveys. Research results from these election studies have been reported in such books as *The Voter Decides* (1954), *The American Voter* (1960), and *Elections and the Political Order* (1966).

While the election studies will continue to be an important part of the Center for Political Studies' work, political research at ISR has increasingly been looking beyond the boundaries of the United States. Such cross-national studies have been, or will soon be, underway in at least 15 countries. The cross-national studies are organized around the same basic design – to explore the relationship between national legislative bodies (political elites) and their electors (the mass public).

The largest single Program within the new Center for Political Studies will concern the Inter-University Consortium for Political Research. The Consortium was organized in 1962 as a partnership between SRC and some 20 universities, colleges and non-profit research institutions, in order to make the SRC data resources and training skills more widely available across the country. Since that time the Consortium has grown to include some 130 member universities. The Consortium conducts regular summer training programs, provides consultation, and maintains a massive archive of electoral, legislative, and behavioral data as well as election statistics and census material (American voting records have been recovered and documented, in some cases, as far back as 1790).

The Profession

Professional Notes

Foreign Research Newsletter

Far Horizons is the bimonthly newsletter of the Foreign Area Research Coordination Group of the Office of External Research, Department of State. In the latest issue, Michael H. Armacost, Pomona College, compares his experience as a White House Fellow serving in the Planning and Coordination Staff, Department of State, with his usual occupation as a political science professor. Also included is an account of the diplomat-in-residence program of the State Department, for diplomats on leave to spend a year at a college or university. The newsletter regularly carries news of conferences, publications and governmental activities in the area of foreign affairs research. For information, write Office of External Affairs, Department of State.

Brookings Invites Manuscripts on Presidential Selection

The Brookings Institution has announced its plan to publish a book of articles and essays on "Democracy and Presidential Selection" written by junior scholars at colleges and universities. The volume is part of a new Brookings program on presidential selection in the United States, supported by a grant from the Ford Foundation. It is hoped that this publication will stimulate new research and attract able new people into research on electoral policy.

Article length manuscripts on any aspect of presidential selection in the United States (including comparisons with non-American systems) will be considered for possible inclusion in the book. Systematic-empirical analyses, descriptive case studies, appraisals of current laws and practices and alternatives to them, and theoretical essays are all appropriate.

The book will be edited by Donald R. Matthews, Senior Fellow in Governmental Studies, The Brookings Institution, 1775 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C., 20036. Persons wishing additional information on this competition or desiring to submit manuscripts should contact him.

Kansas State Publications

Kansas State University has taken over editorial responsibility for two publications, *Military Affairs* and *Aerospace Historian*. Articles for these journals, especially for the period since 1939, are welcomed by the editor, Robin Higham. Address: Kansas State University, Manhattan, Kansas 66502.

Development Group

The National Association For Community Development has a number of new publications available for purchase.

- A complete, interpretive history of the legislative process behind the Economic Opportunity Act amendments is contained in *OEO-1969*,
- Manpower programs and legislation are exhaustively covered in *Current Manpower Trends and Directions*,
- A listing of consultants and grantees in the community development field is compiled in NACD's *Training and Technical Assistance Directory*.

NACD is a national, professional organization numbering some 400 agencies and over 4,500 individuals.

Involved in programs of human and community development, NACD services include a monthly newspaper, *Community Development* (also available by subscription); weekly newsheets, meetings, seminars, and conferences.

For a description of NACD publications, as well as order forms and membership information, write NACD, 1424 16th St. NW, Washington, D.C. 20036. (202) 667-9137)

Abstracts Journal

Peace Research Abstracts Journal, now in its seventh volume of publication, contains abstracts of articles, books, reports, and conference papers on subjects related to war and peace issues, and international affairs. Every month, 750 such abstracts are published, classified according to subject, under headings ranging from "nuclear weapons" through "United Nations" to "attitude surveys." Coverage is cross-disciplinary. The Journal is an official publication of the International Peace Research Association and has had support from UNESCO. It is published by the Canadian Peace Research Institute.

The abstracting work is done by about 70 volunteer abstractors around the world. The journal in which you are reading this announcement is not at present receiving regular coverage by an abstractor. If anyone would like to try abstracting it, or some other journal (please name it), write to Dr. Alan and Hanna Newcombe, Editors, Peace Research Abstracts, 25 Dundas Avenue, Dundas, Ontario.

Health Policy Group

A group of Political Scientists Interested in the Field of Health has formed a steering committee to organize the group's activities. First meeting of the group was a Symposium on Political Science and Public Health, held in April, 1969 in Boston, sponsored by the Harvard University School of Public Health. The Steering Committee was formed during the Annual Meeting of the APSA in September, 1969. Chairman of the group is Basil J. F. Mott, Harvard School of Public Health. Other members of the committee are Eugene N. Feingold, University of Michigan School of Public Health; William S. Flash, University of North Carolina School of Public Health; Matthew Holden, Jr., University of Wisconsin; Victor Jones, University of California, Berkeley; Hervert Kaufman, Brookings Institution; Theodore R. Marmore, Kennedy Institute; and John H. Romani, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee. In September, 1970, Ralph Straetz, New York University, will succeed as chairman. The first issue of a newsletter, *Political Science and Health*, was issued in May 1970. Those interested in further information should write: Basil J. F. Mott, Harvard University School of Public Health, 55 Shattuck Street, Boston, Massachusetts 02115. A *Report* on the Symposium and a *Conceptual Bibliography* have been issued.

Political Science and Population

The First Annual Workshop for Political Science in Population Studies, December 10-11, 1970, will take up working drafts of eight papers focusing political science analysis on various aspects of population studies. Following roundtable critiquing of drafts, finished papers are expected to be published in the spring of 1971 by the Carolina Population Center. Jointly with the Department of Political Science, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, the Center is sponsoring the series of annual workshops in a developmental effort to focus political science research and teaching upon problems of population dynamics and policy.

Participants expected to present papers in the first workshop include: Theodore J. Lowi, Peter Bachrach, A.F.K. Organski, Jason L. Finkle, Oscar Harkovy, Alden E. Lind, James R. White, and David L. Sills. Persons interested in receiving a summary report on the workshop and the final papers (or possibly interested in faculty positions in this area) are invited to write John D. Martz, Department of Political Science, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina 27514.

Tennessee MPA Program

The University of Tennessee, Knoxville and Middle Tennessee State University, Murfreesboro have announced a new joint graduate program in public administration, leading to the degree of Master of Public Administration.

The M.P.A. degree is awarded by either the University of Tennessee or Middle Tennessee State University upon the completion of the equivalent of 48 quarter hours or 32 semester hours. A Certificate, issued jointly by both Universities, will also be awarded to the graduates of this program.

Primarily an in-service program for middle and upper management government officials, classrooms, administrative offices, and library facilities are located in the facilities of the University of Tennessee at Nashville. Courses in the program are taught by full-time faculty members of the political science departments of both institutions. These faculty members are Lee S. Greene, George S. Huffman, Hyrum Plaas, Donato J. Pugliese, and Charles A. Zuzak from the University of Tennessee and Frank W. Essex, David H. Grubbs, Curry Peacock, and George Vernardakis from Middle Tennessee State University.

Persons seeking further information about the program should write to Dr. Donato J. Pugliese, M.T.S.U.-U.T. Graduate Program in Public Administration, 810 Broadway, Nashville, Tennessee 37203.

NORC Bibliography

The National Opinion Research Center has issued an updated version of its Bibliography of Publications. It covers the period 1961-1969, and supplements the publication *NORC Social Research* which includes all publications since 1941. Additions to the NORC mailing list are invited. Write to the National Opinion Research Center, University of Chicago, 6030 South Ellis Avenue, Chicago, Illinois 60637.

Convention Study

The Democratic National Committee has published "Mandate for Reform," the report of the Commission on Party Structure and Delegate Selection. The report includes an analysis of delegate selection in 1968 as well as recommendations for future conventions. Political scientists interested in obtaining copies should write to: Democratic National Committee, 2600 Virginia Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037.

The Profession

Professional Notes

Teaching Improvement Project

The American Association of University Professors and the American Association of Colleges have joined in forming the Project to Improve College Teaching. Kenneth E. Eble is Director of the Project. The Project has issued a "Special Report on Evaluation of College Teaching," and will continue to issue publications during the life of the project. Information can be obtained from the Project, One Dupont Circle, Washington D.C. 20036.

LSU Name Change

The Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, Department of Government will be named the Department of Political Science, September, 1970.

Criminology Journal

Sage Publications has announced that it will publish *Criminology* – *An Interdisciplinary Journal* as of May, 1970. The journal is the official publication of the American Society of Criminology, and was formerly titled *Criminologica*. *Criminology* is devoted to the study of crime and behavior as found in the social sciences and related applied fields. Editor of the journal is C. Ray Jeffery. Manuscripts from political scientists are especially welcomed, and should be sent to the Editor, Department of Criminology and Corrections, Florida State University, Tallahassee, Florida 32306.

Subscriptions are \$10 yearly for personal subscriptions, full-time students \$7.50, institutions \$15. The journal is published quarterly in May, August, November and February. Subscriptions should be ordered from Sage Publications, 275 South Beverly Drive, Beverly Hills, California 90212. Sage Publications also publishes a number of other professional journals in the social sciences.

New Political Journal

The first issue of a new quarterly journal, *Politics and Society*, will be published in November 1970. The journal is intended to provide a forum for the publication of "well-written, solid scholarship dealing with important political concerns." Editor of the journal is Ira Katznelson. Contributions are invited from scholars "who address their scholarship to significant political concerns and who are in basic sympathy with the journal's statement of intent." Manuscripts should be typed and submitted in duplicate to the Editor, in care of the Department of Political Science, Columbia University, New York, New York 10027.

Pre-law Handbook

The Association of American Law Schools and the Law School Admission Test Council have again collaborated in the preparation of a pre-law handbook, entitled "Law Study and Practice in the United States, 1969-1970." It is intended to provide advice and assistance on the choice of law as a profession, the selection of a law school, and preparation for the study of law. The Bobbs-Merrill Company is the publisher.

The Handbook contains sections describing the legal profession generally, opportunities for various legal careers, suggested courses of study prior to entering law school, and what can be expected in typical law schools in the United States. In addition, the Handbook contains statistical information for individual law schools, the number of students, admissions prerequisites, tuition and other costs, and a profile of the admission test scores and undergraduate records of the entering class for 1968 in most of the schools. A complete list of accredited schools, their addresses and brief descriptive passages are also included.

Copies of the current Handbook can be obtained for \$3.95 each from college bookstores or from: Law Division, The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 4300 West 62nd Street, Indianapolis, Indiana 46268. Free copies are available to pre-law advisors listed by the LSAT Council.

Zambezi Journal

Zambezia is the journal of the University College of Rhodesia and its publication has been made possible by a generous grant from the Library and Publications Committee of the College. The title *Zambezia* has been chosen to convey a primary interest in the life of human societies in countries on, or around, the Zambezi.

The Editorial Board plans to produce the journal once a year and will welcome contributions in the field of local art and literature, education, sociology, social medicine, political science, history, linguistics, and indeed in any aspect of society. It is therefore hoped that contributions will be forthcoming not only from members of the College but also from other scholars with a knowledge of Rhodesia and other parts of Central and Southern Africa. The journal is obtainable on exchange or by purchase, \$2.82 per issue. Write to: The Librarian (Exchanges and Publications), University College of Rhodesia, P.O. Box MP45, Mount Pleasant, Salisbury, Rhodesia.

German Conference Group

The Conference Group on German Politics has recently distributed the second edition of its machine-processed current research summary on German politics, compiled by Jeff Fishel at American University. This 20 page summary is sent to all members of the Conference Group, and includes information on the research projects of members and others currently in progress. The Conference Group also has a newsletter for its members, and sponsors conferences of its own and in conjunction with other scholarly meetings, both in the United States and in Germany. The next meeting will be held in Munich at the time of the World Congress of the International Political Science Association. The subject will be "The Internal and External Politics of the German Democratic Republic." Local arrangements are being made by Kurt Sontheimer. For information write Arthur M. Hanhardt, Jr., Department of Political Science, University of Oregon, Eugene, Oregon 97403.

For information about the Conference Group on German Politics, write to The Secretary-Treasurer, Charles R. Foster, 200 C Street, S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003. Dues are \$3 yearly.

Newsletter on Communist Studies

Frederic J. Fleron, Jr. has recently become editor of the *Newsletter on Comparative Studies of Communism* sponsored by the Planning Group on Comparative Communist Studies of the American Council of Learned Societies. As in the past, the *Newsletter* will carry announcements of recent and forthcoming publications, research conferences, research projects, archives, and news and announcements relevant to comparative Communist studies. In the future, however, the *Newsletter* will also carry review essays on relevant books and articles, commentaries and debates on relevant topics, and will generally serve as a forum for the exchange of views on theoretical, substantive, methodological, and technical issues in the comparative study of Communism. In addition, a series of "Occasional Papers on the Comparative Study of Communism" will be inaugurated in the near future. These papers will be circulated to individuals on the *Newsletter* mailing list. Persons wishing to have their names added to the mailing list or desiring to make contributions to the *Newsletter* or "Occasional Papers" should write directly to Frederic J. Fleron, Jr., Editor, Newsletter on Comparative Studies of Communism, Department of Political Science, State University of New York at Buffalo, 4238 Ridge Lea Road, Buffalo, N.Y. 14226.

Guide to Political Science Literature

The professional literature of political science is contained in more than half a million books, 4,200 articles published each year in some 1,500 journals, thousands of newspapers, and a million or so government documents. To help scholars and students deal with this literature, the R. R. Bowker Company has just published *The Literature of Political Science*. Part A, "Information Sources and How To Use Them," discusses the use of periodical indexes and abstracts, book reviews, U.S. Government publications, publications of the United Nations and other international organizations, state government publications, statistical sources, and English-language translations of foreign sources. Part B, "Bibliographies and Other Reference Sources," consists of an annotated survey of the major bibliographies and reference tools in the areas of general political science, American government and politics, political behavior and public opinion, public administration, international relations, comparative politics, and world communism. Approximately 500 information sources are included.

The Literature of Political Science is edited by Clifton Brock, associate librarian of the Louis Round Wilson Library, University of North Carolina. Copies, priced at \$7.95 net postpaid in the U.S. and Canada (\$8.75 elsewhere) – 20% off on 5 or more, are available from the R. R. Bowker Company, 1180 Avenue of the Americas, New York, N.Y. 10036.

Science Policy Newsletter

The Science and Public Policy Studies Group has issued the third number of the *SPPSG Newsletter* in a new format for its members and affiliates. The group distributes information on science policy and its place in education and society. Information may be obtained from SPPSG, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Room E53-418, Cambridge, Massachusetts 02139.

Science Policy Program

The George Washington University has begun a Program in Science, Technology and Public Policy in its School of Public and International Affairs. Other participating schools are the National Law Center, the School of Engineering and Applied Science, and the School of Government and Business Administration. Information is available from the Program, George Washington University, Washington, D.C. 20006.

The Profession

Professional Notes

Overseas Speaking Engagements

Political scientists who will be overseas on sabbatical leave, foundation projects or privately, may be interested in the U.S. Information Agency's Volunteer Speakers Service.

Through this new service, American Embassies and Consulates are advised of planned visits to their areas by American scholars, scientists, writers and others who are willing to devote some time to participation in Embassy-sponsored lecture programs, seminars and the like.

Volunteer Speakers may thus have an opportunity to extend their acquaintance and sometimes their itineraries, and to help in the development of relations between their own professional community in America and that of the host country.

Per diem and the costs of regional travel undertaken in connection with USIS-sponsored activities are paid by the sponsoring embassies. USIS Washington does not pay for international travel from or to the United States, or offer other financial assistance. Nor does it make commitments with regard to overseas programming. Its role is limited to collecting and disseminating to overseas posts information about potential speakers.

For further information write to Dr. William F. DeMyer, Chief, Educational Support Branch, I.C.S., U.S. Information Agency, 1717 H Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20547, or phone (202) 632-6738.

Science Bibliography

The House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on National Security Policy and Scientific Developments is sponsoring an extended study by the Science Policy Research and Foreign Affairs Divisions of the Legislative Reference Service, Library of Congress, on "Science, Technology and American Diplomacy."

As parts of the study are completed they will be published and distributed as committee prints. The first such document, an annotated bibliography of works on science and foreign affairs, has now been issued.

For copies or further information, write to Franklin P. Huddle of the Library of Congress, who is director of the project.

The Helderberg Review

The Graduate School of Public Affairs at the State University of New York at Albany announces a new publication, *The Helderberg Review*. The first issue of the *Review* will appear Fall, 1970. The *Review* is a scholarly, humanistic journal devoted to problems dealing with the relationship between human values and the study of public affairs. Manuscripts are welcomed from faculty and graduate students. For further information write to: Editor, *The Helderberg Review*, State University of New York, Graduate School of Public Affairs, Sayles Hall, 179 Partridge Street, Albany, New York 12203. Subscriptions cost \$3.00 per year.

New Policy Magazine

A new magazine devoted to securing "basic structural changes" in American society has been established, entitled *Social Policy*. Subjects will include the "unorthodox, the tentative and exploratory, the deeply felt," and manuscripts are welcomed. The magazine will be published six times a year, and subscriptions are \$8. Write to Box 534, Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003.

Research Catalog

The Foreign Area Research Coordination Group of the U.S. Government, a group of agencies concerned with foreign affairs research, coordinated by the Office of External Research of the Department of State, has compiled for the first time a listing of unclassified government-supported research related to foreign areas, international affairs and U.S. foreign policy. This publication represents a prototype of the kind of publication which could be made available to schools and the general public in the future. Comments and inquiries should be sent to E. Raymond Platig, Director, Office of External Research, U.S. Department of State, Washington, D.C. 20520.

Microform Documents

Research Publications, 254 College Street, New Haven, Connecticut 06510, has announced the publication on microfilm of several items, including: Maclure Collection of French Revolutionary Materials, California County and Regional Histories, Papers of John Ettwein from Moravian Church Archives, City Directories of the United States through 1860 and 1861-1881, Published Colonial Records of the American Colonies, and Utah and the Mormons.

Federalism Center Publications

The Center for the Study of Federalism, Temple University, has issued a new edition of its publication list, available on request from the Center. Directed by Daniel J. Elazar, the Center conducts research on problems of federalism and serves as a clearinghouse. A new journal, *Publius*, has also been established at the Center. Its most recent conference was held on the subject of "Environmental Quality," in April, 1970. Information may be obtained from the Center, Temple University, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19122.

Policy Journal

Policy Sciences, a new scholarly quarterly, will provide a forum for the discussion of policy analysis, systems approaches and decision-making, especially in the area of social problems. The aim is to "blend management disciplines, decision approaches, and the behavioral sciences, so as to evolve a new interdisciplinary activity focused on public policy-making and its improvement." Subscriptions will be \$15 yearly. Manuscripts are invited. Address is *Policy Sciences*, American Elsevier Publishing Company, 52 Vanderbilt Avenue, New York, New York 10017.

New Politics Journal

The political science department of East Carolina University, Greenville, North Carolina, has begun this year the annual publication of *Politics*, a journal of contemporary political problems. The journal will examine specific topics as they relate to the southeastern region of the United States, and aims for comprehensive treatment of viewpoints of interest to educators and students alike.

Politics 1970 is on the topic, "Student Unrest on the American Campus." Single copies are \$3 (including postage) from the Editor at P.O. Box 2771, Greenville, North Carolina 27834.

Connecticut Data Center

The University of Connecticut has established a Social Science Data Center, to bring together in an on-campus archive a wide array of social and political data in machine-readable form. The Center will seek to develop a capacity to utilize these data in the most efficient manner in teaching and research. The new Center replaces the Political Data Center which has operated for two years on a smaller scale. Everett C. Ladd has been appointed Director.

California Index

California News Index, a semi-monthly reference guide to state, regional and local information appearing in California periodicals, began publication in July. Edited by the Center for California Public Affairs, it will selectively index news, feature articles and opinion in six of the state's major newspapers, including the *Los Angeles Times*, *Sacramento Bee*, and *San Francisco Chronicle* and *Examiner*. Seven regional magazines will also be covered.

Full information on this new serial service, including subscription rates, is available from the Center, 220 W. Foothill Blvd., Claremont, California 91711.

Basic Bibliography

A brief bibliography of basic titles in political science has been issued by the Bibliographic Information Center for the Study of Political Science, 2750 Sue Avenue, San Jose, California 95111. Cost of the 35 page booklet is \$1.50. The bibliography is intended for use in secondary school and community college libraries.

Technology and Society

Report

The fifth Annual Report of the Harvard University Program on Technology and Society is available from the Program, 61 Kirkland Street, Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138. The Program on Technology and Society was established in 1964 by a grant from the IBM Corporation to undertake an inquiry in depth into the effects of technological change.

Forecasting Journal

A new journal has been established, *Technological Forecasting*, devoted to "the Methodology of exploratory and normative forecasting to encourage applications to planning in environments of technological and social change." Subscriptions to the journal are \$22 annually, with Volume I published in 1969, from American Elsevier Publishing Company, 52 Vanderbilt Avenue, New York, New York 10017.

Simulation Journal

Simulation is the monthly professional technical journal of Simulation Councils, an organization for exchange of information among simulators in many fields including political, international and governmental simulations. For information, write to Simulation Councils, P.O. Box 2228, La Jolla, California 92037.

The Profession

Professional Notes

Russell Sage Study

The Russell Sage Foundation has published *The Uneasy Partnership*, by Gene M. Lyons, a study of Social Science and the Federal Government in the Twentieth Century. Sponsored by the Foundation to trace the development of substantial support for research and its implications for scholars, the book length study can be purchased from the Russell Sage Foundation, 230 Park Avenue, New York, New York 10017.

Wisconsin Directory

The Wisconsin Political Science Association has issued a "Directory of Political Scientists on Staffs of Wisconsin Colleges and Universities" for 1970-71. The listing was compiled by Lawrence D. Longley, Lawrence University, President of the state association, and is available for \$1 from the Department of Government, Lawrence University, Appleton, Wisconsin 54911. Included are the 220 political scientists teaching in the state. The 1970 annual meeting of the WPSA will be held October 16, 1970, at the Kenwood Conference Center, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee.

Science and Technology Papers

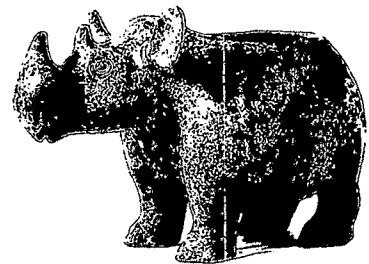
The Committee on Science and Astronautics, U.S. House of Representatives, has published "The Management of Information and Knowledge," a compilation of papers prepared by scholars for the eleventh meeting of the panel on science and technology. Authors include Herman Kahn, Stafford Beer, Daniel J. Boorstin, Paul Armer, Osmo Wilo, George Kozmetsky, and Thomas F. Green.

CIS Microfiche Library

The Congressional Information Service, the index/abstract/copy service for publications of the U.S. Congress, has announced the availability of a microfiche collection, by subscription, of all working papers of the Congress, including committee hearings, committee prints, reports and other documents. Microfiche is one of the most convenient forms of publication storage and reference. Particular committees or certain types of documents may be specified, for limited service and lower cost. The complete service will be \$1950 (before October 1970). For information, contact Congressional Information Service, 500 Montgomery Building, Washington, D.C. 20014.

Public Affairs Booklets

The Twentieth Century Fund has published two booklets on the political process, *The President's Commissions*, by Frank Popper, and *Electing Congress: The Financial Dilemma*, a Report of the Fund's Task Force. Essentially background papers for interested citizens, these booklets are available at \$1 apiece from the Twentieth Century Fund, 41 East 70th Street, New York, New York 10021.



Karl Deutsch, president of the American Political Science Association, requested that the editor include this drawing as an illustration of desired characteristics for political scientists – being hard-nosed and thick-skinned.

Association News

Format Changes in the 1971 APSA Annual Meeting

The Program Committee for the 1971 meeting has decided to experiment with several new formats for the sessions at the 1971 meeting. These formats will not replace all of the standard "panel-format" sessions, but will be used extensively.

Background: The decision to experiment with new formats grows out of some expressed dissatisfaction with the meetings. Part of the dissatisfaction appears to derive from the size and complexity of the meetings. This may be unavoidable in a growing and complex discipline. But part of the dissatisfaction derives from the standard panel format of two or three or more papers followed by two or three or more commentators.

These panels often are not useful learning experiences. (The remark is often heard, "The paper may have been very good, but you could not tell from that panel.") Brief summaries of a number of papers are given to an unprepared audience followed by a jumble of comments directed at one or another of the papers.

One reform might be to reduce the number of papers, so that each panel focused on one. We do hope to reduce the number of papers somewhat, but we cannot go too far because of the large amount of research waiting to be reported. Thus we would like to suggest some alternative formats which will be used for many of the sessions. None of these is new; they may have been used before. But we want to formalize their status and increase their use. The key to the formats is the *prepared audience* so that paper summaries are not needed.

In addition to regular panel sessions, we will schedule the following:

a. **Overview sessions:** The topic of such sessions would be an overview of some segment of the discipline: a critical analysis of past work, an overview of current research, future trends, etc. The format might involve a report by a single individual or a round table discussion. The important point is that the audience would be prepared if they were familiar with the general field of inquiry.

b. **Continuities sessions:** The participants in such sessions would be scholars who have recently published on a particular topic and who are continuing to work on that topic. The session would focus on a critical consideration of the work published and the alternative ways in which follow-up research has

been conducted. The audience would be prepared if its members were familiar with the previous writings, even if they had not read the specific papers for the session.

c. **Research workshops:** These would have similar topics to ordinary panels. But the hope would be that they would be narrowly focused and that the papers would be on a quite similar topic. The papers would be made available by mail by the beginning of the summer before the meetings. No summary of papers will be given. Those who attend the sessions should be forewarned. We hope they will be motivated to obtain the papers in advance.

Since this format will work only if papers are available in advance, we shall set up a rule that any paper for such a workshop not received in the Association offices by July 1, 1971 will not be listed on the final program for the meetings. We realize that this may cause unhappiness and the loss of some papers, but we do not think this experiment will otherwise work. To ease this problem somewhat, we expect that many of the papers prepared for these workshops will not be full-blown article length papers, but more precisely specialized papers presenting research findings. Thus we would hope for more five- or six-page papers than twenty- or thirty-page ones. Of course, we realize that length depends on subject matter and have no rigid regulations along these lines.

The Role of the Chairman: In most panel sessions the chairman's role is symbolic and not efficient. We hope to make the chairman more active. This is especially important for the "continuities" and "research workshop" sessions where no summaries of papers are given. We hope that the chairman will take the lead in presenting the subject of the discussion, highlighting similarities or differences among the participants.

The above list of new formats does not exhaust what will take place at the meetings. We will have usual panel sessions as well. The section chairmen will determine which format best fits a particular session. In addition we hope to continue opportunities for topical discussions, computer workshops, and so forth. Lastly we hope to reserve a set of rooms where people with similar interests can congregate. This should reduce random search time and save wear and tear on the hallway rugs.

Two new sections have been added to the program since the last listing. They are The Study of Central Political Processes (Legislatures, Executives, etc.)

(Robert Peabody, Johns Hopkins, section chairman), and The Philosophical Analysis of the Science of Politics (Michael Haas, University of Hawaii, section chairman). The full Program Committee list follows.

Program for the 1971 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association

The 67th Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association will be held in **Chicago** at the Conrad Hilton Hotel, **September 7-11, 1971**. The Program Committee is listed below. The members of the Committee and the Program Chairman welcome suggestions from members of the profession on specific papers, specific panels, or on the general structure of the program. We would be happy to have ideas for innovation; we would be happy to be reminded of tradition we have slighted. If you have suggestions or comments on the program, please communicate to one or more of those listed below. It is important to have these communications early. More definite plans for the meetings will be taking shape in the fall.

Program Chairman: **Sidney Verba**
Department of Political Science, University of Chicago

I. Research Areas (No distinction is made between American politics and comparative politics. Panels will deal with either or both.)

- A. Political Belief Systems and their Formation
Dennis Sullivan, Department of Government, Dartmouth College
- B. Technology and Politics
Todd La Porte, Department of Political Science, University of California, Berkeley
- C. New Modes of Policy Analysis
Patrick Crecine, Department of Political Science, University of Michigan
- D. Law and Social Change
Herbert Jacob, Department of Political Science, Northwestern University
- E. Conflicts, Groups and Party Alignments
David Kovenock, Department of Political Science, University of North Carolina
- F. Urban Politics
Joel Aberbach, Department of Political Science, University of Michigan
- G. Art as Politics
Claire Rosenfield, Department of English, Brown University

- H. International Relations and Organization
Joseph Nye, Department of Government, Harvard University
- I. Political Development: New Directions
Warren Ilchman, Department of Political Science, University of California, Berkeley
- J. Public Administration: The Administration of Social Services
Paul Puryear, Department of Political Science, Fisk University
- K. The Study of Central Political Processes
Robert Peabody, Department of Political Science, Johns Hopkins University

II. Philosophy, Theory and Method

- L. Ethical Theory
Richard Flathman, Department of Political Science, University of Chicago
- M. Formal Theory
Gordon Black, Department of Political Science, University of Rochester
- N. Problems of Measurement and Method
Lester Milbrath, Department of Political Science, State University of New York, Buffalo
- O. The Philosophical Analysis of the Science of Politics
Michael Haas, Department of Political Science, University of Hawaii

III. Political Science and Public Policy

- P. The Impact of the Social Sciences on Society: A Retrospect on Recent Major Policy Issues
Graham Allison, Department of Government, Harvard University
- Q. The Impact of the Social Sciences on Society: Prospects for the Major Issues of the Future
Murray Edelman, Department of Political Science, University of Wisconsin

IV. Political Science: A Self-Evaluation

- R. Political Science as a Vocation
Merle Kling, Department of Political Science, Washington University of St. Louis
- S. Teaching Political Science
G. Bingham Powell, Department of Political Science, University of California, Berkeley

Supplementary Report

APSA Nominating Committee for 1971 Officers

The Nominating Committee has been notified of the withdrawal of Tobe Johnson, Morehouse College, from the Nominating Committee slate for the Council. The Committee has nominated William P. Robinson, Sr., for the vacancy.

Association News

APSA Committees

Members of Association Committees are appointed by the Presidents of the Association. All members are invited to correspond with the Chairmen of Committees concerning the subjects of their Committee's concerns.

Constitutional Revision Committee

Aaron Wildavsky, Chairman, *University of California, Berkeley*

Sandra G. Bogner, *University of Florida – Graduate Student*

Richard F. Fenno, Jr., *University of Rochester*

Alex Gottfried, *University of Washington*

Michael Haas, *Northwestern University*

Charles V. Hamilton, *Columbia University*

Robert E. Hawkinson, *University of Chicago – Graduate Student*

Donald G. Herzberg, *Eagleton Institute of Politics*

Herbert Jacob, *University of Wisconsin*

Avery Leiserson, *Vanderbilt University*

John D. Lewis, *Oberlin College*

Walter F. Murphy, *Princeton University*

James W. Prothro, *University of North Carolina*

Victor G. Rosenblum, *Reed College*

Rudolph J. Rummel, *University of Carolina, Berkeley*

Judith N. Shklar, *Harvard University*

Sidney Verba, *University of Chicago*

Kenneth N. Waltz, *Brandeis University*

Committee on the Status of Blacks in the Profession

Paul L. Puryear, Chairman, *Fisk University*

Russell L. Adams, *Federal City College*

Twiley W. Barker, Jr., *University of Illinois*

Samuel D. Cook, *Ford Foundation*

C. Vernon Gray, *University of Massachusetts Graduate Student*

Tobe Johnson, *Morehouse College*

Mack H. Jones, *Atlanta University*

Robert E. Martin, *Howard University*

Lois B. Moreland, *Spelman College*

Frank L. Morris, *M.I.T. – Graduate Student*

Michael J. Parenti, *University of Illinois*

William P. Robinson, Sr., *Virginia State College*

Harry M. Scoble, Jr., *U. of Cal., Los Angeles*

Nathaniel P. Tillman, Jr., *Delaware State College*

Alex Willingham, *University of North Carolina – Graduate Student*

Maurice C. Woodward, *Federal City College*

Program Review and Planning Committee

Frank J. Sorauf, Chairman, *University of Minnesota*

Samuel P. Huntington, *Harvard University*

Henry S. Kariel, *University of Hawaii*

Robert E. Lane, *Yale University, ex officio*

Francis E. Rourke, *Johns Hopkins University*

Herbert J. Spiro, *University of Pennsylvania*

Editorial Board of PS

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Committee on the Status of Women in the Profession

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Philip E. Converse, *University of Michigan*

Warren F. Ilichman, *University of California, Berkeley*

Marian D. Irish, *American University*

Suzanne Keller, *Princeton University*

Katherine M. Klotzburger, *Rutgers U., Newark*

Joyce M. Mitchell, *University of Oregon*

Jewel L. Prestage, *Southern University*

Susanne Hoeber Rudolph, *University of Chicago*

Victoria Schuck, *Mt. Holyoke College*

Committee on Finance

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Gordon E. Baker, *University of California, Santa Barbara*

Rupert Emerson, *Harvard University*

Matthew Holden, *University of Wisconsin*

John R. Raser, *Western Behavioral Sciences Institute*

Committee on Professional Ethics

Vernon B. Van Dyke, Chairman, *University of Iowa*

Christian Bay, *International Political Institute, Oslo*

David Fellman, *University of Wisconsin*

Carl J. Friedrich, *Harvard University*

Ernst B. Haas, *University of California, Berkeley*

Matthew Holden, *University of Wisconsin*

Michael H. Leiserson, *University of California, Berkeley*

Theodore J. Lowi, *University of Chicago*

James W. Prothro, *University of North Carolina*

Committee on Scientific Information Exchange

Carl Beck, Chairman, *University of Pittsburgh*

Michael Hudson, *CUNY*

Kenneth Janda, *Northwestern University*

Warren E. Miller, *University of Michigan*

Kenneth Prewitt, *University of Chicago*

Albert Somit, *SUNY at Buffalo*

Raymond Tanter, *University of Michigan*

Association News

APSA Committees

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Joseph L. Noguee, *University of Houston*
Robert E. Ward, *University of Michigan*

Committee on Nominations

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Hayward R. Alker, *M. I. T.*
Frederic N. Cleaveland, *University of North Carolina*
Duncan MacRae, Jr., *University of Chicago*
John C. Wahlke, *University of Iowa*
Sheldon Wolin, *University of California, Berkeley*

Committee on Academic Freedom

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Leon D. Epstein, *University of Wisconsin*
Philip Green, *Smith College*
Harold Guetzkow, *Northwestern University*
C. Herman Pritchett, *University of California, Santa Barbara*
James W. Prothro, *University of North Carolina*
H. Mark Roelofs, *New York University*
Allan P. Sindler, *University of California, Berkeley*
James Q. Wilson, *Harvard University*

Committee on Under-Graduate Instruction

William Buchanan, Chairman, *Washington and Lee University*
Russell L. Adams, *Federal City College*
William J. Daniels, *Union College*
Valerie A. Earle, *Georgetown University*
Theodore B. Fleming, Jr., *Wayne State University*
William C. Havard, *University of Massachusetts*
Robert J. Huckshorn, *Florida Atlantic University*
Edward W. Jackson, *Southern University*
A. F. K. Organski, *University of Michigan*

The National Register of Scientific and Technical Personnel

Karl W. Deutsch, Chairman, *Harvard University*
Elmer E. Cornwell, *Brown University*
Heinz Eulau, *Stanford University*
Barbara A. Hinckley, *University of Massachusetts*
Tobe Johnson, *Morehouse College*
Harold D. Lasswell, *Yale University*
Frank Munger, *University of Florida*
Austin Ranney, *University of Wisconsin*

1970 Annual Meeting Program Committee

Richard L. Merritt, Chairman, *University of Illinois*
Robert R. Alford, *University of Wisconsin*
Hayward R. Alker, Jr. *M.I.T.*
Thomas J. Anton, *University of Michigan*
James David Barber, *Yale University*

Samuel H. Barnes, *University of Michigan*
Davis B. Bobrow, *Department of Defense*
George Robert Boynton, *University of Iowa*
Robert T. Golembiewski, *University of Georgia*
Fred I. Greenstein, *Wesleyan University*
Ernst B. Haas, *University of California, Berkeley*
Wolfram F. Hanrieder, *University of California, Santa Barbara*
Ole R. Holsti, *University of British Columbia*
Charles O. Jones, *University of Pittsburgh*
Martin Kilson, *Harvard University*
Theodore J. Lowi, *University of Chicago*
Stuart S. Nagel, *University of Illinois*
Austin Ranney, *University of Wisconsin*
Bruce M. Russett, *Yale University*
Judith N. Shklar, *Harvard University*
Jeremy J. Stone, *Council on Foreign Relations Fellow*
Raymond Tanter, *University of Michigan*
Nathaniel P. Tillman, *Delaware State College*
Jan F. Triska, *Stanford University*

Committee on Pre-Collegiate Education in Political Science

Richard C. Snyder, Chairman, *Ohio State University*
Paul R. Abramson, *Michigan State University*
David Easton, *University of Chicago*
Fred I. Greenstein, *Wesleyan University*
Robert E. Lane, *Yale University*
Howard D. Mehlinger, *Indiana University*
Jewel L. Prestage, *Southern University*

APSA Award Committees

Woodrow Wilson Award Committee

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Harvey C. Mansfield, Jr., *Harvard University*
Susanne Hoeber Rudolph, *University of Chicago*

Edward S. Corwin Award Committee

Wallace Mendelson, Chairman, *University of Texas*
Harold W. Chase, *University of Minnesota*
Sheldon Goldman, *University of Massachusetts*

Leonard D. White Committee

Harvey C. Mansfield, Sr., Chairman, *Columbia University*
Dwayne Marvick, *UCLA*
Norman I. Wengert, *Pennsylvania State University*

Pi Sigma Alpha Award Committee

Gerald H. Kramer, Chairman, *Yale University*
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William C. Mitchell, *University of Oregon*

Association News

Helen Dwight Award Committee

Burton M. Sapin, Chairman, *George Washington University*

Richard A. Brody, *Stanford University*

Donald J. Puchala, *Columbia University*

Committee on the Status of Chicanos in The Profession

Ralph Guzman, *University of California, Santa Cruz*

Mario Barrera, *San Pablo, California*

Charles L. Cotrell, *St. Mary's University*

Thomas V. Garcia, *U.S. Civil Service Commission*

Henry S. Johnson, *California State College, Long Beach*

Dwaine Marvick, *University of California, Los Angeles*

Carlos Munoz-Contreras, *Pitzer College*

Joseph L. Nogee, *University of Houston*

Graciela Olivarez, *Phoenix, Arizona*

Charles Ornelas, *Santa Barbara, California*

A Report on the APSA Political Science Education Project

Lee Anderson, *Director*

Richard Remy, *Associate Director*

Since its founding The American Political Science Association has had an interest in pre-collegiate education. Over the years numerous committees, sub-committees and task forces have considered the state of civics and government instruction in elementary and secondary schools. The annual meetings of the Association have regularly included one or more panels dealing with political science education below the level of colleges and universities. The APSA also has been involved in the publication of several books, and many articles and reports examining the role of the schools in the political education of children and adolescents.

In addition to the activities of the Association, a large number of individual political scientists have interested themselves in the problems and promise of pre-collegiate education. A few political scientists have written curriculum materials for elementary or secondary schools. Several dozen members of the profession have directed and otherwise participated in teacher education programs such as the NDEA institutes in government, civics, and international affairs. Many other political scientists have been involved in basic research of relevance to the operation of the schools, such as research on political socialization and the politics of education.

In the past year the tempo of interest and activity has increased. In the spring of 1969, David Easton, then President of the APSA, appointed a Committee on Pre-Collegiate Curriculum Development in Political Science. The report of this committee (published in *PS*, Vol. II, No. 3, Summer, 1969, pp. 339-344) recommended a substantial expansion in the profession's involvement in pre-collegiate education. In June of last year a group of political scientists who attended a conference on "The Disciplines in the Continuum of Teacher Education" sponsored by the Consortium of Professional Associations for Study of Special Teacher Improvement Programs (CONPASS) issued a report (published in *PS*, Vol. II, No. 3, Summer, 1969, pp. 337-338) calling upon the profession to seek ways to improve the education of teachers in political science.

In January 1970, APSA President Karl Deutsch appointed a Committee on Pre-Collegiate Education comprised of Richard Snyder, Chairman, Jewel Prestage, Robert Lane, Fred Greenstein, Paul Abramson, Howard Mehlinger, and David Easton. The Committee is charged with providing leader-

Association News

A Report on the APSA Political Science Education Project

ship for the Association in the general area of pre-collegiate education, and will be meeting with political scientists and educators throughout the year. For example, in May the Committee met with about twenty department chairmen in a two day conference dealing with the problems of expanding the role of political scientists in the development and dissemination of new curriculum, in teacher education, and in basic research on political learning and the social organization and governance of the schools.

In the spring of 1970 the United States Office of Education allocated several hundred thousand dollars to support the efforts of the profession to improve political science education in elementary and secondary schools. These funds are being used in two primary ways. First, seven independent projects focused upon various aspects of pre-collegiate education have been funded. These projects are described briefly below.

Civic Education and Student Participation in the High School, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, Alan Westin, Director. This project will conduct an integrated series of workshops for teams from three schools in the metropolitan New York area on "Student Participation in the High School: New Patterns for the 1970s." The basic objectives of these workshops is to create settings in which the administrators, teachers, students, and community representatives could engage in a fundamental self-examination of their own school's patterns of civic education, school governance, and school-community relations, as these relate to problems of student protest, and new demands for student participation. Issues of equality, due process, dissent, and educational processes would be among the basic areas examined.

A School Personnel Training Program in New Curriculum Materials in Political Science, University of Colorado, Boulder, Colorado, Directors Richard Wilson, Irving Morrisett and W. Williams Stevens. This program will organize resources to aid 200 social studies supervisors in finding out what materials from the new social studies curriculum projects contain political science subject matter, ideas, and activities. This program will explore with participants ways in which these materials can be evaluated and taught with proper regard for the professional contribution of the subject matter.

Political Science Education Dissemination Project, Michigan State University, East Lansing,

Michigan, Cleo Cherryholmes, Director.

This project proposes to help bridge the gap between political science research and theory, and social studies education by developing and disseminating curriculum outlines and sample materials. These materials will be based upon systematic, middle-range theories that explain political phenomena in socially critical areas including (1) conflict resolution at the international level, (2) urban politics and race relations, and (3) the political socialization of minority group children.

Constitutional Rights and Civic Education, University of California at Los Angeles, California, Richard Longaker and Charles Quigley, Directors. This project involves the improvement of civic education at the elementary and intermediate levels. It is a continuation of a current project in eight California school districts, broadening out to seven districts in four Western states. The project will sponsor in-service programs and summer workshops in civil liberties education.

Political Science Education In Center City Schools, Federal City College, Washington, D.C., Maurice Woodward, Director.

This project will focus on the place of political science education in the center-city schools in Washington, D.C. Working with teachers in the schools, political scientists and educational specialists will conduct teacher training in political science concepts.

Social Studies Field Agent Program, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana, Gerald Marker and Howard Mehlinger, Directors. This project will train fifteen experienced social studies teachers to serve as social studies field agents during a one year fellowship program at Indiana University. These field agents will then return to their local areas and conduct conferences, workshops and demonstrations in modern behavioral political science education. University consultants will assist in these activities, and special new materials will be developed.

Development of Models in Training of Teachers in International Affairs, University of Denver, Colorado, Maurice East, Director. This project will try out several different models of teacher training in the international field in a number of Colorado school systems. A national clearinghouse for teacher training in international affairs which will disseminate promising practices in world affairs education will also be established.

Second, U.S.O.E. funds have been used to create a special project called the **APSA Political Science Education Project** which is affiliated with the Department of Political Science and the Social Studies Development Center at Indiana University. The project is directed by Lee Anderson and Richard Remy who are responsible to the APSA Committee on Pre-Collegiate Education.

The overarching goal of the APSA Political Science Education Project is to further a professional interest and involvement in pre-collegiate education on the part of political scientists. To further this goal the Project will engage in several types of activities.

(1) The Political Science Education Project will develop an inventory of political scientists interested in various aspects of pre-collegiate education and establish a rudimentary communication network among these individuals by publishing a newsletter and short articles in *PS*.

(2) In conjunction with the APSA Committee on Pre-Collegiate Education the Project will organize and support several conferences, workshops and related activities for political scientists normally not involved in pre-collegiate education. These will be designed to familiarize the profession with recent developments in teacher education, curriculum development, and research related to political science education and to examine pre-collegiate education as an arena for professional interest and activity.

(3) The Political Science Education Project will seek to disseminate promising research and practices. As a national enterprise, the Project will serve as a central clearing-house for the dissemination of models of teacher training, new curricula in political science, and research products that apply to political science education. For example:

Curriculum: In recent years many new curricular materials for political science instruction have been produced. For example, materials for teaching about civil liberties and conflict resolution in elementary schools and materials for teaching about comparative politics and American political behavior in junior and senior high schools are now available. While individual political scientists have been involved in the development of these and other materials, the "new curriculum" in political science remains unknown to the profession as a whole. The Political Science Education Project will endeavor to familiarize the profession with recent innovations in political science curriculum and will identify and

map areas in which there is a need for additional curriculum development work.

Research: The problems involved in moving from knowledge acquired through research to its application are well known. In recent years there has been a great deal of research on the development of children's political orientations and on the politics of education which is of substantial relevance to both formal curriculum and the social organization of schools. Much of the knowledge generated by this research is not available to potential users because it has not been adequately disseminated. The Political Science Education Project will seek ways of disseminating research in forms useful to teachers, curriculum planners, and school administrators.

Models of teacher training: Considerable experience was acquired by political scientists who participated in the NDEA summer institute and experienced teacher fellowship programs. Some political scientists are currently participating in TTT (Teachers of Teacher Trainers) and other programs of the U.S. Office of Education. Unfortunately, much of this experience has not been disseminated. Moreover, some colleges and universities have created new programs to train political scientists that offer great promise for training teachers, e.g., the "laboratory" established at the University of Minnesota. To date, there has been no effective way to disseminate promising instructional models. Concurrent with the APSA Political Science Education Project, activities are planned for UCLA, Columbia University, Indiana University, Michigan State University, and the International Studies Association. The APSA Political Science Education Project will foster communication among these separate efforts and generally disseminate their work through its own channels.

(4) The Political Science Education Project will seek to provide leadership in political science education by supporting and publicizing new models of teacher education in political science. Primarily, this will take the form of identifying individuals and groups who wish to experiment with new forms of training. While the specific training programs are likely to vary from one institution to another – some aimed at pre-service training, others at in-service training; some directed at elementary teachers, others at secondary teachers, and still others at college teachers – all will draw upon a similar set of assumptions, namely:

a. political scientists must build linkages to other groups, including colleagues in other social science

Association News

A Report on the APSA Political Science Education Project

disciplines and schools of education, school teachers and administrators, and representatives of the communities served by the schools;

b. political scientists must find linkages among those who are engaged in political science research, those who are creating new curricula, and those who are engaged in teacher education;

c. political scientists who train teachers and who teach those who will train teachers must find ways to assure that the information they are dispensing is appropriate to those who wish to act on the basis of their instruction. For example, in-service training of teachers may need to be moved off the college campuses and into the schools where political scientists can understand better the instructional problems that face teachers.

Individuals interested in the APSA Political Science Education Project should contact Lee Anderson or Richard Remy at:

APSA Political Science Education Project
1129 Atwater

Bloomington, Indiana 47401

Telephone: 812-337-8583 or 812-337-8584

Committee on Women

The Committee on the Status of Women has announced that "in situations involving a pattern of unacceptable practices involving discrimination against women or actions detrimental to the status of individual women faculty members," letters should be addressed to the Association, which will consult with the American Association of University Professors regarding the proper course to follow to resolve the situation. The AAUP staff may be retained in such cases to gather information in cooperation with the Association.

Old Proceedings Available

The Association has come upon a limited number of copies of *Proceedings* of the Tenth Annual Meeting of The Association, held at Washington, D.C. December 1913. These volumes are for sale from the Association while they last for \$5 apiece. The 1913 *Proceedings* contain a list of all members of the Association, officers and committees, reports of the Secretary and Treasurer, and Committees, and eighteen papers presented at the meeting.

Pre-Collegiate Conference

The Association sponsored a Conference of Departmental Chairmen on Political Science and Pre-Collegiate Education, at Fort Lauderdale, Florida in April. The conference was supported with funds made available by the Consortium of Professional Associations (CONPASS) and the U.S. Office of Education.

Speakers included Richard C. Snyder, Chairman of the Association's Committee on Pre-Collegiate Education, Ohio State University; Karl Deutsch, President of the Association, Harvard University; Robert E. Lane, President-Elect of the Association, Yale University; Lee F. Anderson, Director, APSA Political Science Education Project; and Howard Mehlinger, Director of the High School Curriculum Center in Government, Indiana University. Members of the Committee on Pre-Collegiate Education also attended the conference. Chairmen were invited to comment and make suggestions on the Association's developing activities in the pre-collegiate area.

A list of the attending chairmen follows.

Harry A. Bailey, Jr., *Temple University*
William Buchanan, *Washington and Lee University*
James B. Cristoph, *Indiana University*
William C. Havard, *University of Massachusetts*
Robert J. Huckshorn, *Florida Atlantic University*
Richard Johnson, *University of Illinois, Chicago*
Circle
Samuel Krislov, *University of Minnesota*
David W. Minar, *University of Washington*
Lawrence K. Pettit, *Montana State University*
Don C. Piper, *University of Maryland*
Charles Press, *University of Michigan*
Paul L. Puryear, *Fisk University*
George K. Romoser, *University of New Hampshire*
Robert H. Salisbury, *Washington University*
(St. Louis)

Association Salary Scale Adopted

The Council has adopted the following pay scale for employees of the Association, and asked that it be published in PS.

Salary Scale, APSA

APSA Position	Equiv. Govt. Grade¹	Present Federal Salary Scale	APSA Salary Scale
Executive Director	17-18, Exec. Level V	28,976-36,000	24,000-36,000
Associate Director	15-17	21,589-32,840	18,000-26,000
Assistant Director	13-14	15,812-24,093	14,000-21,000
Staff Associate	11-12	11,233-17,403	11,233-17,403
Senior Administrative Assistant	9-10	9,320-13,330	9,320-13,330
Administrative Assistant	6-8	6,882-10,987	6,882-10,987
Secretary	4-7	5,522-9,034	5,522-9,034
Secretary Trainee	1-3	3,889-6,393	3,889-6,393
Clerk-Typist			
Receptionist			

For 1969-70, the AA Average Compensation Scale for institutions of higher education as reported by the AAUP is as follows: Professor \$28,490; Associate Professor \$16,350; Assistant Professor \$12,600; Instructor \$9,500.

The A Average: Professor \$22,680; Associate Professor \$14,240; Assistant Professor \$11,290; Instructor \$8,760. These are, of course, 9-month salaries.

Association News

APSA Investments and Securities (as of July 1, 1970)

Stocks	Shares	Savings and Loan Associations*	Amount
Abbott Laboratories	400	Carver, New York City	\$10,000
American Airlines	15	Independent, Washington, D.C.	10,000
Armstrong Cork	600		
Atlantic Refining	340		
Bristol Meyers	156	Certificate of Deposit	
Columbia Broadcasting System	213	Franklin National Bank, New York City	\$15,000
Consumer Power Company	187		
Continental Oil Company	296		
Dupont de Nemours	100		
Eastman Kodak	200		
Federated Department Stores	600		
Florida Power & Light	120		
General Mills	400		
General Motors Corporation	400		
General Telephone & Electronics	500		
IBM Corporation	92		
International Paper	500		
International Telephone	443		
J. C. Penney Company	200		
Johns Mansville Corporation	400		
Middle South Utilities	400		
3M Corporation	300		
Mobile Oil (Socony)	200		
National Biscuit Company	400		
Niagra Mohawk Power	400		
Peoples Gas Company	188		
Polaroid Corporation	207		
Raytheon Company	500		
Schering Corporation	600		
Teledyne	442		
Texaco	300		
United Airlines	220		
Westinghouse Electric	300		
Weyerhaeuser Company	500		
Xerox	300		

*Consistent with the guidelines adopted by the Finance Committee and approved by the Council, the Association has invested funds in institutions making a special effort to promote the establishment of a more democratic and humane social order.

Bonds	Matures	Number
Alabama Power	9/1/95	10 M
AT & T	4/1/2001	30 M
AT & T	4/1/85	76 M
Boston Edison	11/1/95	10 M
Columbia Gas Systems	10/1/90	10 M
General Motors Accept.	9/1/80	30 M
Ohio Bell Telephone	2/1/2006	25 M
Public Service Electric	9/1/95	10 M
Southern Calif. Edison	8/15/91	20 M
Tenneco	9/1/85	10 M
United Airlines	7/1/92	10 M
U.S. Treasury Notes & Bonds	5/15/70	3 M
	11/15/70	250 M
	5/15/72	125 M
	5/15/74	200 M
	5/22/70	300 M

Administrations Censured by the AAUP

The censured administrations with dates of censuring, are listed below. Reports were published as indicated in the *AAUP Bulletin* citation.

Lowell Technological Institute	Winter 1959, pp. 550-567	April 1960
Alabama State University	Winter 1961, pp. 303-309	April 1962
South Dakota State University	Autumn 1961, pp. 247-255	April 1962
Censure was voted specifically on the Board of Regents of Education of the State of South Dakota, and not on the institution's administrative officers.		
Alcorn Agricultural and Mechanical College	Autumn 1962, pp. 248-252	April 1963
Grove City College	Spring 1963, pp. 15-24	April 1963
College of the Ozarks	Winter 1963, pp. 352-359	April 1964
Censure was voted specifically on the Board of Trustees, and not on the institution's administrative officers.		
Wayne State College (Nebraska)	Winter 1964, pp. 347-354	April 1965
Censure was voted specifically on the Board of Education of State Normal Schools of the State of Nebraska, and not on the institution's administrative officers.		
St. John's University (N.Y.)	Spring 1966, pp. 12-19	April 1966
Amarillo College	Autumn 1967, pp. 292-302	April 1968
Texas A & M University	Winter 1967, pp. 378-384	April 1968
Cheyney State College	Winter 1967, pp. 391-399	April 1968
Southern University and Agricultural and Mechanical College	Spring 1968, pp. 14-24	April 1968
Wisconsin State University – Whitewater	Spring 1968, pp. 25-36	April 1968
Troy State University (Alabama)	Autumn 1968, pp. 298-305	May 1969
Northern State College (South Dakota)	Autumn 1968, pp. 306-313	May 1969
Northern State College, like South Dakota State University, is under the jurisdiction of the Board of Regents of Education of the State of South Dakota.		
Frank Phillips College (Texas)	Winter 1968, pp. 433-438	May 1969
Dutchess Community College (N.Y.)	Spring 1969, pp. 41-49	May 1969
Central State College (Oklahoma)	Spring 1969, pp. 66-70	May 1969
Broward Junior College (Florida)	Spring 1969, pp. 71-78	May 1969
Detroit Institute of Technology	Spring 1969, pp. 79-85	May 1969
Southeastern Louisiana College	Autumn 1969, pp. 369-373	April 1970
Indiana Institute of Technology	Winter 1969, pp. 463-468	April 1970
Indiana State University	Spring 1970, pp. 52-61	April 1970
Oklahoma State University	Spring 1970, pp. 62-72	April 1970
The University of Mississippi	Spring 1970, pp. 75-86	April 1970

Association News

APSA Council Minutes

The **first Council meeting** of the year was held in the Windsor Park Hotel, Washington, D.C.

December 4 and 5, 1969.

Present:

Gordon E. Baker, Karl W. Deutsch, Thomas R. Dye, Samuel P. Huntington, Henry S. Kariel, John H. Kessel, Evron M. Kirkpatrick, Robert E. Lane, Herbert McClosky, Grant McConnell, Richard L. Merrit, Josephine F. Milburn, Joseph L. Noguee, A.F.K. Organski, Austin Ranney, William H. Riker, Francis E. Rourke, Robert H. Salisbury, Allan P. Sindler, Frank J. Sorauf, Herbert J. Spiro, Ellis Waldron, Robert E. Ward, Frederick Wirt

Presiding:

Karl W. Deutsch, President

I. President Deutsch opened the meeting by welcoming the new members of the Council, outlining the major points of business to be covered, and proposing changes in the order of business to assure completion of major items before the end of the meeting on Friday.

II. Report of the Committee on the Status of Women in the Profession

The Council received an oral report from Josephine Milburn, Chairman of the Committee on the Status of Women. Mrs. Milburn submitted two requests for Council consideration:

1. The Committee on the Status of Women in the Profession requests that the APSA Council
 - a. Consider appropriate alternative means for handling issues of discrimination in the profession. It requests consideration of means that are responsive to a wide variety of situations of differential treatments because of sex, race and religion, including machinery for publicizing specific instances of discrimination and an ombudsman.
 - b. Join with other academic associations in urging the AAUP to expand its present concern relating to academic freedom and to include responsibility for considering cases of discrimination against members of the academic community relating to race, religion or sex.

The Council referred this request to the Committee on Academic Freedom for its review and recommendations.

2. The Committee on the Status of Women requests the Council to appropriate up to \$7,000 for a study

to be carried on by mailed questionnaire.

The Council deferred action until toward the end of the meeting so that this request might be considered along with other requests for funds. The Council subsequently approved the request, limiting the total to no more than \$7,000. Minutes of the October 24, 1969 meeting of the Committee on the Status of Women were distributed to all Council members.

III. Report of the Committee on Scientific Information Exchange

The Council received an oral report from Carl Beck, Chairman of the Committee on Scientific Information Exchange, proposing that the Association proceed with submission of a project to NSF for financial support.

The Council, by formal resolution, asked the Committee to prepare a specific proposal for submission to NSF, and provide copies to the Council for review and final action at a Council meeting on January 15, 1970, in San Francisco.

The Council had before it minutes of the Committee's discussion at a meeting held in September in conjunction with the APSA Annual Meeting.

The Council, by formal action, authorized the President to appoint three additional members of the Committee on Scientific Information Exchange.

IV. Report of the Committee on Program Review and Planning

The Council received a report from Frank Sorauf, Chairman of the Committee on Program Review and Planning.

Mr. Sorauf discussed the report briefly and recommended that it be circulated for comment and suggestions prior to final action at a later meeting. The Council authorized printing the report in *PS*; adopted a recommendation of the President that the President Elect be a member of the Committee on Program Review and Planning; agreed that membership on the Committee be restricted to Council members as originally approved; and noted the present composition of the Committee as including: Frank Sorauf, Chairman, Samuel Huntington, Henry Kariel, Robert Lane, Francis Rourke and Herbert Spiro.

V. Report of the Committee on Finance

Francis Rourke, Chairman of the Committee on Finance reported on the work of the Committee and

a copy of a cumulative report on income and expenditures through November was distributed to Council members.

Mr. Rourke reported that the Committee on Finance has decided (a) to print twice annually a list of securities held by the Association for investment; (b) to invest a portion of the Association's portfolio in business firms whose activities promote the establishment of a democratic and humane social order.

The Council approved increasing the size of the Committee to five; it further was agreed that President Deutsch should delay making the appointments effective until after the January 15, 1970 Council meeting.

The Council raised the question of the comparative report on professional salaries of the staff of the national office requested at the September meeting. The Executive Director reported on the data collected from other Associations to date. The Council then instructed the Committee on Finance to consider the salaries of government, universities and other professional associations in relation to those of the APSA, to recommend salary ranges for various positions in the APSA national office, and to review and make a recommendation for the salary of the Executive Director and for the Managing Editor of the *Review*.

The Council also instructed the Committee to review the dues structure of APSA, to make recommendations of a new dues structure, and to make recommendations for a constitutional amendment to remove the provision of specific dues from the constitution.

The Council asked for a report on both of the above items at the January 15, 1970 Council meeting.

VI. Report of the Committee on Professional Ethics

Vernon Van Dyke, Chairman of the Committee on Professional Ethics, called attention to the minutes of the Committee of October 11, 1969 and Advisory Opinions 2, 3, 4 and 5 distributed to the Council prior to the meeting. He noted that Advisory Opinion 1 had already been printed in *PS* (Summer 1969).

The Council received the report and agreed to consider at the next Council meeting (January 15, 1970) what further action, if any, should be taken with respect to Advisory Opinions.

VII. Printing of Committee Reports

The Council instructed the national office to print all committee reports in *PS* with the notation that they are the responsibility of the committee, not the Association; further, each is to be accompanied by a request to all Association members to furnish their views on the report to the committees, the Council, and the officers of the Association.

VIII. Report of the Committee on Elections

The Council accepted the report of the Committee on Elections, Herbert Spiro, Chairman.

There was discussion of the failure to include the university affiliation on the ballot in accordance with the Council instructions of September 5. No action was taken.

In response to a letter from Donald Herzberg, there was discussion of the action of the Committee on Elections not allowing substitution of another nominee withdrawing their candidacy.

The Council requested that the Committee on Constitutional Revision give the Council its interpretation of whether the present constitution forbids substitutions in case of death or withdrawal of a candidate. Further, a motion was adopted that, if such substitution is not possible under the present constitution, the Council is to prepare and sponsor a constitutional amendment providing that in the case of any candidate or nominee who is removed from candidacy by death, voluntary withdrawal or any other disability, the original nominators (Nominating Committee or petition signers) will be allowed to substitute another candidate.

The Constitutional Revision Committee is requested to report its interpretation of the present constitution to the Council before January 15, 1970.

After expression of approval of the work of the American Arbitration Association in assisting with the Annual Meeting and in the conduct of the mailed ballot election, the Council directed the national office to employ the services of the AAA again in 1970.

The Council also expressed its thanks and appreciation to the Committee on Elections, its chairman and vice chairman for their work in supervising the conduct of the 1969 elections.

IX. Report of the Program Committee, 1970

The Program Chairman, Richard Merritt, reported on

Association News

APSA Council Minutes

the work of his committee and distributed copies of the program as developed to date.

The Program Chairman then asked for Council action with respect to the request of the Conference for Democratic Politics and the Caucus for a New Political Science for an allotment of panels this year and also suggested that a policy with respect to future years probably should be developed.

The Council then authorized the Program Chairman to invite the Conference for Democratic Politics and the Caucus for a New Political Science to propose up to ten (10) panels each for the 1970 Annual Meeting. It further instructed the Program Chairman and his committee to review proposed panels for their scholarly appropriateness and approve or disapprove their being included in the program.

A resolution to direct that the panels approved be included in the regular program without any designation of a co-sponsoring group failed of passage, and the Program Chairman was instructed to list the appropriate group as co-sponsor. The Council, after discussion of future policy, adopted a motion that beginning with the Annual Meeting of 1971, all panels, plenary sessions, or other aspects of the official program must be organized under the direction of the Program Committee and no panels will be allotted as a bloc to any person or group of persons outside the Committee. Only programs organized under the direct control and supervision of the Program Committee will be printed in the official program. Any exception to this policy must be made by action of the Council on the recommendation of the Program Committee. The motion, as adopted, provided further that nothing in this resolution shall be construed to prohibit or restrain the Association's traditional policy of, where feasible, making rooms available and assisting in the announcement of special meetings organized to serve other legitimate purposes of the Association or its members.

X. Resignation of Austin Ranney as Editor, APSR and Establishment of Search Committee

Austin Ranney's letter of resignation as Editor, *APSR* was distributed to Council members in advance of the meeting.

The Council discussed the procedure for selecting a new editor and established a Search and Screening Committee to consider candidates for the position of Managing Editor of the *Review*. The Committee will consist of the President, President Elect, retiring Managing Editor, three members of the Council, and

one member of the current Editorial Board, the latter four to be appointed by the President.

The Council also directed that a letter be sent immediately by the Executive Director to all department chairmen advising them of the vacancy and asking for their suggestions and nominations for Managing Editor. The Council further directed the President to recommend a person for the editorship at the Council meeting of January 15, 1970.

XI. Report of the Committee on the Status of Blacks

Paul Puryear, Chairman of the Committee on the Status of Blacks in the Profession, reported for the Committee.

In response to the requests for action included in the report, the Council:

A. Approved the report on the Black Fellowship Program and authorized its implementation by the national office and the committee.

B. Recognized the need for the development of research funds for black faculty and directed the Executive Director to seek foundation support for a Black Faculty Research Program. With respect to the availability and possible use of Association funds, the Council referred the question to the Committee on Finance.

C. Requested the Committee on the Status of Blacks to prepare a specific proposal for a conference to discuss the scope, purpose, and organization of a Center for Black Politics and present it to the Council at its meeting on January 15, 1970.

D. Referred the request for greater black representation on the Council to the Committee on Nominations with the request that the Committee take care to see that blacks are adequately represented.

The Nominating Committee was encouraged to consult with the Committee on the Status of Blacks with a view to securing suggestions of possible names.

E. Tabled the recommendation for appointment of a Black Associate Director of APSA to concern himself with the problems of blacks in the profession.

F. Reaffirmed Association non-discrimination policy, including its policy to sever business relations with any firm discriminating against blacks or other minority groups.

G. After considerable discussion of the desirability of the Association taking positions on public policy, approved a motion that the Association's opposition to discrimination was best evidenced by its own non-discriminatory policies and practices, and that further actions on public policy affecting the welfare and status of blacks and other oppressed peoples as well as other policy matters is best served by the scholarship and personal activities of individual political scientists.

H. Approved the recommendation of the Committee, in response to a request for recommendation by the national office and Council, that the current personnel service policy of listing faculty positions for "black political Scientists" when so requested be continued.

I. Suggested that the Finance Committee inform the Committee on the Status of Blacks about its actions with respect to investment policy not only designed to penalize companies that discriminate but to aid those companies and organizations seeking to promote desirable social goals and consult with the Committee about further actions or policies the Finance Committee will recommend to the Council.

XII. The Chairman of the Committee on Elections suggested that the Association might wish to sponsor some research on the 1969 APSA elections and suggested a possible expenditure for that purpose of up to \$2,000. After considerable discussion, the Council disapproved of any financial appropriation but asked the national office to do a simple study of voting totals in various categories. The Council further authorized that the data be available to any scholar interested in further research.

XIII. Robert Lane, President-Elect, presented a draft of a development program for the Association and asked the Council's opinion of his taking leave for a year, spending the year in Washington to help develop such a program. The Council referred the proposed development program to the Committee on Program Review and Planning — of which the President-Elect is to be a member — and expressed their endorsement of the President-Elect spending the year of his Presidency in Washington helping develop Association programs.

XIV. President Deutsch asked the Council to approve expanding the Editorial Board of *PS* to six members. Such expansion will enable Betty Glad, University of Illinois, to be retained on the Committee as recommended by the Chairman of the Editorial Board, James David Barber. In accordance

with the procedure and terms originally established, the terms of members will be three years with the terms of two members expiring each year. The terms of Henry S. Kariel and Martin Kilson expire in 1970; of James David Barber and Philippe C. Schmitter in 1971; and of Betty Glad and Barbara Hinckley in 1972.

Several members of the Council asked about the change of name of *PS* to "The American Political Scientist" as mentioned by President Deutsch. After considerable discussion, the Council expressed its appreciation for the work of the Editor, the Chairman and members of the Editorial Board, suggested that the Chairman of the Editorial Board, if he wishes, present to the Council any proposals he may have for changing the title or other aspects of the Association newsletter.

XV. There was brief discussion of the desirability of again holding a meeting or meetings for departmental chairmen at the Annual Meeting; it was agreed that the Executive Director and Program Chairman will explore doing so and report back to the next Council meeting.

The Council adjourned at 2:30 p.m., December 5, to meet again on January 15, 1970 in San Francisco, California. Arrangements for the January 15, 1970 meeting and notices about it will be sent out by the Executive Director.

Thomas R. Dye, Secretary

Association News

APSA Council Minutes

The **second Council meeting** of the year was held in the Sheraton Commander Hotel, Cambridge, Massachusetts, **January 15 and 16, 1970.**

The night preceding the Council meeting, a reception was held for members of the Council by Boston University, Harvard, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Northeastern, Simmons and Tufts. Other institutions invited to attend the reception were: Bentley, Boston College, Brandeis, Brown, Merrimack (North Andover), Radcliffe, Suffolk, University of Massachusetts (Boston), Wellesley and Wheaton.

Present:

Gordon E. Baker, Karl W. Deutsch, Thomas R. Dye, Tobe Johnson, John H. Kessel, Evron M. Kirkpatrick, Robert E. Lane, Herbert McClosky, Grant McConnell, Richard L. Merritt, Josephine F. Milburn, Joseph L. Noguee, A.F.K. Organski, Jewel L. Prestage, Austin Ranney, William H. Riker, Robert H. Salisbury, Frank J. Sorauf, Herbert J. Spiro, Ellis Waldron and Frederick Wirt

Presiding:

Karl W. Deutsch, President

There was discussion of the draft of the minutes of the Annual Business Meeting. Lane moved to leave the clarification of minutes of the Annual Business Meeting dealing with the Committee on the Status of Women in the Profession to the national office to be revised for style and consistency. Unanimously approved.

Spiro made a motion that reports of the Council meeting contain a brief summary of arguments, identify people taking major positions, and identify individuals voting on resolutions. Unanimously approved.

Baker indicated that there may have been an error in reporting on one of the motions at the Annual Business Meeting regarding the Congressional Distinguished Service Awards. Lane moved that Baker make a revision of the minutes, if necessary, on the abolition of the Congressional Distinguished Service awards following a review of the transcript of the meeting. Unanimously approved.

Noguee moved that the minutes of the Annual Business Meeting be approved with the above revision. Unanimously approved.

A motion was made by Lane that the President shall nominate and the Council elect an Administrative

Committee to assist the Council, the President and the Executive Director in the management of the business of the Association by presenting alternatives and recommending action to the Council and proposing an agenda for Council meetings. The Administrative Committee will report its actions to each Council meeting for confirmation. The Committee shall include the President, President-Elect, Treasurer, ex-officio, and two other elected members of the Council.

Discussion centered about the question of whether an Administrative Committee could assist the Council in discharging its policy-making functions by 1) removing minor but time-consuming items from the Council agenda, 2) structuring policy alternatives for Council consideration, and 3) taking administrative action on items which arise between meetings of the Council and which require Association response.

Organski questioned the advisability of an Administrative or Executive Committee, since according to the stated purposes, it would have no powers not already vested in the President, making its existence superfluous. Ranney said he thought it would work only if there is a clear understanding between the Council and the Administrative Committee of the jurisdictional limits of the Administrative Committee. The question arose as to whether the Administrative Committee would make recommendations to the Council on policy alternatives; Lane indicated he would not want to preclude the Administrative Committee from doing so. Sorauf stressed the fact that the Administrative Committee should not be a policy-making group itself. Lane explained that the Committee's actions would be reversible by the Council and that the Committee would report to the Council.

Wirt observed that, in terms of functions, the Administrative Committee would set the agenda for Council meetings, develop alternatives on programs and make recommendations, and settle administrative, i.e. minor, items of business. All of this would be reported to the Council and would be changeable by the Council.

Lane's original motion on the establishment of an Administrative Committee was approved. Only Ranney opposed.

Deutsch reported to the Council for the Search Committee for a new Managing Editor of the *Review*, which met on the 23rd of December. The Committee considered about 40 names, reduced it

to a short list of six. A number of names who were high on the list were taken out because they specifically indicated that they did not want to be considered. Of the list of six, every member of the Search Committee wrote down the numbers 1-6 and the numbers were averaged. Number one was Nelson W. Polsby. He received four first place votes, one second and one third. Deutsch read a letter of tentative acceptance from Polsby. The Committee also recommended that the salary for the Editor should be \$8,000 and that \$12,000 be provided the Editor for a secretary and copy reader.

Ranney moved the the Council appoint Nelson Polsby as Editor of the *Review*. Approved unanimously. Milburn made a motion that, as recommended by the Search Committee, the Editor should have a stipend of \$8,000. Approved unanimously. Salisbury suggested that the criteria of choosing the Editor should be made known to Association members. Ranney will write a report listing the criteria and announce appointment of the Editor in the March issue of the *Review*. It was mentioned during the discussion that Sindler and Huntington, two Council members who were unable to attend the meeting, were in favor of Polsby as Editor of the *Review*. McClosky moved, and Ranney seconded, that the Council should authorize approximately \$12,000 for secretarial and copy reading assistance to the Editor of the *Review*. Unanimously approved.

Ranney made a motion that: it is the sense of the Council that we approve and accept the idea of increased *Review* space without committing resources for any particular way it will be done and subject to the availability of resources. There was considerable discussion. Baker offered, and Ranney accepted, a substitute motion that the Council shares the concern about the desirability of expanding journal space and is receptive to hearing concrete proposals that can be acted upon in the light of financial resources. Baker's motion was approved. Only Kariel opposed.

The Council unanimously expressed appreciation to Ranney for his work as Managing Editor of the *Review*.

Deutsch asked that Grant McConnell and Tobe Johnson be the appointive members of the Administrative Committee. It was moved, seconded, and unanimously approved that the Administrative Committee be composed of the President, President-Elect, Treasurer, and Council members Grant McConnell and Tobe Johnson.

James D. Barber, Chairman of the Editorial Board of *PS*, appeared before the Council to report on *PS*. He asked instruction and advice from the Council regarding changing the title of *PS* to *The American Political Scientist* and on the substance and structure of the journal. He felt that the title *The American Political Scientist*, would better communicate what he hoped the journal would be, and that such a title would attract articles for publication. Concerning substance: Barber observed that if *PS* is to be solely a newsletter, it could be handled by the national office and would not require a Board to oversee it. He favored the alternative of having, in addition to a newsletter, a journal on common professional concerns, including discussions of professional policies, goals, and ethics, and ideological questions facing political scientists. In that case, it would be more appropriate to have an independent editor and board overseeing the journal. His recommendation was that the present arrangement continue with the Washington office maintaining the management and the responsibility for the regular sections, and the Editorial Board handling manuscripts and consulting with the Editor on general questions about *PS*.

There was a great deal of discussion concerning the substance of *PS*. Discussants commented on the new format of the Fall issue of *PS*, the cost of the new *PS* (approximately two-thirds of the present cost of the *APSR*), and the fact that *PS* was now accepting authored articles and poems. There was also discussion about whether these changes had been authorized by the Council and what should be the relationship between the Council and the Editor and Board of *PS*. Finally, the Council was concerned about the length of some of the committee reports which are printed. Ranney made a motion that the Editorial Board of *PS* should exercise editorial judgment concerning the length of reports of Association committees. Motion was unanimously approved.

There was general agreement that the title of *PS* should not be changed. Kariel moved to drop the subtitle, "Newsletter of the American Political Science Association" and to have instead "published quarterly by the American Political Science Association." Motion was approved unanimously. Prestage moved to thank the Chairman of the Editorial Board, the Editor and the Board for the work they have done on *PS*. Unanimously approved.

Tobe Johnson, on behalf of Paul Puryear, Chairman of the Committee on the Status of Blacks in the

Association News

APSA Council Minutes

Profession, presented a proposal from the Committee on the Status of Blacks for a conference on Black Politics to consider the feasibility of creating a formal organization to provide needed technical and research assistance for Black elected officials. Lane raised the question of funding, and requested that the Association find ways it can make available outside funds which might help to carry on activities of this sort. Kirkpatrick discussed the possibility of securing funds for the conference. He also discussed the new Tax Reform Act and what implications this Act may have on making funds available from Foundations.

Ranney stated that the APSA has a legitimate public service function, on the basis of what we have done in the past, and that we should help public officials participate more effectively; he offered a resolution recommending as high priority the support for the conference. The Executive Director was directed to proceed speedily to look into the possibilities of securing outside support with the understanding that if the money is not forthcoming or if there is a delay, the Association should be prepared to appropriate funds for the conference in an amount up to \$11,200, as requested in the proposal. Unanimously approved.

Waldron suggested that the Council should not meet five times a year, but should have fewer meetings and have four or five day meetings instead of two days. He also feels the Council should examine seriously any decision to meet anywhere but Washington as the Council can be better served by the APSA staff in Washington.

Ranney moved that the next meeting of the Council be on Saturday, April 18, and Sunday, April 19. Unanimously approved.

Merritt moved that the next Council meeting be held in Los Angeles. Motion defeated.

There was discussion of the minutes of the December 4-5 Council meeting. Spiro moved that the word "received" be changed to "accepted" in a sentence in the minutes stating that "The Council received the report of the Committee on Elections." Unanimously approved.

Merritt raised the question of multiple participation of panelists in the program of the Annual Meeting. There was a motion by Ranney that the rule of no double participation, which was adopted at the last Council meeting, should be adhered to *strictly* even with minority groups such as blacks and women,

except that official Association participation should not prohibit someone from giving a paper in another session. Unanimously approved. The minutes of the last Council meeting were approved as amended.

Baker reported for Rourke, Chairman of the Finance Committee. The Committee had a conference call and devoted time to the specific task of proposing a salary scale for the Association office personnel as requested by the last meeting of the Council. The proposed salary scale was approved unanimously. There was discussion of the salary of the Executive Director, and the Finance Committee was instructed to report to the Council at their next meeting with a specific recommendation for the Executive Director's salary.

Lane expressed to the Council his concern about the deficit spending of the Association and the fear that we are living off the prudence of the past and mortgaging the future. After considerable discussion of the financial situation of the Association, Baker moved that the Administrative Committee, meeting jointly with the Finance Committee, study the Association's financial condition and make recommendations to the Council at the April meeting. Approved unanimously.

Frank Sorauf, on behalf of the Committee on Program Planning and Review, moved that:

- 1 The Council re-affirm the high priority of its commitment to the improvement of pre-collegiate education.
- 2 The Council establish a broad and representative Committee on Pre-Collegiate Education.
- 3 This Committee be responsible generally for developing and administering the Association's programs in pre-collegiate education, and more specifically and immediately, that the Committee advise the Office of Education, NSF and CONPASS of goals in teacher training and the development of curricula and materials and on the development of their programs in this area.
- 4 This Committee be urged:
 - a) to feel free to withhold the cooperation of the Association from these agencies' program if it finds the constraints too great or if the programs fail to meet its goals.
 - b) to put work with these organizations into the broader context of a full scale examination of the entire problem of pre-collegiate education.
 - c) to draw on the reports and experience of the recently discharged Committee on Pre-Collegiate Education.

d) to consider the desirability of retaining a member of the discipline in a staff position (any such appointment to be with the advice and consent of the Committee on Pre-Collegiate Education).

The above motion was unanimously approved.

Sorauf also moved that the Council resolves that as a general practice every program advisory committee will, in addition to its annual written report, be expected to make a verbal report to the Council periodically. To initiate this policy, the Council invites the Chairmen of the Congressional Fellowship Program and the Chairman of the Advisory Committee of the State and Local Government Internship Program to its April meeting, it being understood:

- 1 that the reports will contain statements of the goals of the programs and the extent to which they have been achieved.
- 2 that the reports will contain a programmatic analysis of the budgets and full estimates of expenditures.

The above motion was unanimously approved.

Kirkpatrick reported that the Association is tentatively holding hotel space in both New York and Chicago for the 1971 Annual Meeting and requested that the Council decide on the location of the meeting. Hotel space in Washington is not available in 1971.

Johnson suggested, for 1972, the possibility of bringing the convention to the south, preferably Atlanta, Georgia. Kirkpatrick was asked to determine whether or not we can meet in Atlanta, New Orleans, or any other location in the south.

Kessel made a motion that the 1971 Annual Meeting be held in New York City and that the Executive Director be instructed to report back to the Council on the possibility of holding the 1972 meeting in Atlanta or somewhere else in the South. Vote on Kessel motion to hold the 1971 Annual Meeting in New York: For – Riker, Kessel, Spiro, Merritt; against – Sorauf, Nogee, Kirkpatrick, Lane, Baker, Milburn, Waldron; Johnson abstained from voting. Motion defeated.

A motion was made to hold the 1971 Annual Meeting in Chicago. For – Kessel, Merritt, Nogee, Sorauf, Kirkpatrick, Lane, Baker, Milburn, Waldron; against – Riker, Spiro. Johnson abstained. Motion passed. Professor Lane stated that several mem-

bers voting for Chicago, including himself, felt that the genuine loss in patronizing a city so blemished in its record of police behavior was counterbalanced by considerations of equity in affording the membership of the midwest region easier access every few years to the Annual Meeting.

There was a brief discussion on the matter of development and publication of syllabi by members of the profession on various areas of the discipline. Lane moved that the proposal by Sage Publications to undertake a series of publications on syllabi be referred to the Administrative Committee; motion was tabled. Lane moved the proposal of Philip Brenner, that he develop and publish syllabi in *PS* be referred to the Editorial Board of *PS*. The motion was approved; Spiro and Sorauf opposed; Waldron abstained.

Deutsch raised the question of establishing a Committee on Departmental Chairmen. Kirkpatrick summarized a letter from Charles Press on this subject. A motion was made by Milburn to refer this letter to the Administrative Committee for their recommendations and authorize the Administrative Committee to take such action as it feels necessary to implement. Motion was defeated. Merritt moved to refer the Press letter to the Committee on Program Planning and Review and instruct the committee to report on this issue at the April Council meeting. For – Baker, Lane, Milburn, Johnson; against – Spiro, Nogee, Sorauf, Kessel; Waldron abstained. Deutsch broke the tie by voting for the motion; motion approved.

Deutsch then raised the question of the creation of a Committee on the status of Mexican-Americans in the Profession. Sorauf moved for the establishment of a small, temporary, preparatory committee to consider the possible creation of such a committee by the April meeting of the Council, at which time the question will be the first substantive item on the agenda of the Council. Unanimously approved. The national office was instructed to invite representatives who can speak on the matter of Mexican-Americans to attend the next Council meeting.

Thomas R. Dye, Secretary

Association News

APSA Council Minutes

The **Third Council meeting** of the year was held in the San Francisco Hilton Hotel, San Francisco, California, **April 18 and 19, 1970.**

Present:

Gordon E. Baker, Karl W. Deutsch, Thomas R. Dye, Samuel P. Huntington, Henry S. Kariel, John H. Kessel, Evron M. Kirkpatrick, Robert E. Lane, Herbert McClosky, Grant McConnell, Richard L. Merritt, Josephine F. Milburn, Joseph L. Nogee, A.F.K. Organski, Jewel L. Prestage, Austin Ranney, William H. Riker, Francis E. Rourke, Robert H. Salisbury, Allan P. Sindler, Frank J. Sorauf, Herbert J. Spiro, Robert E. Ward, and Frederick Wirt

Presiding:

Karl W. Deutsch, President

There was discussion of the minutes of the January 15 and 16 Council meeting. Milburn asked that a note be included in the minutes acknowledging the reception held for Council members the evening of January 14 by colleges and universities in the Boston area and expressing appreciation of the Council to the participating colleges and universities. It was moved and seconded that the minutes be approved as amended. Unanimously approved.

As agreed at the last meeting of the Council, the first substantive item on the agenda was consideration of establishing a Committee on the Status of Mexican-Americans in the Profession. Grant McConnell, Chairman of the ad hoc committee appointed for this purpose, reported for the committee and proposed a motion that the APSA establish a Committee on the Status of Chicanos in the Profession; that the Council appropriate sufficient funds to meet the costs of three meetings of the Committee on Chicanos, after which the Committee would be expected to present its own budget proposal to the Council.

Sindler commented that he felt the motion brought up a major policy question regarding comparable groups in the Association – the problem of whether the Council wished to establish separate committees and programs for each group, such as, for example, Puerto Ricans, Oriental Americans, Latin Americans, American Indians, Slavic peoples, etc., and suggested that perhaps a single over-all committee on the minority groups should be formed having subcommittees on specific groups.

McConnell asked for comments from Ralph Guzman, University of California, Santa Cruz, and Thomas V. Garcia, U.S. Civil Service Commission, members of the ad hoc committee who had been

invited to attend the Council meeting to speak on the matter of Mexican-Americans in the political science profession. Both Guzman and Garcia spoke for the creation of a Committee on the Status of Chicanos.

Huntington stated that he thought the Association would be more effective in promoting research on disadvantaged minority groups if the Council would come up with a program to deal with the problem of all of these groups within the Association. He favored establishing a general committee on minority groups and referring the immediate problem to the Committee on Program Planning and Review so that this committee could come back to the Council with a recommendation on how to deal with the whole range of minority group problems.

Prestage mentioned that if the Committee on the Status of Women and the Committee on the Status of Blacks had had a combined task in one committee on minority groups it would have been a very tragic situation because of the differences in their basic problems. She felt that since the problems faced by Chicanos are so different from those faced by blacks and women that a separate appropriation should be made for a Committee on the Status of Chicanos. These various committees could then come up with preliminary work which could be integrated into a committee on the status of minority groups.

Salisbury stated that since the Council is not yet in the position to deal with the problems of minority groups as a whole, the recommendations of the ad hoc committee should be adopted with the hope that in the long run the committee dealing with the problems of Chicanos and those dealing with other minority groups could be consolidated.

McConnell said that the ad hoc committee was sensitive to Association problems and had attempted to consider the potential costs in making recommendations. He then mentioned four points the Council should consider in weighing its decision:

- 1 The scale of the problem: approximately 8 to 10 million Chicano people, among whom only two or three hold Ph.D.'s in political science.
- 2 The parochialism of most Americans regarding the situation in Southwestern United States.
- 3 The development of Chicano study programs in various schools, in recognition of the inadequacies of political science and other disciplines.
- 4 The fact that the next Association meeting will be held in Los Angeles where there are large numbers of Chicanos.

Ranney stated that in creating the Committee on Blacks and the Committee on Women, the Council had responded to pressures brought upon it by specific groups who were not in a position to bring pressure upon the Council, but who nonetheless deserve consideration. He recommended that the Council establish an organization to look into the problems of all kinds of disadvantaged groups.

Merritt made a substitute motion to the McConnell motion that the Council establish a Committee on the Status of Chicanos in the Profession, as proposed by the ad hoc committee report; and refer to the Committee on Program Review and Planning the problem of establishing long-range practices for integrating minority group problems. Vote on the Merritt substitute motion was:

For

Baker, Deutsch, McConnell, Merritt, Milburn, Nogee, Prestage, Riker, Rourke, Salisbury, Wirt. Total – 11

Against

Dye, Huntington, Kariel, Kessel, Kirkpatrick, Lane, McClosky, Organski, Ranney, Sindler, Spiro, Ward. Total – 12.

Motion defeated.

Kariel moved 1) that the recommendations of the ad hoc committee be referred to the Committee on Program Planning and Review; 2) that the proposed Committee on the Status of Chicanos be established and authorized funds for three meetings; 3) that the Program Planning and Review Committee be requested by the Council to devise a general framework for Association handling of minority group problems; 4) that this motion not be interpreted as instructing the Committee on Program Planning and Review to alter, abolish, or consolidate the Committee on the Status of Blacks or the Committee on the Status of Women in establishing any new committee on minority problems.

Motion carried. For – 19; Against – 2 (Merritt, McConnell)

McConnell completed his report by recommending that a Chicano be made Chairman of the Committee on the Status of Chicanos. President Deutsch agreed to take up the matter of the chairmanship and membership of the committee in consultation with McConnell and others at a later date.

Deutsch reported to the Council for the Administrative Committee.

Ranney moved that the Council adopt the Administrative Committee's recommendation that, in approving any new Association program or activity requiring expenditure of funds, the Council shall indicate either 1) new sources of financial support from outside of the Association for such programs or activities, or 2) existing programs or activities which are to be curtailed or eliminated to provide the requisite financial support. Nothing in this statement of policy shall preclude the Council from approving new Association activities or programs contingent upon the availability of new funds to support them.

Nogee proposed an amendment that if the resolution is adopted it be prefaced by an exact statement and specific figures on the financial condition of the Association, so that the Association membership will understand the rationale and purpose of the resolution. Professor Ranney accepted this amendment.

Prestage opposed the Ranney motion because it appeared to give preference to existing programs over new programs. New programs would be placed at a disadvantage because they would have to designate sources of support while old programs would not.

Riker also opposed the motion, and in doing so, urged that the Council continue its deficit financing until the Association's endowment fund was used up. He stated that it was not the purpose of the Association to accumulate funds but rather to advance the discipline, and that the existence of the endowment fund creates conflict over its use.

Lane cited the advantages of the endowment fund in giving the Association a small (approximately \$80,000 per year) investment income. This income gives the Association some flexibility in dealing with Association problems and makes the Association less dependent on outside foundations and government agencies. Lane favored the Ranney motion although admitting it was only a very fragile restraint upon the Council. However, the motion would suggest to groups within the Association that they consider the impact of their requests on the overall financial position of the Association.

Vote on the Ranney motion was:

For

Baker, Dye, Huntington, Kariel, Kessel, Kirkpatrick, Lane, McClosky, McConnell, Merritt, Milburn, Nogee, Organski, Ranney, Rourke, Sindler, Sorauf,

Association News

APSA Council Minutes

Ward, Wirt. Total – 19.

Against

Prestage, Riker, Salisbury, Spiro. Total – 4.

Motion carried.

Aaron Wildavsky, Chairman of the Constitutional Revision Committee, reported to the Council on the proposed revised constitution of the Association. Wildavsky stated that his committee felt the proposed constitution was more democratic and more representative than the current constitution. More democratic, he said, by fixing most of the power in an elected Assembly and more representative by having a large Assembly. He defended a 45-member Assembly on the grounds that it would give a greater feeling of representation and participation for the diverse interests which make up the membership of the Association.

Huntington requested that, since the Council members had just received copies of the latest version of the proposed new constitution and had not had time to go over it closely, a discussion be held on the constitution at this meeting, but that voting on it not be held until the next meeting of the Council. Ranney stated that the proposed new constitution would be presented to the Association under the amendment provisions of the existing constitution.

Council discussion centered about the following items in the proposed constitution:

- 1 the size of the Assembly;
- 2 the provision for three year (in contrast to two year) terms for Assembly members;
- 3 the failure of the proposed constitution to set forth the size and terms of the executive committee;
- 4 the open membership provision (in contrast to membership on the basis of professional qualifications);
- 5 the absence of a provision calling for mailed ballots when a minority at a business meeting exceeds 40 percent.

The Council expressed generally favorable sentiments regarding the Wildavsky draft, but postponed final Council action until the June meeting.

Wildavsky stated that he would poll members of his Committee to obtain their reaction to the suggestions by Council members. He expressed the hope that

the Council would endorse the constitution prepared by the Committee on Constitutional Revision, but he indicated the Committee would present its constitution to the Association whether or not it was endorsed by the Council.

Kenneth Prewitt, a member of the Committee on Scientific Information Exchange, reported to the Council in the absence of Chairman Carl Beck on the proposal of the Committee on Scientific Information Exchange prepared for submission to the National Science Foundation. The Council unanimously approved the proposal and directed the Committee and the Association staff to proceed in submitting the proposal to the NSF.

Lane reported to the Council on the first meeting of the Committee on Under-Graduate Instruction and requested that the Council authorize the Committee on Under-graduate Instruction to seek funds to develop a program to improve undergraduate instruction in political science, to receive funds given to the Association for this purpose, and to assist the Executive Director in employing personnel to effect these purposes. The aims of this Committee are outlined in the Report of the Committee on Undergraduate Instruction. The motion was unanimously approved.

The Council, as part of the report of the Committee on Program Planning and Review, received oral reports from Charles B. Hagan, Chairman of the Advisory Committee on State and Local Government Internship Program, and from William J. Keefe, Chairman of the Advisory Committee for the Congressional Fellowship Program, on their respective programs.

Francis E. Rourke, Chairman of the Committee on Finance, reported to the Council for his committee. In response to the request of the Council for a recommendation on a salary increase for the Executive Director, the committee proposed that he be given a 6% increase retroactive to January 1, 1970, and an additional 6% increase to become effective on January 1, 1971. It was unanimously approved. Ranney noted that this action was only a cost of living increase and urged the Committee on Finance to make a complete evaluation of the salary of the Executive Director.

Considerable discussion arose in response to the decisions of the Committee on Finance 1) to sell off stock in companies with certain defense contracts; 2) to vote a proxy in favor of a specific group of candidates for the Board of Directors of General

Motors Corporation; and 3) to issue a press release on this and other matters relating to the Association investment policy.

McClosky stated that these decisions by the Treasurer and the Committee on Finance raised serious constitutional questions for the Association which ought to be brought before the Council. Sindler stated that if policy statements similar to those made by the Committee on Finance were introduced as resolutions at an annual business meeting they would be ruled out of order as unconstitutional. Riker asserted that voting for Betty Furness is a very political decision which should have been presented to the Council for action. Prestage stated that neutrality in stock ownership was impossible and urged the Council to support the decisions of the Finance Committee. Salisbury urged the Council to leave decisions on investment policy to the Finance Committee. Kariel expressed his agreement with the Committee's decisions and asserted that opposition was generated by disagreement with these decisions.

McClosky moved that all proposals for the investment or re-investment of Association funds, or for the voting of Association stock, for any reasons other than financial security and return on investment should be referred to the Council for decision. The vote was:

For

Dye, Huntington, Kirkpatrick, McClosky, Nogee, Organski, Ranney, Riker, Sindler, Spiro, Ward.
Total – 11.

Against

Baker, Deutsch, Kariel, Kessel, McConnell, Merritt, Milburn, Prestage, Rourke, Salisbury, Sorauf, Wirt.
Total – 12.

The motion was defeated.

Kessel moved to confirm the present instructions to the Committee on Finance (see minutes of Council meeting, June 9 and 10, 1969), but to instruct the Committee on Finance that no press releases should be issued on its decisions and that it should not vote in proxy battles. The vote was:

For

Baker, Deutsch, Dye, Kessel, Kirkpatrick, McConnell, Merritt, Milburn, Prestage, Ranney, Riker, Rourke, Salisbury, Sorauf, Wirt. Total – 15.

Against

Kariel, Sindler. Total – 2.

Huntington, McClosky, Nogee, Organski and Spiro abstained from voting.

The motion passed.

Rourke, on behalf of the Committee on Finance, stated that the Committee will not issue press releases and will not vote the General Motors proxy as planned.

The Committee on Finance advised the Council of the need to prepare a constitutional amendment to enable the Council to raise membership dues, in the event the proposed revised constitution is not adopted. The Council agreed that this amendment should be prepared.

The Committee on Finance recommended that institutional membership dues of the Association be set at \$35 per year was unanimously approved. The payment of dues will include receiving the two journals of the Association, the *Review* and *PS*.

The Finance Committee was instructed by the Council to prepare for consideration at the next meeting a dues structure based on ability to pay and suggestions for a letter of assessment to be sent to the membership.

The Finance Committee was also instructed to bring to the June meeting a tentative budget for the next fiscal year.

Paul Puryear, Chairman of the Committee on the Status of Blacks in the Profession, reported to the Council on behalf of his committee. The Committee recommended that the Council appropriate up to \$10,000 to defray the expense of tuition and fees for fellows of the fellowship program for black graduate students awarded stipends who do not receive funds for this purpose from other sources (i.e., tuition grants from the universities of their choice). It was unanimously agreed that the Council should accept the principle that where it is necessary to pay tuition fees so that the black fellows can attend the university of their choice, the Association should be prepared to pay the tuition for the current fiscal year. It was also agreed that the national office would bring to the attention of the funded and honorary fellows the names of those institutions which indicated a willingness and ability to waive tuition and/or fees.

The Committee on the Status of the Blacks requested that the number of awards under the fellowship program should be increased by five in each of the next three years until the maximum of twenty fellowships are available. The Council unanimously endorsed this program in principle if the

Association News

APSA Council Minutes

funds can be obtained. The national office was instructed to develop a proposal to foundations, in cooperation with the Chairman of the Committee on the Status of Blacks, and to report to the next meeting of the Council with this proposal.

The Committee on the Status of Blacks also recommended that the graduate stipend be increased by 5% per annum to adjust for the increased cost of living. Following discussion on this point, Prestage moved that the Council accept the principle of adjusting fellowships in future years in consideration of the cost of living and other considerations of need and policy. Motion unanimously approved.

The Council discussed the recommendation by the Committee on the Status of Blacks that blacks be represented on all APSA committees. There was a lengthy discussion on the appointing process and the basis for composition of APSA committees. Prestage spoke about the question of black representation on committees and stated that because black people are on committees does not mean black interests are being represented.

There was a motion that the Program Planning and Review Committee be expanded by not more than two and that new members of the Committee may or may not be members of the Council. Merritt moved that this motion be put on the agenda for the June meeting of the Council. Prestage proposed that the Merritt motion be expanded to include all other recommendations made by the Committee on the Status of Blacks in their report to the Council. Merritt accepted the Prestage amendment. Motion was approved.

There was discussion of a proposal submitted by the Administrative Committee and for which funds were available to the Association. Under this proposal, the Association, in cooperation with the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies, would conduct a Congressional Summer Intern Project during the summer of 1970 for a select group of U.S. and Canadian undergraduate and graduate students. These students would 1) undertake, as individuals, research for members of the House and Senate on defense and foreign policy issues; and, 2) study, as a group, legislative processes related to these policy areas.

Salisbury questioned the desirability of having the Association co-sponsor a program with a specific institution. Kariel and Sorauf pointed out that the program had not been reviewed or discussed with the Program Planning and Review Committee.

Deutsch and McClosky spoke in favor of the motion. A motion to table was approved 7-5 by the Council.

Frank Sorauf, Chairman of the Committee on Program Planning and Review, reported to the Council on the questions referred to the Committee regarding employment and placement in the profession. A detailed review of the Committee's inquiry and recommendations on the questions are contained in its report attached to the record copy of these minutes. Sorauf also distributed copies of a preliminary study on employment trends in the profession prepared by the national office and based in part on a questionnaire developed by the Committee.

The Council endorsed in principle the recommendation of the Committee that it is the professional obligation of all political science departments to list vacancies for which they are recruiting in the APSA Personnel Service Newsletter and/or the Convention Placement Service. The Committee was instructed to report to the June Council meeting on possible ways of implementing this recommended procedure.

The Council adjourned at 4:45 p.m. to meet again at 8:00 p.m., Sunday, June 14th, in Washington, D.C.

Thomas R. Dye, Secretary

Association News

Proposed Resolutions

Submitted by Dankwart A. Rustow, et al.

Whereas it is a major purpose of this Association to promote the scientific understanding of politics by Americans;

Whereas such understanding is furthered both by theoretical study and by practical experience and participation;

Whereas such understanding is needed more than ever in time of national crisis; and **Whereas** Princeton University has taken the lead in instituting a two-week suspension of regular classes before the national elections in the fall of 1970 to enable its students and staff to gain such experience and engage in such participation:

Resolved

1) that this Association commends Princeton University's example;

2) that the Association urges each Department of Political Science in the United States to use its influence to have its college or university enact a similar policy in the form of a suspension of regular classes either in the two weeks, or else during the four Mondays and Fridays, immediately preceding the national election of November 1970;

3) that the Association urges all its members to help implement any programs adopted in the spirit of article (2) and specifically, through provision of information, conduct of workshops, and in other ways, to facilitate and make more effective the participation by graduate and undergraduate students in campaigns on behalf of candidates of their individual choice as a means of their further education in the science of politics;

4) that the Association urges each Department of Political Science, whether or not at an institution that will have adopted a program in the spirit of article 2, to institute during the fall term of 1970 and of succeeding election years a practical workshop or workshops in electoral politics for undergraduate and graduate students and with full academic credit under appropriate curriculum regulations.

5) that staff at the Association's headquarters prepare suitable teaching materials to be distributed at cost, for use in such workshops;

6) that the President of the Association communicate the above commendation to the President of Princeton University.

Submitted by Daniel Henning

A Resolution for the Involvement of Political Science in Environment Issues

Whereas leading ecologists throughout the world are predicting imminent environmental crises in the near future,

Whereas the problems and complexity of human values and behavior with the resulting political and government decisions can produce the destruction or conservation of survival and quality of the environment for man and other forms of life,

Whereas the profession of political science has been generally insensitive to the environmental responsibility of man and to the growing political and social force of the environmental issue,

It is hereby resolved:

That APSA establish an Environmental Committee to study and implement various ways and means for involving the teaching and researching of environmental topics among its members.

That individual members of the APSA give serious consideration to their professional and personal responsibilities for environmental quality and survival on a vocational and avocational basis.

Association News

Proposed Resolutions

Submitted by Sanford Levinson

Resolved, That the Congressional Fellowship Program be terminated at the earliest possible date consistent with fulfilling currently existing legal obligations.

Statement:

The Congressional Fellowship Program, financed by the Ford Foundation and administered by the American Political Association, is dubious for two, analytically separate, kinds of reasons. The first is both more obvious and less important, dealing with the political implications of the Program. That is, as in any "internship" program, the Fellow is not simply an observer, but rather an aide to the Representative or Senator to which he is attached. By what criteria are Senators and Representatives entitled to the presumably valuable assistance of professional political scientists? If the answer be that participation is necessary in order to understand the functioning of Congress, then why does not the Association sponsor (and secure financing for) similar kinds of participant-observation in other political organizations ranging from the Black Panthers to the American Legion? Surely we should recognize that applying free help to Congressmen is no more "value-free" than would be the provision of interns to the above organizations. If we are going to continue to have internship programs, then at least let us debate what organizations we wish to supply aid to, and why.

The above, however, is only a secondary reason to oppose the Program. Much more important is the recognition of the role of the Program in encouraging the study of certain kinds of political activity through the provision of special incentives and benefits. To be blunt, I would argue that the Program encourages ever more study of an institution – Congress – about which we have sufficient knowledge relative to other kinds of unexamined political activity. Such activity includes not only recognized political groups like those mentioned in the first paragraph, but also the vast "private governments" which play such an important role in our political life. General Motors, for example, has a Gross Corporate Product which would place it high in the realm of the world's major powers if GM were formally recognized as a state; indeed, it has more overseas employees than does the United States State Department. Yet we have almost no serious studies of the politics of General Motors, either of the internal struggles for power or of the external consequences of corporate decisions.

The marginal utility of the next study of Congress, I submit, is much less than the utility of a study of the politics of General Motors or, indeed, of the Ford Foundation itself which so generously finances the Congressional Fellow Program. It is simple inertia at best, or ideological blindness at worst, which keeps us injecting ever more resources into the study of Congress. The American Political Science Association, therefore, should recognize that, whatever good may have been served in the past by the Program, in the present its continuation would be a grave mis-allocation of scarce resources and that it should be terminated.

Submitted by David Kettler

Resolved, That the Council of the American Political Science Association is instructed to make available to the Caucus for a New Political Science ten panels at the 1971 meetings and at subsequent meetings until and unless it shall be determined by the membership that the Caucus no longer represents an important intellectual development within the discipline.

That, criteria and procedures for allocation of panels to such other groups as may claim them shall be drawn up by the Council, drawing on the ad hoc decisions which made it possible for the Association to act wisely in this matter during the past three years.

Statement:

At its meeting of December 4-5, 1969, the Council of the American Political Science Association adopted a motion "that beginning with the Annual Meeting of 1971, all panels, plenary sessions, or other aspects of the official program must be organized under the direction of the Program Committee and no panels will be allotted as a bloc to any person or group of persons outside the Committee." This resolution, if implemented, would liquidate the policy which has given some panels to several groups during the past three years.

A comparison between the official program for 1967 and the program projected for 1971 by the new program chairman will bear witness to the contributions which have already been made to this Association by the sorts of activities which are now to be proscribed. Large areas of inquiry pioneered by the Caucus for a New Political Science will now be addressed by regular panels. But the innovative process which is given such recognition is now to be halted.

However benign or liberal those who will exercise the "direct control and supervision" no such policy can compensate for the loss of a distinctive forum – especially when even benign and liberal administrators of the official persuasion have repeatedly shown their inability to understand what the Caucus is all about. This is clear in David Easton's presidential address in 1969 and it is clear in a civil and conciliatory letter to the Caucus from the Program Chairman for 1971. The Caucus is considered a "political viewpoint group . . . interested in research with more direct policy relevance, discussions and evaluations of public policy and intense self-

analysis and criticism of the discipline" rather than "scholarly research."

The Caucus is no more (and also no less) a "political viewpoint group" than the Board of Editors of the *American Political Science Review* or the Association's Committee on Pre-Collegiate Education. The scholarly work of political scientists has political significance; the political work of political scientists, in turn, may have scholarly significance. The question is whether that significance will be acknowledged and brought under conscious control.

The Caucus has often focused on "policy issues", but it has done this in considerable measure in order to reveal the inconsequence of the theories which inform official scholarly research. It seeks to foster more adequate theory, to bring about better scholarly research.

Scholarly establishments normally impose their own conceptions of appropriateness through their control over the agencies which set standards of "professionalism" and "scholarship." In addition to textbooks, journals, and examinations, such agencies include the programs at professional meetings. The group which dominated the American Political Science Association finds that the resistance taking shape around the Caucus for a New Political Science is gaining in strength and coherence. The action of the Council counters this development because the scholarly and organizational activity connected with the panels made available to the Caucus has been an important instrument for its gains.

At the Caucus panels, crucial issues overlooked by the official political science have been raised and approaches rejected by the official political science have been explored. An alternate paradigm of our discipline is in formation – one that will be able to comprehend the massive pains and troubles which appear as incidental "policy issues" to the official political science. This process serves the ultimate objectives which professedly unite us in the American Political Science Association. It must not be crippled or blocked by an abuse of official powers.

Association News

Current Constitution of the American Political Science Association

Article I: Name

This Association shall be known as The American Political Science Association.

Article II: Objects

1. It shall be the purpose of this Association to encourage the study of Political Science, including Political Theory, Political Institutions, Politics, Public Law, Public Administration and International Relations.
2. The Association as such is non-partisan. It will not support political parties or candidates. It will not commit its members on questions of public policy nor take positions not immediately concerned with its direct purpose as stated above. But the Association nonetheless actively encourages in its membership and its journals, research in and concern for significant contemporary political and social problems and policies, however controversial and subject to partisan discourse in the community at large these may be. The Association shall not be debarred from adopting resolutions or taking such other action as it deems appropriate in support of academic freedom and of freedom of expression by and within the Association, the political science profession, and the university, when in its judgment such freedom has been clearly and seriously violated or is clearly and seriously threatened.

Article III: Membership

1. *Annual Members.* Any person sharing the objects of this Association may become a member upon payment of fifteen dollars and thereafter may remain such by paying the annual dues of fifteen dollars.
2. *Life Members.* Any person paying dues of one thousand dollars in a lump sum, or in installments spread over not more than ten years, shall become a Life Member of this Association, and thereafter be exempt from further dues.
3. *Student Members.* Any graduate or undergraduate student registered in a college or university may become a Student Member of the Association upon payment of six dollars and may remain such while he is so registered, but for no more than five years, by paying annual dues of six dollars.
4. *Family Members.* Another person in the family of a member may become a Family Member upon payment of two dollars, and may remain such as long as there is another Association member in the family, by paying annual dues of two dollars.
5. *Retired Members.* Any member who has been a member for twenty-five years prior to retirement shall be entitled, on retirement, to continue membership at the reduced rate of eight dollars per year.

6. *Institutional and Library Memberships.* The dues and privileges of Institutional and Library Members shall be fixed by the Council but dues may not be less than those for Annual Members.

7. *Privileges of Members.* Each member, other than a Family Member, shall be entitled to a copy of each number of *The American Political Science Review* issued during his membership. All members, upon payment of such registration fee as the Council may approve, shall be entitled to attend and to participate in the Annual Business Meeting of the Association.

Article IV: Officers

1. The officers of the Association shall be a President, a President-Elect, three Vice-Presidents, a Secretary, a Treasurer, and sixteen elected members of a Council, all of whom shall be elective officers and who shall represent the Association in its corporate capacity. In addition, there shall be an Executive Director of the Association, a Managing Editor of *The American Political Science Review* and such other appointive officers and committees as are hereinafter provided for.
2. The elective officers, together with the Executive Director, the Managing Editor and the Chairman of the Program Committee, shall constitute the Council of the Association. Ex-Presidents of the Association, and upon invitation of the President, the chairman of any committee of the Association and nominees to the next year's Council, may attend meetings of the Council and participate in its discussions but have no vote.
3. The President, the President-Elect, the Executive Director, the Managing Editor, the Chairman of the Program Committee and two other Council members, designated annually by the President, shall constitute the Executive Committee of the Council.

Article V: Elective Officers

1. The elective officers, except the President, shall be chosen by vote of the members of the Association attending the Annual Business Meeting, a quorum being present, provided that whenever there is a contest for any elected office or offices such elections shall be conducted by mail ballot of the entire individual membership. In the latter event the Executive Director shall distribute ballots within thirty (30) days following the Annual Business Meeting and under such other conditions as the Council may prescribe, and he shall count only ballots returned within thirty (30) days following distribution; each contested election shall be determined by a plurality of those voting on the particular office; if the number of nominees for the set of vice-presidencies or for Council membership

exceeds the number of offices constitutionally to be filled, all such nominees shall appear on the mail ballot, members shall be entitled to vote for a number equal to the number of offices in the set, and the nominees ranking highest in the poll, in a number equal to the number of offices, shall be declared elected. The President-Elect shall automatically succeed to the office of President upon the completion of the President's term, or upon the occurrence of one of the contingencies provided for in section 3 of this article. The terms of elective officers, except members of the Council, shall extend for one year measured from the end of the program of the Annual Meeting, except that an officer's term shall in no event expire until his successor assumes office. The terms of members of the Council shall extend for two years, similarly calculated, and one-half shall expire each year.

2. After each annual meeting the President shall appoint, with due regard to geographical distribution and the fields of professional interest, three members to a Nominating Committee of six, to serve for two-year terms; and he shall designate the chairman. The Committee may canvass the membership directly or indirectly for suggestions, and shall submit to the next Annual Business Meeting one nomination for each elective office to be filled, except the Presidency. These nominations shall be announced to the membership, by any convenient means, well in advance of the annual meeting. Additional nominations, sponsored by at least 10 members of the Association, may be offered from the floor at the Annual Business Meeting, upon 24 hours' advance notice to the Secretary.

3. In case of death, resignation or inability of the President to perform the duties of his office, the President-Elect shall immediately succeed him and shall be President for the remainder of the term unless that is less than four months, in which case he shall serve out the unexpired term and one additional year.

In case of an interim vacancy in the office of President-Elect, the Nominating Committee shall forthwith proceed to nominate and the Council shall elect a new President-Elect to serve until the end of the next annual meeting. Actions to fill a vacancy may in case of need be taken by mail, telegraph or telephone, without a meeting. At the next Annual Business Meeting the Association shall confirm the Council's action by electing the President-Elect to the office of President or instead may elect another member as President, or may take such other action as in its discretion the situation may require, to the end that there shall be in office at all times both a President and a President-

Elect.

The Council may fill any interim vacancy in its elective membership until the end of the next annual meeting.

4. The elective officers, except the Secretary and the Treasurer, shall be ineligible to succeed themselves in office. After a lapse of two years a former member of the Council may be elected to another term.

Article VI: Appointive Officers

1. The Executive Director of the Association and the Managing Editor of *The American Political Science Review* shall be appointed by the Council, after it hears the recommendation of the President. They shall have terms to be fixed in each case by the Council; and they shall be eligible for reappointment.

2. There shall be a Board of Editors of *The American Political Science Review* to assist the Managing Editor, and the Council may determine its size, method of appointment and tenure.

3. The Council, or the Executive Committee, may establish other offices, boards and committees, as the business of the Association may require, define their tasks and powers, and fix their terms and methods of appointment.

Article VII: Management of Association and Duties of Officers

1. The highest authority for deciding the policies and managing the affairs of the Association is the membership of the Association duly assembled in the Annual Business Meeting, or in a special meeting duly called, or in a ballot by mail as prescribed in this Constitution. It enacts and amends the Constitution, elects the elective officers, resolves policy questions brought to it, and may confirm, revise or repeal the action of the Council, the Executive Committee or any officer. One hundred members shall constitute a quorum of the Association, and a majority vote of the members in attendance or voting by mail shall control its decisions. The Association shall meet annually at a time and place designated by the Council. The Council and the officers shall make every effort to acquaint the members with the business of the Association and with the issues involved in the agenda of the Annual Business Meeting or in a ballot by mail, and to provide sufficient time at business meetings for deliberations and decisions.

2. Subject to the foregoing, the Council shall be the governing body of the Association and have general charge and supervision of its business and interests in accordance with this Constitution. The

Current Constitution of the American Political Science Association

Council shall meet once a year before the Annual Business Meeting, and oftener at its discretion or on call of the President. Nine members shall constitute a quorum and a majority vote of the members in attendance shall control its decisions. The Council may call special meetings of the Association. It shall receive reports of all officers and committees; adopt the budget and appropriate money; and give its recommendations upon all questions (except the election of officers) to be presented to the Annual Business Meeting. It shall receive an annual audit of the Association's accounts. It may give directions to officers and committees, and adopt the rules for the regulation of the Association's business. In the event of an emergency which prevents the holding of the Annual Business Meeting, the Council may exercise all the powers of the Association including the election of officers.

3. Within limits prescribed by the Council, and consistently with this Constitution, the Executive Committee may exercise the powers of the Council when the Council or the Annual Business Meeting is not in session. It shall meet on call of the President, and he shall report its actions to the Council.

4. The President shall preside at business meetings of the Association, the Council and the Executive Committee. Except as may be otherwise provided, he shall appoint all committees of the Association. He shall see to it that the business of the Association is faithfully transacted.

5. The Secretary shall approve and have custody of the minutes of business meetings of the Council and of the Association; and he shall report the actions of the Council to the Annual Business Meeting.

6. The Treasurer shall review and approve the arrangements for the receipt, custody and disbursement of Association funds, and for keeping the Association's accounts. He shall arrange for the annual audit, and present the auditor's report to the Council. He shall report the Association's financial condition to the Annual Business Meeting. He shall review the Association's investments and make recommendations of investment policy to the Council. He shall seek to advance the interests of the Association in adding to its financial resources.

7. The Managing Editor of *The American Political Science Review* shall edit and publish *The Review*, with the advice and assistance of the Board of Editors, and report its affairs to the Council.

8. The Executive Director shall be the chief executive officer of the Association and transact its business. He shall have charge of the central office of the Association. He shall formulate plans and policies for the accomplishment of the Association's

objectives, and upon the approval of the Council or the executive Committee shall be responsible for their administration. All appointive committees shall look to him for advice and assistance in their work. He shall have custody of the Association's funds, discharge its obligations and maintain its accounts. He shall make an annual report to the Council and consult with the President as questions of policy currently arise.

9. A Program Committee shall be responsible for preparing the professional program of the annual meetings of the Association. A Committee on Local Arrangements shall be responsible for assistance with accommodations and entertainment for members attending the annual meetings.

10. Other committees may be created, for stated periods and stipulated assignments. They shall report to the Council and thereupon be discharged. Unless specifically approved by the Association or the Council for that purpose, their reports shall not be deemed to state the views of the Association nor commit it in any way.

Article VIII: Resolutions

All resolutions shall be referred to the Council for its recommendations before submission to the vote of the Association at its Annual Business Meeting. Notice to this provision shall be given to the members of the Association in advance of the annual meeting.

Article IX: Amendments

1. Amendments to this Constitution may be proposed by the Council or by fifty (50) members of the Association. The Council shall transmit all proposed amendments to the next Annual Business Meeting and may make recommendations on those amendments originating outside the Council.

2. The Council shall have any proposed amendment printed in an official publication of the Association prior to the next Annual Business Meeting. The Council shall then place the proposed amendment on the agenda of the Business Meeting. The Business Meeting may accept or reject the proposed amendment with or without further amendments to it. Within thirty (30) days the Executive Director shall submit amendments supported by at least forty percent of those members present and voting at the Annual Business Meeting to the entire membership for vote by mail ballot. Ballots must be returned within thirty (30) days to be counted. A proposed amendment shall be ratified if approved by a majority of those voting. An amendment shall take effect immediately upon ratification unless the amendment itself provides otherwise.

Association News

Proposed Amendments to Current Constitution

Submitted by the APSA Council

Article III

Strike out Sections 3, 4, 5, 6.

Substitute the following Section 1.

Any person sharing the purpose of this Association may become a member upon payment of annual dues. All classes of dues, including life memberships and reduced annual dues for retired members and students, shall be set by the Council.

Statement:

At its meeting on June 14, 1970, the Council approved a new dues structure for Association members which will produce, it hopes, sufficient income to meet the rising costs of association activities. This new dues structure will go into effect if the new constitution is adopted. This amendment to the existing constitution is presented in order to authorize, if passed, a new dues system whether or not the new constitution is adopted. This amendment strikes from the present constitution any specific figures on membership dues and thus leaves to the Council the task of setting dues for the various categories of members.

The proposed new dues structure, to go into effect if this amendment or the new constitution is adopted, is as follows:

Membership Category	Dues
Regular	
<i>Annual Income</i>	
Under \$12,000	\$20
\$12,000-\$15,000	\$25
Over \$15,000	\$30
Student and Retired	\$10
Family	\$5
Life	\$1,000
Institutional (effective April, 1970, includes APSR and PS)	\$35

The expense of conducting current activities of the Association has been rising steadily in the last few years. At the same time, the Association has been taking on new responsibilities and programs such as the publication of *PS*, and the establishment of committees in the areas of Women, Blacks, Chicanos, Undergraduate Education, Pre-Collegiate Education, Graduate Education, Professional Ethics and Academic Freedom. Other projects that are presently in the planning stage, such as the publi-

cation of a new Directory, the development of an enlarged professional placement service, and the expansion of the *Review* will further swell the size of future budgets. The Council feels that in the light of rising costs, expanding activities and future program commitments, it has no alternative but to seek additional resources through an increase in dues. The present dues structure was inserted in the present constitution in 1959 and has not been changed since.

Association News

Proposed Amendments to Current Constitution

Submitted by Donald G. Herzberg, et al.

Article VII, Section 1 of the Constitution:

Add the following italicized wording:

The membership of the Association duly assembled in the Annual Business Meeting or in a special meeting duly called resolves policy questions brought to it, and may confirm, revise, or repeal the action of the Council, the Executive Committee or any officer. Whenever forty (40) percent or more of those present and voting at the Annual Business Meeting vote in opposition to any policy question, the question shall be submitted to the entire membership in a mailed, secret ballot under conditions prescribed by the Council and shall be determined by a majority of those voting by mail.

Article VIII shall be changed to conform to this amendment, adding the italicized wording as follows:

All resolutions shall be referred to the Council for its recommendations before submission to the vote of the Association at its Annual Business Meeting. Notice of this provision shall be given to the members of the Association in advance of the Annual Meeting. *Whenever forty (40) percent or more of those present and voting at the Annual Business Meeting vote in opposition to any resolution, the question shall be submitted to the entire membership in a mailed, secret ballot under conditions prescribed by the Council and shall be determined by a majority of those voting by mail.*

Statement:

In view of the continued broadening of the base of participation in the affairs of the American Political Science Association, this amendment is resubmitted after taking into account the suggestions made from the floor of the Business Meeting last year. In the judgment of the Ad Hoc Committee for Responsible APSA Governance, the amendment as modified by those criticisms now becomes an essential part of the democratization of the Association.

Donald G. Herzberg
P. M. Sniderman
Warren E. Miller
Philip Siegelman
Jose Sorzano
Karl H. Cerny
Roman Debicki
James H. Wolfe
John T. Calkins

Willard J. Barber
Conley H. Dillon
Don C. Piper
Richard M. Scammon
John M. Berry
Chester B. Earle
Jerome J. Hanus
Morley Segal
Alan Rosenthal

Denise Wiens
Brian A. McGrath
Eric C. Bellquist
D. B. Hardeman
Warren Butler
L. Eugene Hedberg
Elmer Plischke
Herbert McClosky
Martin Landau
Mark F. Ferber
Dennis J. Vodarsik
John H. McDonough
George Carey
Ulrich S. Allers
John Rouse
Benjamin W. Cotten
Franklin L. Burdette

Eldon Lanning
Charles M. Lichenstein
John G. Stewart
Robert E. Cleary
Valerie A. Earle
Lowell H. Hattery
John H. Runyon
Michael P. Balzano, Jr.
James E. King
John C. Blydenburgh
Howard R. Penniman
William V. O'Brien
Horace V. Harrison
Raymond V. Humphreys
George L. Zarur
and others

Submitted by William Connolly, et al.

Article III

Title amended to: "Association Membership and Subscription to the Association Journal."

Substitute the following Section 7:

Each member, other than a Family Member, shall be entitled to subscribe to the *American Political Science Review* at a rate discounted by 20% of the regular subscription rate."

Add the following Section 8:

The regular subscription rate of the *American Political Science Review* will be set at the Annual Business Meeting. Non-members may subscribe to the journal by paying this fee.

Article VI

Title amended to: "Appointive and Editorial Officers."

Delete references to Editor in Section 1.

Substitute the following Section 2:

The Editorial Board of the *American Political Science Review* shall consist of nine members elected for three year terms, three members elected each year. Nominations for this office can be made by the Executive Committee and/or by petition of fifty Association members. The election shall be conducted by a mail ballot of the entire membership. Each Association member shall be entitled to cast a total number of votes equal to the number of positions to be filled. Each member shall be entitled to distribute his vote either equally among a set of nominees or in unequal whole numbers among a set of nominees. The nominees ranking highest in the poll in a number equal to the number of offices shall be declared elected.

Substitute the following Section 3:

The Editorial Board of the *American Political Science Review* shall elect a Managing Editor, not necessarily a member of the Board, to serve a three year term, renewable once at the discretion of the Board.

Add the following Section 4:

The above procedures will take effect by September, 1972. The present Editorial Board and Managing Editor will serve until these procedures are implemented.

Substitute existing Section 3 as a new Section 5.

William E. Connolly
Robert Stauffer
Harry J. Friedman
Harry Scoble
Janel Hoel
Robert L. Hill
Ron Hart
Martin L. Brownstein
Donald Chamberlayne
Henry Wulf
Loren P. Beth
Robert Parks
Dean Alfange, Jr.
Carl W. Chilson
Peter J. Flies
David Kettler
John R. Champlin
R. William Liddle
Sanford Levinson
Robert E. Bedeski
Donald L. Robinson
Philip Green
Lewis Lipsitz
Steven J. Baker
M. Stephan Baranov

Fred A. Kramer
Oliver Lee
John F. Wilson
J. C. Ries
James Lamare
Marilyn Brookes
James Elden
John J. Fitzgerald
Stanley Bach
Paul L. Savage
Peter E. Poor
Harvey Stone
Karl Ryavec
Ferenc A. Vali
R. John Howe
James H. Andrews
W. Andrew Axline
William E. Nelson, Jr.
David R. Roth
Joel Ann Todd
Peter Rowe
Alan Wolfe
Robert A. Shanley
B. James Kweder
Glenn Gardner

Association News

APSA Constitutional Revision Committee

Draft Constitution

Article I: Name

This Association shall be known as The American Political Science Association.

Article II: Purpose

1. The purpose of this Association is to encourage and to advance the study of politics.
2. The Association is non-partisan. It will not support political parties or candidates. It may take positions on issues only if they are immediately and directly concerned with the purpose stated above.
3. Should the rights of members to engage freely in teaching, research, or scholarly publication, and to associate for purposes of professional discussion and advancement of knowledge be violated or seriously threatened, the Association may take such action as is appropriate under this constitution.

Article III: Membership

1. Any person sharing the purpose of this Association may become a member upon payment of annual dues. All classes of dues, including life memberships, non-voting institutional memberships, and reduced annual dues for retired members and students, shall be set by the Assembly.
2. Members shall be entitled to:
 - a. receive copies of such journals of the Association as the Assembly may determine;
 - b. attend, participate in, and vote at the Annual Meeting of Members;
 - c. receive and return all ballots submitted to the membership by the Association;
 - d. sponsor nominations for elective offices;
 - e. be eligible for nomination of elective office;
 - f. sponsor amendments to the constitution and resolutions consistent with it.

Article IV: The Government

1. The government of the Association shall consist of a President, a President-Elect, an Assembly, an Executive Committee, an Annual Meeting of Members, and the entire membership voting by mail ballot.
2. The officers of the Association shall be a President, a President-Elect, the members of the Assembly, and an Executive Director.

Article V: The Assembly

1. The Assembly shall consist of 30 members chosen

for three-year terms, one-third to be elected by mail ballot each year. No member shall serve more than two consecutive terms.

2. In cases of disputed elections, the Assembly shall be the judge of its own membership.
3. The Assembly shall meet at least twice a year at the call of the Executive Committee. A special call by the President or a petition signed by one-third of the elected members of the Assembly shall be sufficient to bring the Assembly into extraordinary session. All meetings shall be announced to Assembly members at least one week in advance.
4. The Assembly may appoint special and standing committees from its own membership and shall establish its own rules of procedure.
5. The Assembly shall:
 - a. determine the size of the Executive Committee and elect its members from the Assembly's membership;
 - b. elect and set the term of office for the editors of professional journals published under the auspices of the Association;
 - c. appoint a Nominating Committee to propose candidates as specified in Article XI, Section I; the President shall chair this committee and at least two-thirds of the membership shall come from outside the Assembly;
 - d. advise and consent to the Executive Committee's nomination of the Executive Director of the National Administrative Office and to the President's nomination of the Chairman of the Program Committee for the Annual Convention of the Association;
 - e. enact an annual budget and set annual dues;
 - f. include in the budget a salary for the President in an amount proportionate to the time that he will devote to his presidential duties;
 - g. select the site of the Annual Convention of the Association;
 - h. prescribe, at least 6 months in advance, rules for the conduct of the Annual Meeting of Members, for the holding of elections, and for the submission of proposed amendments to the members;
 - i. appoint an acting President if the President should die, resign, or be unable to perform his duties and the President-Elect is not available to succeed him.
 - j. publish its minutes and proceedings in an official journal of the Association and, if requested by one-fourth of the Assembly's members, include a record

of members voting for and against a motion and of those abstaining and absent;

k. authorize committees necessary to serve the purpose of the Association;

l. pass resolutions necessary and proper to achieve the purpose of the Association.

Article VI: The Executive Committee

1. The Executive Committee shall consist of members elected by and from the Assembly for annual terms. No elected member shall serve more than three consecutive terms. The President and President-Elect shall be voting members. The President shall preside.

2. The Executive Committee shall meet at the call of the President or upon the request of one-third of its members. All meetings shall be announced to Executive Committee members at least three days in advance.

3. The Executive Committee shall:

a. call the Assembly into regular session and into extraordinary session;

b. prepare an agenda for each meeting of the Assembly;

c. review and approve the arrangements for the receipt, custody, investment, and disbursement of Association funds;

d. report the Association's financial condition to the Assembly and to the Annual Meeting of Members;

e. recommend a budget to the Assembly;

f. appoint, with the advice and consent of the Assembly, an Executive Director;

g. supervise the work of the National Administrative Office;

h. prepare an agenda for the Annual Meeting of Members;

i. perform such other duties as the Assembly may by resolution direct.

Article VII: The President

1. The President shall serve for a term of one year. He shall be ineligible to succeed himself in office.

2. The President shall:

a. preside at the meetings of the Executive Committee, the Nominating Committee, the Assembly, and the Annual Meeting of Members;

b. appoint, with the advice and consent of the Assembly, the Program Chairman of the Annual Convention;

c. be the official spokesman of the Association and represent the Association on ceremonial occasions;

d. call the Executive Committee into session and, when he thinks it necessary, call the Assembly into extraordinary session;

e. at his discretion appoint special committees from outside the Assembly to report on matters he deems to be of serious concern to political scientists;

f. be responsible for the preparation of the budget and for its presentation to the Executive Committee;

g. propose programs and policies to the Assembly and to the Executive Committee that in his judgment advance the best interests of the Association.

Article VIII: The President-Elect

1. The President-Elect shall be chosen by mail ballot of the members of the Association.

2. The President-Elect shall serve for a term of one year. He shall automatically succeed to the Presidency at the end of that term.

3. If the President should die, resign, or be unable to perform his duties, the President-Elect, if available, shall become the President for the remainder of the term. If that remainder is less than six months, he shall serve as President for one additional year. If that remainder is more than six months, he shall serve as President until a new President is chosen according to the provisions of Article XI. If the President-Elect is unavailable, the Assembly shall appoint an Acting President.

4. The President-Elect shall be a voting member of the Executive Committee and of the Assembly.

Article IX: The National Administrative Office

1. The National Administrative Office shall consist of an Executive Director and such staff as he shall appoint under the budgetary authorization of the Assembly.

2. The National Administrative Office shall be responsible for the day-to-day operations of the Association and shall provide administrative support for the governmental agencies of the Association.

3. The Executive Director shall be the chief administrative officer of the Association. He shall be appointed by the Executive Committee with the advice and consent of the Assembly to serve for a term of five years. He shall be eligible for reappointment. If a vacancy occurs during his term; the Executive Committee may appoint an acting Director to serve until the office is filled.

Association News

APSA Constitutional Revision Committee

Draft Constitution

4. The Executive Director shall:

- a. have charge of the National Administrative Office;
- b. assist the President in preparing the annual budget;
- c. have custody of the Association's funds, discharge its financial obligations, and arrange for an annual independent audit of the Association's accounts;
- d. formulate plans and policies for the Association and submit them to the Executive Committee for its consideration;
- e. provide information and assistance to the President, the Assembly, and the Executive Committee;
- f. prepare an annual report on the activities of the Association for presentation to the Annual Meeting of Members;
- g. perform such other duties as the President, the Assembly, or the Executive Committee may direct.

Article X: The Annual Meeting of Members

1. The Annual Meeting of Members shall be held at the Annual Convention and shall provide for the discussion of the policies and the activities of the Association. The President shall preside; the President-Elect, the Executive Director, and the members of the Assembly shall attend. All members of the Association are eligible to participate in the Meeting.

2. The Annual Meeting of Members shall have the authority to:

- a. alter the agenda prepared for it by the Executive Committee;
- b. receive and consider reports;
- c. propose and adopt resolutions consistent with this constitution;
- d. act upon constitutional amendments initiated in accordance with Article XII, Section 3;
- e. receive nominations made by the Nominating Committee and by petition.

3. Resolutions adopted by the Annual Meeting of Members shall be placed on the agenda of the next meeting of the Assembly, and shall become effective if the Assembly approves them.

Article XI: Nominations and Elections

1. At the first meeting after each general election the new Assembly shall appoint a Nominating Committee. The President shall chair this committee

and at least two-thirds of its membership shall come from outside the Assembly. The Committee shall propose a candidate or candidates for the office of President-Elect, for each Assembly seat falling vacant, and for the office of President if necessary under Article VIII, Section 3.

2. The Nominating Committee shall seek to ensure the representativeness of the Assembly. To that end the Committee shall consider the diverse intellectual and professional currents within the discipline and such membership attributes as region of residence, ethnicity, sex, and the like by consulting with the membership and, when possible, with organized segments of the Association. The names of candidates proposed by the Nominating Committee shall be made known to the membership at least four (4) months in advance of the Annual Meeting of Members where nominations shall be declared. In the event a candidate becomes unavailable through disability or withdrawal after the nominations have been announced to the membership, the committee may propose a new nominee up to 24 hours in advance of the Annual Meeting of Members.

3. Nominations for the offices specified in Section 1 that are sponsored by at least 200 members of the Association shall be presented to the Annual Meeting of Members upon 24 hours advance notice to the Executive Director and shall appear on the ballot.

4. Elections for all offices shall be decided by a mail ballot of the members of the Association. Rules for balloting shall be prescribed by the Assembly not less than six months prior to any election.

Article XII: Amendments

1. Amendments to this constitution may be proposed by the Assembly or by the membership.

2. Proposed amendments that originate within and are approved by two-thirds of the Assembly shall be submitted to a mail ballot of the members of the Association.

3. Amendments may be proposed by petitions signed by at least 200 members of the Association. Such proposed amendments shall be submitted to the Executive Director not less than 60 days prior to the Annual Convention for presentation to the Annual Meeting of Members. The Executive Director shall promptly announce such proposals to the members. Proposed amendments that are approved by the Annual Meeting of Members shall be placed on the agenda of the next meeting of the Assembly. Amendments approved by the Annual Meeting of

Members and accepted by a majority of the Assembly shall be submitted to the members of the Association for ratification.

4. At least once every ten years the Assembly shall appoint a committee from outside its membership to review this constitution and to recommend changes or to propose a new constitution. If approved by a majority of the Assembly, such recommendations or proposed new constitution shall be submitted to the members of the Association for ratification.

5. Amendments to this constitution, however originated, or a proposed new constitution shall become effective when ratified by a majority of those voting. Voting shall be by mail ballot. Other rules for the conduct of the voting shall be prescribed by the Assembly not less than six months prior to the balloting.

Article XIII: Transition

1. This constitution shall come into effect immediately upon ratification.

2. The President, President-Elect, and Council at the time of ratification shall serve as interim President, President-Elect, and Assembly under this constitution. The Secretary, Treasurer, and Vice-Presidents shall serve out their terms as members of the Assembly.

3. All currently appointed officials shall continue in their positions until June 30, 1972. The first five year term of the Executive Director under Article IX will begin on July 1, 1972.

4. Current members of the Council may serve the remainder of their terms as members of the Assembly. The number of new Assembly members to be elected shall be reduced by the number of holdovers.

5. Committees of the Association in existence at the time of ratification shall become committees serving at the direction of the President.

6. The Council will appoint an Interim Nominating Committee which shall function as specified in Article V, Section 5c, and Article XI, Section 2, of this constitution. Nominations may also be submitted according to Article XI, Section 3.

7. At its first meeting, the Assembly shall determine by lot which of its new members shall have one, two, or three year terms.

Association News

Proposed Amendments to Committee Draft Constitution

Submitted by The APSA Council

Article II

In Section 1, add the word "professional" before the words "study of politics."

Article III

Insert a new Article III, entitled "Membership," as follows:

A. Members

1. Any person sharing the purpose of the Association who meets one or more of the following criteria may become a member upon payment of annual dues:

- a. Possession of a Ph.D. or equivalent training in political science or a closely related field;
- b. Teaching or research in political science;
- c. Graduate study in political science;
- d. Substantial contribution to or achievement in the advancement of the professional study of politics.

2. Members shall be entitled to:

- a. Receive a copy of each number of such official journals of the Association issued during his membership as determined by the Assembly;
- b. Attend, participate in and vote at the Annual Meeting of members;
- c. Receive and return all ballots submitted to the membership by the Association;
- d. Sponsor nominations for elective offices;
- e. Be eligible for nomination to elective office; and
- f. Sponsor amendments to the constitution.

3. All classes of dues for members, including life memberships and reduced annual dues for retired members and graduate students, shall be set by the Assembly.

B. Associates

1. Any person sharing the purpose of the Association and not eligible for membership may become an associate upon payment of annual dues. Institutions and libraries may become associates.

2. Associates shall be entitled to receive a copy of each number of such official journals of the Association issued during his associateship as determined by the Assembly.

3. All classes of dues for associates, including life associates and reduced annual dues for retired associates and student associates, shall be set by the Assembly.

Article V

Last Sentence of Section 1 should be amended to

read: "No member shall serve for two consecutive terms.

Articles IV, V, VIII

Add the following words to these Sections to provide for retention of Vice-Presidents:

IV, 1. Add "three vice presidents" to composition of Association government.

IV, 2. Add "three vice presidents" to list of Association officers.

V, 1. Add at close, "The three vice presidents shall be members of the Assembly."

V, 5, i. Add as italicized, "appoint an acting President *from among the three Vice Presidents* if the President should die, resign, or be unable to perform his duties and the President-Elect is not available to succeed him."

VIII, 3, last sentence. Add as italicized, "If the President-Elect is unavailable, the Assembly shall appoint an Acting President *from among the three Vice Presidents*."

Article IX

Insert the following new Article IX, and renumber subsequent Articles:

1. The three Vice Presidents shall be chosen by mail ballot of the members of the Association.

2. Each Vice President shall serve for a term of one year, and not be eligible for re-election to that post.

3. Each Vice President shall be a voting member of the Assembly.

4. If a Vice President should die, resign or be unable to perform his duties, the position shall be declared vacant and remain unfilled for the remainder of the annual term.

Articles X, XI, XIII

Add the following words to indicated Sections.

X, 1, line 3. Add after "the President-Elect, *the three Vice Presidents, . . .*" shall attend the Annual Meeting of Members

XI, 1, line 5. Add after "for the office of President-Elect, *for the offices of three vice presidents, . . .*" in re. Nominating Committee functions

XIII, 2. Change transition arrangements to read:

"The President, President-Elect, Vice Presidents, and Council at the time of ratification shall serve as interim President, President-Elect, Vice Presidents and Assembly under this constitution. The Secretary and Treasurer shall serve out their terms as members of the Assembly."

Submitted by Steven Brams, et al.

Article V, Section 1

Change to read as follows:

... members shall be entitled to cast a total number of votes equal to the number of offices in the set, with this total number either to be divided equally among a number of nominees less than or equal to the number of offices, or to be divided in unequal whole numbers among a number of nominees less than the number of offices, and the nominees ranking highest . . .

Steven J. Brams
G. W. Sensiba
Jeffrey A. Lamia
K. W. Kim
Yong T. Choi
Peter A. Corning
Ann Tonjes
Philip Green
Robert Burrowes
James A. Dyer
Paul Lermack
Ronald W. Duty
Elaine M. Wolfson
Barton K. Stevens
Kenneth E. Sharpe
Paul Minkoff
John E. Stuckey
John S. Marks
Albert H. Teich
James R. McCoy
Arthur M. Hanardt, Jr.
Daniel Goldrich
Joyce Mitchell
Rachel Starr
Patrick J. McGowan
James J. Fishman

Alan Wolfe
John G. Heilman
William G. Fleming
Morris J. Blachman
Ronald G. Hellman
Lewis Lipsitz
F. J. Moreno
David Dent
Frank Forbes
Anne Permaloff
Larry Dodd
Martin Weinstein
Robert A. Isaak
Michael J. Scarcella
Terry Nardin
Alan Gitelson
Robert M. Rood
Jerry F. Medler
Judson Jones
Carol S. Gabiou
James P. Levine
William C. Mitchell
Michael O'Leary
Charles P. Schleicher
and others

Submitted by Paul Puryear, et al.

Article II, Section 4

The Association further recognizes that the protection of the basic human rights of all citizens is essential if the rights of its own members to engage freely in teaching and research are to be safeguarded. Consequently, nothing in this Constitution shall preclude the Association from adopting positions on issues affecting the status and rights of blacks and other oppressed peoples.

Paul L. Puryear
Mack H. Jones
Lois Moreland
Hanes Walton, Jr.
Robert Shanley
C. Vernon Gray
Frank S. Ransburg
Robert A. Holmes
Lenneal J. Henderson
Dante L. Germino
Peggy S. Griffiths
John N. Plank
Maurice C. Woodward
N. P. Tillman, Jr.
Robert E. Martin
Moses Akpan
Morris Levitt
Harris S. Cohen
John Ramsey
Robert L. Stern
Calvin M. Miller
Leslie B. McLemore
Kenneth L. Deutsch
Francine F. Rabinovitz
Princeton Lyman
Alex Willingham

Tobe Johnson
Larry Moss
Lawrence Noble
Paul L. Savage
Whitmore B. Garland
Jewel L. Prestage
Yousef Danesh
David G. Temple
Thomas V. Garcia
Michael B. Grossman
Elsie L. Scott
Harry M. Scoble
Michael Parenti
Samuel DuBois Cook
Festus Ohaegbulam
D. G. Kousoulas
William P. Robinson
M. S. Sheffer
Thomas Wells
Henry S. Wulf
Irving Howards
John C. Ries
Russel L. Adams
S. J. Makielski, Jr.
and others

Submitted by William Connolly, et al.

The proposed amendments to the current constitution requiring plural voting for the Editorial Board of the *American Political Science Review*, and which makes the office of Managing Editor elective (see previous section, Proposed Amendments to Current Constitution) is also submitted for the Draft Constitution, with appropriate numbering.

Research and Training Support

Support Available

Russian Fellowships

The Harvard University Russian Research Center has announced the availability of a limited number of post-doctoral Research Fellowships for the academic year 1971-1972 for scholars engaged in research on any aspect of Russian or East European life, especially economics, government, history, literature and sociology. Applications are due by January 15, 1971. Please address inquiries to: Russian Research Center, 1737 Cambridge Street, Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138.

Traveling Scholar Program

The Committee on Institutional Cooperation, composed of the Big Ten universities and the University of Chicago, has again announced the traveling scholar program, which makes it possible for a student at any member institution to attend other member institutions to study specialized subjects unavailable on his own campus. Information may be obtained from the CIC, Purdue University, 540 Northwestern Avenue, Lafayette, Indiana.

ACLS Announcement

The American Council of Learned Societies, 345 East 46th Street, New York, New York 10017, has published its annual announcement, "Aids to Individual Scholars." The brochure describes all forms of financial assistance for which competitions are held in 1970-1971, and includes a section on general information for all programs.

Interdisciplinary Postdoctoral Fellowships

To help deal with the complex problems of modern society, the National Science Foundation will offer 30 Postdoctoral Fellowships to new doctoral degree holders who wish to broaden the scope of their research and study on an interdisciplinary basis. The Foundation plans to allocate \$300,000 for the interdisciplinary postdoctoral fellowships in fiscal year 1971.

In making the announcement, Dr. William D. McElroy, Director of the Foundation, noted that many areas of scientific inquiry have now become so complex that research must be focused from many directions to solve scientific problems facing society. This complexity may well dictate that an investigator have scientific competence in more than one field.

As an example of a plan of study or research which might be considered for support, a person trained

in chemistry might now wish to tackle problems associated with air or water pollution, and to do this might need additional training in atmospheric or oceanic sciences. In another area, a person who wrote a dissertation in business cycle economics might now wish to undertake research in urban planning.

The Foundation will reopen its Postdoctoral Fellowship competition, including the interdisciplinary program, this fall. A detailed program announcement will be available in September from the Division of Graduate Education in Science, National Science Foundation, Washington, D.C. 20550.

SSRC 1970-1971 Programs

During the coming year the Social Science Research Council will administer or cosponsor the several fellowship and grant programs listed below. A more definitive announcement will be distributed in September and copies will be available on request addressed to Social Science Research Council Fellowships and Grants, 230 Park Avenue, New York, New York 10017. For further information about certain of the cosponsored programs, however, inquiries should be addressed to the other offices indicated. To avoid missing deadlines, correspondence should be initiated no later than October.

Research Training Fellowships will be offered only for supplementary training that is outside the scope of the usual doctoral program in one's major discipline. These fellowships are tenable at a predoctoral or postdoctoral stage, with stipends varying accordingly. Preference will be given to innovative proposals by candidates who have already demonstrated unusual aptitude for research. Address: Social Science Research Council, 230 Park Avenue, New York, New York 10017.

Foreign Area Fellowships for advanced graduate training and field research relating to Africa, Asia and the Near East, Latin America, the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, or Western Europe are administered by a separate staff under joint auspices of the Social Science Research Council and the American Council of Learned Societies. Address: Foreign Area Fellowship Program, 110 East 59th Street, New York, New York 10022.

Faculty Research Grants may be offered to mature social scientists who need small grants not otherwise available to enable them to carry on inde-

Research and Training Support

Announcements of Awards

pendent research aimed at new syntheses and interpretations or new theoretical or methodological contributions to social science. Projects within the scope of any of the special foreign area research grants listed in the following paragraph may not be supported through the Faculty Research Grant program. Address: Social Science Research Council, 230 Park Avenue, New York, New York 10017.

Grants for research on Foreign Areas will be offered to mature scholars (not to graduate students) by several joint committees of the Social Science Research Council and the American Council of Learned Societies. Concerning grants for research on Africa, Contemporary and Republican China, Latin America, or the Near and Middle East, address: Social Science Research Council, 230 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10017. Concerning grants for research in East Asian or Slavic and East European Studies, address: American Council of Learned Societies, 345 East 46th Street, New York, New York, 10017.

NSF Grant for Environment Study

The Policy Institute of Syracuse University Research Corporation has been awarded a grant of \$87,200 from the National Science Foundation for a study which will establish guidelines for a national program of environmental research laboratories.

The one-year project will evaluate current proposals which are aimed at improving the nation's environmental research capability through the establishment of large laboratories.

Three phases are planned for the study. The first, and second, to be completed concurrently, are 1) an inventory of existing Federal facilities and their capacity, and 2) an estimate of the research activity required to fulfill objectives of newly emerging environmental policies. The third phase will correlate existing capacity for research with its application to the needs, and determine the priorities for additional research and facilities necessary to meet the challenge of the environmental crisis.

The SURC grant is among the first of those awarded by the National Science Foundation under the newly created interdisciplinary research program which stresses "utilization of the social sciences as well as the physical and life sciences in seeking information that can most effectively be brought to bear on major societal problems."

California Legislature NSF Grant

The National Science Foundation has awarded \$63,500 to the California legislature as one in another series of grants by the foundation to help states plan or develop state science activities. The grant to California's Assembly Office of Research, the first ever made by the foundation to a state legislature, will be matched by a \$45,000 grant from the California Assembly to support a 14-month demonstration project to describe and assess the benefits of a new state agency designed to improve the use of scientific and technological information in the decision-making process.

Other state science-planning grants by the foundation's new Office of Intergovernmental Science Programs were as follows: Board of Nuclear Energy, state of Louisiana, \$15,000; Montana State University, \$10,000; Frontiers of Science Foundation of Oklahoma, Inc., \$15,000; Pennsylvania State University, \$63,300; and State Council of Higher Education for Virginia, \$25,000.

NLRB Election Study

Elections conducted and supervised by the National Labor Relations Board enable a single unit to represent all employees in a particular unit of industry. Although they have become increasingly important in the labor picture, no scientific studies have yet been made to test the accuracy of common assumptions about employee voting behavior. To ascertain what actually happens in an NLRB election campaign, the National Science Foundation has awarded a \$203,400 grant to Indiana University and the University of Illinois for a two-year study.

Under the grant, Julius G. Getman of Indiana University School of Law and Stephen B. Goldberg of the University of Illinois College of Law will use the panel technique to learn about changes in voting intentions and about whether specific types of employer and union speech or conduct have an identifiable impact. The technique involves interviewing voters at different steps of an election to determine their voting intentions and how they perceive the campaign and its issues. About 35 elections should be examined during the course of the study.

Law Dissertation Support

Forty-seven graduate students will receive \$333,366 in fellowships from the National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice for

Research and Training Support

Announcements of Awards

criminal justice research during the 1970-71 academic year. The recipients were selected because their dissertations showed promise of contributing to the improvement of the criminal justice system and they planned a career in teaching or research in the field. Each fellowship averages \$6,500. Of the total awarded, 30 went to first-year graduate students. The remaining 17 were renewals of those who received support this year.

NSF Training Grant

The Department of Political Science at Providence College has received a three year grant of \$35,455, from the National Science Foundation to subsidize staff training in mathematical application to political science, experimental inter-disciplinary summer program in Russian studies, computer rentals, and colloquia conducted by the outstanding scholars in the discipline.

Ford Minority Grants

The Ford Foundation has announced the recipients of advanced study and doctoral fellowship awards for members of minority groups:

Ninety-four awards went to faculty members to assist them in study toward the doctoral degree. Eighty-two doctoral fellowship awards went to black, Mexican-American, Puerto Rican, and American Indian graduate students.

The fellowship program – established by the Foundation in 1969 – aims at increasing the number of minority group students in graduate schools who intend to make college teaching a career.

Recipients of awards in political science are listed below by state and identified in the following manner:

Ph.D. Fellowships: Black Students (BS); American Indian Students (AIS); Mexican-American and Puerto Rican Students (MAPRS); undergraduate institution; major field.

Advanced Study Awards: Black Faculty (BF); Mexican-American and Puerto Rican Faculty (MAPRF); American Indian Faculty (AIF); institution of study; field of specialization.

William V. Flores, 2737 S. Robertson, Los Angeles: University of California (Los Angeles), Political Science (MAPRS).

Chris McNeil, 94-G Escondido Village, Stanford: Stanford University, Political Science (AIS).

Howard F. Jeter, Box 361, Morehouse College, Atlanta: Morehouse College, Political Science (BS).

Alfred Robertson, 6-3 Stouffer Place, Lawrence: Kansas University, Political Science (BF).

Willie J. Johnson, Department of Political Science, Tulane University, New Orleans: Tulane University, Political Science (BF).

Linda C. Sharpe, 1203 Beacon Street, Brookline: Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Political Science (BS).

Edward E. Epps, Syme Hall, Box 3516, North Carolina State University, Raleigh: North Carolina State University, Political Science (BS).

Alex Willingham, 200 B Branson Street, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, Political Science (BF).

Rafael Cintron, Baleares 536, Puerto Nuevo: University of Puerto Rico, Political Science (MAPRS).

Ford Grants

New Ford Foundation grants announced for American and foreign area studies were a total of \$1.9 million to Harvard University, the University of California, Los Angeles, and Columbia University for international studies programs, and \$830,000 for fellowships for social scientists from West Europe and for young scholars in the field of international relations and strategic studies.

Grants of \$300,000 to *Harvard*, \$360,000 to the *University of California* (Los Angeles), and \$310,000 to *Columbia* were made under a continuing Foundation program to assist international studies centers that are considered vital national resources for knowledge about particular areas of the world.

The grant to Harvard provides support for three more years to the Russian Research Center, one of the world's leading Russian studies centers. In the past twenty years, Harvard has awarded 234 master's and fifty-seven Ph.D. degrees in Russian studies. Supported initially by the Carnegie Corporation and the Rockefeller Foundation, the center in recent years has relied principally on funds provided by a broad Foundation grant for international studies. The new grant, in addition to providing general support for the center and its library collection, will strengthen a fellowship program for visiting scholars.

Support for nationally eminent African and Near East studies centers is provided under the grant to the University of California, Los Angeles. Over the past decade, the African Studies Center has developed the largest corps of African specialists of any university in the country and one of the largest library collections.

The UCLA Near East Center has degree programs in Near Eastern languages and literature and in Islamic studies. Specialized degrees in history, sociology, and political science, with a Near East concentration, are offered in collaboration with the center. Library resources exceed 100,000 volumes, and the center participates in a consortium of six West Coast universities in providing intensive language training.

The grant to Columbia provides funds for faculty research and graduate fellowships at institutes of African and Middle East studies. The Institute of African Studies currently has over 150 students enrolled in Ph.D. and certificate programs. It has played an important role in the training of Africanists, particularly those specializing in the social sciences.

Columbia's Middle East program is conducted through both the Middle East Institute and the Department of Middle East Languages and Cultures. There are about seventy-five candidates for master's and Ph.D. degrees in the Middle East field, and six to ten Ph.D. degrees are awarded each year.

In addition to supporting international studies centers of national importance, the Foundation is providing modest transitional support for international studies programs at a number of universities to insure their survival while other sources of support are developed. In line with this effort, Harvard received \$900,000 to help maintain its Center for International Affairs, International Legal Studies, the Center for Middle East Studies, Latin American Studies, the School of Education, the university library, and faculty research.

A \$500,000 Foundation project will provide some thirty fellowships to young West European economists, political scientists, and sociologists for a year of study in the United States. The program, initiated in 1967, is designed to increase the research capabilities of the scholars, strengthen professional contacts among social scientists in the developed world, and add to social science knowledge.

For fellowships in the field of international relations and strategic studies, the Foundation granted \$187,500 to the *Council on Foreign Relations*, \$60,000 to the *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*, \$52,500 to the *National Academy of Science*, and \$33,000 to the *University of London*.

The Council on Foreign Relations' fellowship program enables young scholars and practitioners in foreign relations to study and write on policy problems in the field of international affairs.

The grant to the Carnegie Endowment will expand a program of fellowships for pre- and postdoctoral research by young scholars to encourage new approaches to the study of regional and specialized international organizations, as well as components of the United Nations system. Funds will provide full or partial support for five to eight fellows per year.

The National Academy of Science will award four to five doctoral dissertation fellowships annually to non-U.S. citizens studying at American universities for research on issues related to arms control and disarmament. The program complements one for U.S. citizens established two years ago by the academy. Research is currently being conducted on such subjects as a political analysis of the U.S.-Soviet strategic nuclear balance, the history of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, and policy choices in the peaceful uses of atomic energy.

The University of London will offer four fellowships annually to students from continental West Europe to study at the Department of War Studies at King's College. The department is part of a complex of London institutions concerned with military history and strategic thought.

ACLS-SSRC Grants

The joint grants program in Slavic-East European Studies has announced the award of fellowships. The American Council of Learned Societies with offices at 345 East 46th Street, New York, New York is a private non-profit federation of thirty-four national scholarly associations devoted to the advancement of humanistic studies in all fields of learning. The Social Science Research Council, with offices at 230 Park Avenue, New York, is a private non-profit corporation which has as its purpose the advancement of research in the social sciences.

A list of the Political Science recipients follows.

Research and Training Support

Announcements of Awards

Research Grants:

Frederick C. Barghoorn, Department of Political Science, Yale University: Political dissent in the U.S.S.R.

Stephen F. Cohen, Department of Politics, Princeton University: The Stalin Revolution.

Robert H. Legvold, Department of Political Science, Tufts University: Soviet policy towards France, 1958 to present.

Rolf H. W. Theen, Department of Political Science, Iowa State University: Jacobian tradition in Russian social thought.

Paul E. Zinner, Department of Political Science, University of California, Davis: Aspects of political development in Czechoslovakia, 1967-69.

Travel Grant:

M. George Zaninovich, Department of Political Science, University of Oregon.

Field Agent Grant

The Ford Foundation has announced a \$39,542 grant, supplementing U.S. Office of Education funds, to Indiana University for an experiment in the training of "field agents" in the social sciences. The aim is to narrow and shorten the interval between educational research and development and their application in the schools – a gap estimated at twenty-five years in many schools. The field agents – specially trained social studies teachers or doctoral candidates in social studies education – would be expected to work in the public schools while retaining continuing ties to the university center where they were trained. The process is intended not only to speed the diffusion of new ideas and practices but also to give educational researchers a more direct and current grasp of the concerns of practicing teachers and school administrators. The grant will cover the costs of curriculum material kits, publication, and presentations of the field agent concept to professional meetings, and fellowships for two agents. The project is directed by Howard Mehlinger and Gerald Marker, Indiana state coordinator for school social studies, and is affiliated with the APSA Political Science Education Project.

Black Politics Center

The Ford Foundation has announced a grant for a major new institution to prepare blacks and other minority group members for positions in public affairs and government. The Joint Center for Political Studies, to be established at Howard University

under an \$820,000 grant, will be co-sponsored by the university and by the Metropolitan Applied Research Center, which is headed by Kenneth B. Clark.

The grant will establish a Joint Center for Political Studies to provide black and other minority group members with research support, and educational and training services to help them play a more effective role in government.

The center will help meet some of the needs of the 1200 present black officials, many of whom are inexperienced, by providing research and information in such areas as grants, loans, training and education programs available to Federal state, and local officials and their constituents; data on political patterns and electoral behavior; and problems of concern to the minority group community. It will serve as a clearinghouse for requests for information and assistance on specific local matters.

An Educational Services Division will provide training opportunities for persons engaged in public or governmental affairs through courses arranged by Howard, the center, or other agencies. Subjects covered would include the political system, public speaking, program management, and fiscal affairs.

A center internship program will be offered to young people interested in gaining experience in government. Graduate and undergraduate students will spend from ten weeks to one year working in government and private agencies in Washington and elsewhere. For black officials, academicians, and other mature individuals interested in developing special competence in selected areas of practical politics, fellowships will be available.

The center will be a private, nonprofit organization with a five-member board of governors including Clark and James Cheek, president of Howard. An Advisory board will include representatives of the major political parties, members of Congress, other elected officials, and academicians.

Presidency Study Grant

A Ford Foundation grant to the Brookings Institution has been made for a series of nonpartisan studies on the U.S. presidential selection system, including the presidential primary, the nominating convention, and the third-party phenomenon, \$230,000 to the Brookings Institution.

The Brookings Institution grant is one of a series

recently made by the Foundation to study such aspects of the presidential selection system as the high cost of campaign financing and why people fail to vote. Previous grants have gone to Columbia University and the Citizens Research Foundation.

Brookings will analyze components of the presidential primary law with regard to voting behavior and prepare a set of model rules and procedures to increase the effectiveness of national nominating conventions. It will examine the question of whether access to the ballot by third party candidates is relatively easy or difficult. To provide a link to the political world, Brookings will create a bipartisan National Committee on Electoral Policy of well-known political figures. The committee will not lobby for changes in the electoral system but will comment on the plans for each of the studies and on the draft materials. [See Professional Notes]

SSRC Grants for Research

The Committee on Governmental and Legal Processes of the Social Science Research Council – Austin Ranney (chairman), Richard F. Fenno, Jr., Anthony King, Warren E. Miller, Walter F. Murphy, Kenneth Prewitt, and James W. Prothro – has made awards to the following 12 social scientists:

N. V. Bartley, Senior Research Fellow, Institute of Southern History, Johns Hopkins University, for research on the Southern political response to the "second reconstruction," 1948-68 (joint with Hugh D. Graham).

Jonathan D. Casper, Assistant Professor of Political Science, Yale University, for research on social offenders' perceptions of the law and the legal process.

Peter K. Eisinger, Assistant Professor of Political Science, University of Wisconsin, for research on the dimensions of political protest behavior in cities.

Robert M. Fogelson, Associate Professor of History, and Urban Studies, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, for research on institutional change in urban America, 1890-1970.

Hugh D. Graham, Associate Professor of History, Johns Hopkins University, for research on the Southern political response to the "second reconstruction," 1948-68 (joint with N. V. Bartley).

John G. Grumm, Professor of Political Science, University of Kansas, for comparative analysis of the consequences of actual public policies for state political systems.

John W. Kingdon, Assistant Professor of Political Science, University of Michigan, for research on decision making on the floor of the U.S. House of Representatives (renewal of grant made in 1967-68).

James T. Murphy, Assistant Professor of Government, Wesleyan University, for research on the legislative politics of the "pork barrel."

Nelson W. Polsby, Professor of Political Science, University of California, Berkeley, for further research on the politics of the U.S. House of Representatives (supplementary to grants awarded in 1962-63 and 1965-66).

Robert A. Schoenberger, Assistant Professor of Political Science, University of Michigan, for research on American conservatism: the linkage of thought, organization, and political behavior.

Raymond E. Wolfinger, Associate Professor of Political Science, Stanford University, for research on the development and passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

James E. Wright, Assistant Professor of History, Dartmouth College, for research on the processes of radicalization and alienation in Colorado politics.

HUD Grant

The Political Science Department and The Governmental Research Center, The University of Kansas, has been awarded an HUD grant for the Wichita Falls Municipal Information System Project.

Taft Institutes

Each summer the Robert A. Taft Institute of Government conducts, through political science departments or school systems, institutes for social studies teachers to learn more about the American political system. Institutes this year include:

<i>Institution</i>	<i>Director</i>
University of Arizona	Curran V. Shields
Claremont Graduate School	George S. Blair
Pepperdine College	James Gibson
Jacksonville University	Joan S. Carver
Indiana State University	Charles W. Engelland
Wichita State University	James McKenney
Michigan State University	Roger Niemeyer
Macalester College	Duncan Baird, Jr.
Rutgers University	Jack Nelson
Pace College	Linda Gerber Quest
C. W. Post College	Joseph Metz
University of North Carolina, Charlotte	Schley Lyons
University of Cincinnati	Iola Hessler
University of Toledo	John Gillespie
Oklahoma City University	Duane Cummins
University of Pittsburgh	Robert Donaldson

Research and Training Support

Announcements of Awards

Peabody College
University of Utah
West Virginia University

Russell Farnen, Jr.
Walter E. McPhie
William R. Ross

Information on the Taft Institute Programs may be obtained from the Director, Marilyn Chelstrom, 420 Lexington Avenue, New York, New York 10017.

Woodrow Wilson Fellowships

The Woodrow Wilson Foundation has announced the winners of this year's competition for Woodrow Wilson dissertation fellowships, which provide support for Ph.D. Candidates to complete their dissertations. There were 231 winners of 582 applicants. Political science winners, listed by institution, were:

Graduate School

Arizona, University of
Krueger, Darrell W.

Brandeis University
Hessler, Ellyn J.

California University of at Los Angeles
Brookes, Marilyn

Claremont Graduate School
Engeman, Thomas S.

Columbia University
Freidgut, Theodore H.
Maisel, Louis, II
Parrott, Bruce B.
Tabori, John R.

Denver, University of-GSIS
Clayton, Daniel M.

Duke University
Wiser, James L.

Idaho, University of
Teigen, Gary A.

Indiana University
Loveman, Brian E.

Johns Hopkins University
Davis, David H.
Weber, Charlotte M.

School of Advanced International Studies
Hammond, Grant T.

Maryland, University of
Murin, William J.

Massachusetts Institute of Technology
Brickman, Ronald J.
Cahn, Mrs. Anne H.
Felsenthal, Dan S.
Milch, Jerome E.

North Carolina, University of
Davis, Joan D.

Northwestern University
King, Mrs. Erika G.
Lövald, Johan L.
Manheim, Jarol Bruce
Rosenbloom, Oscar A.

Rochester, University of
McKelvey, Richard D.

Syracuse University
Anise, Emmanuel O.

Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy
Milenky, Edward S.

Washington University (Mo.)
Decker, Jane E.
Gray, Mrs. Virginia H.
Horowitz, Mrs. Ruth L.
Jackson, Mrs. Gayle P.

SSRC Grants for Foreign Areas

Committees of the Social Science Research Council have made the following grants:

Grants for African Studies

Robert H. Bates, Associate Professor of Political Science, California Institute of Technology, for an ecological analysis in the United States of the relations between modernization, political participation, and opposition voting in Zambia.

John D. Esseks, Assistant Professor of Political Science, Northern Illinois University, for research in Accra and Legon on the efforts of the Ghanaian government to reduce foreign control of its resources, 1957-69.

Barbara C. Lewis, Assistant Professor of Political Science, Livingston College, Rutgers University, for research in Paris and Ivory Coast on the Transporters' Association of the Ivory Coast and on voluntary association among women engaged in petty trade.

Grants for Research on Contemporary and Republican China

Roy M. Hofheinz, Jr., Assistant Professor of Government, Harvard University, for a quantitative ecological analysis of political development in twentieth-century China.

Gene Hsiao, Visiting Professor of Government, Southern Illinois University, Edwardsville, for research on the legal aspects of Communist China's foreign trade.

Grants for Latin American Studies

James Petras, Associate Professor of Political Science, Pennsylvania State University, for research in Chile and Peru on Comparative aspects of agrarian reform and public administration.

Sandra S. Powell, Assistant Professor of Political Science, San Francisco State College, for research in Chile on electoral change, political party response, and policy processes.

Adam Przeworski, Associate Professor of Political Science and Sociology, Washington University, for comparative research in Chile, Mexico, and Brazil on processes of political mobilization.

Ronald J. Fernández, Professor of Political Science, University of Costa Rica, and Samuel Z. Stone, Professor of Political Sociology, University of Costa Rica, for research in Costa Rica on municipal politics.

Grants for Research on the Near and Middle East

Malcolm H. Kerr, Professor of Political Science, University of California, Los Angeles, for research in France and Algiers on the contemporary political role and outlook of Algerian intellectuals.

Information on the grant programs of the SSRC is available from the Council at 230 Park Avenue, New York, New York 10017.

Professional Conferences

Forthcoming Conferences

Cybernetics Meeting

The American Society for Cybernetics will hold its Fourth Annual International Symposium in Washington, D.C. on October 8-9, 1970. The theme of the symposium is "Cybernetics and the Management of Ecological Systems," and the following four sessions will be held in parallel: Cybernetics and Mathematical Ecology, Artificial Intelligence and Robotics, Cybernetical Modeling, Non-Computers: The Next Generation of Cybernetic Machines.

For further information, contact Dr. Roy Herrmann, Department of Management Science, Hall of Government - Room 103, The George Washington University, Washington, D.C. 20006.

Computers in Local Government

"How can the use of computers contribute to the long-term aims of local government?" The answer to this question will be the main theme of a four-day international conference on Computers in Local Government which is to be held in Washington, D.C. from 8 to 11 November 1970. The Conference will be jointly organized by the International Union of Local Authorities (IULA), its United States Section and the International Center for Local Credit.

Among the subjects on the agenda are: forms of cooperation between local governments for the use of automatic data processing; the consequences of the introduction of computers for the relations between central and local government; and the protection of personal data. The Conference will be concerned with the requirements of local government rather than going deeply into the technical aspects of computers. It is intended for local government policy makers.

Further information and enrolment forms can be obtained from IULA, 5 Paleisstraat, The Hague, Netherlands.

SPPSG Activities at Annual Meeting

The Science and Public Policy Studies Group will hold related activities at the Annual Meeting of the APSA in Los Angeles, September 8-12, at the Biltmore Hotel. Special activities including papers on public policy analysis will take place daily. A detailed program of the SPPSG activities can be obtained from the Group, Room E53-418, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, Massachusetts 02139.

Institute in Behavioral Science and Law

A fourth Summer Institute in Behavioral Science and Law will be held in 1971 at the University of Wisconsin in Madison. The Institute is designed to train students in the methods and techniques of interdisciplinary legal research. Graduate students in the social science disciplines, and law students, are eligible to compete for stipends, travel allowances, and tuition waivers. For further information about the Institute, and application materials, write to: Joel B. Grossman, Director, Center for Law and Behavioral Science, Social Science Building, The University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin 53706.

Philosophy Meeting

The American Society for Political and Legal Philosophy has chosen for the topic of its next Annual meetings the subject, "The Limits of Law." These meetings will be held in conjunction with those of the American Association of Law Teachers, in Chicago, in December. David Haber, of the Law School at Rutgers University, is the Chairman of the Program, and would be glad to hear of persons who would be interested in being included in this program either as paper readers or as commentators.

J. Roland Pennock, Editor of *Nomos*, which always includes numerous papers not delivered at the annual meetings, also wishes to be informed at anyone who would like to submit a contribution on this topic.

Inquiries should be directed to J. Roland Pennock, Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pennsylvania 19081.

Congress on Law and Social Philosophy

The World Congress on the Philosophy of Law and Social Philosophy will be held from August 30 to September 3, 1971, in Brussels. The theme of the Congress is "Legal Reasoning." Official languages are French, English and German. The Congress is being organized by the Belgian Center for Legal Philosophy and the Belgian Center for Logical Research for the International Association for Philosophy of Law and Social Philosophy. Details may be obtained from: Congres Mondial de philosophie du droit et de philosophie sociale, secretariat, avenue A. Buyl 145, 1050 Bruxelles, Belgium.

Northeastern Meeting

The Northeastern Association of Political Scientists will hold its meeting for 1970 in the city of Philadelphia at the Benjamin Franklin Hotel during the weekend of November 12 through 14. The two-day program will feature panels on Political Theory, American Politics, Comparative Politics, and International Relations. In addition, two plenary sessions will be held on Friday on the future of liberal universities and the course of American Foreign Policy, featuring nationally prominent speakers.

A business meeting will be held during which the by-laws of the newly formed association will be discussed and voted upon. The association's dinner will feature an address by Robert Lane, President of The American Political Science Association. Program Chairman is Kenneth N. Vines, SUNY at Buffalo.

Walking tours and visits to historical sights will be provided during the weekend for members of the association, their guest, and families.

ACE Meeting

The Fifty-third Annual Meeting of the American Council on Education will be held October 7-9, in St. Louis, Missouri. The theme will be "Higher Education for Everybody? Issues and Implications." Heinz Eulau, Stanford University, will prepare and present a background paper for the section "Political Norms Affecting Decisions Concerning Higher Education." Preliminary programs are available from the Council, One Dupont Circle, Washington, D.C. 20036.

Sociology Section

The Seventh World Congress of Sociology, to be held in Varna, Bulgaria, in September, will have a section on the sociology of race relations. Members of the section hope to make this a permanent body of the International Sociological Association, headquartered in Milan, Italy. Political scientists interested in the sociology of minority status are invited to contact the chairman of the ad hoc committee, Samir K. Ghosh, Indian Institute for Advanced Study, Rashtrapati Nivas, Simla 5, India.

IPSA Congress

The Eighth World Congress of the International Political Science Association will be held August 31 to September 5 in Munich, West Germany.

The Program is as follows, arranged by section. (The detailed schedule has not been made available.)

Program

A Plenary sessions

A-I Quantitative and mathematical methods in Political Science

General Rapporteur: Prof. Karl Deutsch (Univ. Harvard, U.S.A., Department of Government).

Address: 25 Lakeview Avenue, Cambridge, Mass. 02138, U.S.A.

A-II History of political Thought: Hegel and Lenin

General Rapporteurs: Prof. Theodor Syllaba (Univ. Charles, Praha) and V. M. Tchikvadze (Institute of State and Law, Moscow, U.R.S.S.).

Address: Syllaba: Univ. Karlovivary, Filosofiche Fakulty., nám. Krasnoarmejsu 1, Praha 1.

Tchikvadze: sovietskaja, Associaja Politiceski Nauk. VI. frúnze 10, Moscow, U.R.S.S.

A-III Churches as political institutions

General Rapporteur: Prof. Léo Moulin (Collège d'Europe, Bruges, Belgium).

Address: Rue des Echevins 72A – B-1050 Bruxelles, Belgium.

A-IV Models and methods in the comparative study of Nations Building

General Rapporteur: Prof. Stein Rokkan (Head Institute of Sociology, Univ. of Bergen, Norway).

Address: Institute of Sociology, Univ. of Bergen, Christiesgt 19, Bergen, Norway.

B Specialist meetings

B-I European integration

Responsible: Mr. Jean Rabier (Director of the Press and Information Office of E.E.C.). Address: Av. de la Joyeuse Entrée 23-27 – B-1040 Bruxelles (Belgium).

B-II Local Politics

Responsible: Prof. Jerzy Wiatr (Univ. of

Professional Conferences

Forthcoming Conferences

Warsaw, Poland).

Address: Ul. S. Batorego 37.M.11, Warsaw, Poland.

B-III Foods and Politics

Responsible: Mr. Josué de Castro
(President of the Centre international pour le développement).

Address: 22, rue Victor Noir F-92 Neuilly sur Seine, France.

B-IV Psychology and politics

Responsible: Prof. Arnold A. Rogow (the City University of New York, U.S.A.).

Address: The City University of New York, Graduate Center 33 West 42 Street, New York, N.Y. 10036, U.S.A.

B-V Recent trends of political theory

Responsible: Prof. Stéphane Bernard (Univ. Libre de Bruxelles, Belgium).

Address: Rue Langeveld 49 – B-1180 Bruxelles, Belgium.

B-VI Political Finance

Responsible: Prof. R. S. Milne (Head of Dept. of Political Science, Univ. of British Columbia, Vancouver, Canada).

Address: Dept. of Political Science, University of British Columbia, Vancouver 8, B.C. Canada.

B-VII Biology and Politics

Responsible: Prof. Albert Somit (Chairman of Dept. of Political Science, State Univ. of New York at Buffalo, U.S.A.).

Address: 31 North Drive, Buffalo, N.Y. 14216, U.S.A.

B-VIII The theory of international relations

Responsible: Prof. Dr. Ernst Otto Czempel (Univ. of Marburg, F.R.G.).

Address: Gutenbergstrasse 18, 3550 Marburg/Lahn, F.R.G.

B-IX Comparative political recruitment

Responsible: Prof. Austin Ranney (Univ. of Wisconsin, U.S.A.).

Address: Department of Political Science, Univ. of Wisconsin. Nort Hall, Madison, Wisconsin 53706, U.S.A.

B-X Governmental organization and elite formation in Europe

Responsibles: Prof. Klaus von Beyme (Univ. of Tübingen, F.R.G.).

Address: Seminar für Wissenschaftliche Politik, Brunnenstrasse 30, Tübingen 74, F.R.G.

Prof. Mattei Dogan (Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, France).

Address: Boulevard Saint-Jacques 37, Paris 14^e, France.

B-XI New approaches to the study of social structure and voting behavior

Responsible: Prof. Richard Rose (Univ. of Strathclyde, Glasgow, Scotland).

Address: Department of Political Science, Univ. of Strathclyde, McCance Building, Richmond Street, Glasgow C1, Scotland.

B-XII Youth and Politics

Responsible: Prof. Walter Jaide
(Forschungstelle für Jugendfragen, 3 Hannover, F.R.G.).

Address: Forschungstelle für Jugendfragen, Hindenburgstrasse 19, 3 Hannover, F.R.G.

B-XIII Political Contestation

Responsible: Prof. Georges Lavau (Univ. of Paris, France).

Address: Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques, 27, rue Saint-Guillaume, Paris VII^e, France.

B-XIV Political decision-making

Responsible: Prof. Dusan Sidjanski (Univ. of Genève, Switzerland).

Address: Institut d'Etudes Européennes, Av. Krieg 28, Genève, Switzerland.

B-XV Political modernization

Responsible: Prof. Ali Mazrui (Makerere College, Univ. Kampala, Uganda).

Address: Makerere University College, Department Political Science, P.O. Box 262, Kampala, Uganda.

Working papers are 70¢ apiece, \$35 for the full set of 150 papers. A catalog will be available after the meeting. The papers for any particular section can be ordered for from \$6 to \$10, depending on the number of papers in the section.

All inquiries concerning the meeting should be addressed to the General Secretary of the IPSA, 43, rue des Champs Elysees, 1050 Brussels, Belgium.

Past Conferences

History Conference Meeting

The Conference Group for Social and Administrative History will hold its annual meeting at Wisconsin State University, Oshkosh, on Saturday, March 27, 1971. Additional information for those who may wish to read papers can be obtained from Joseph Starr, Secretary to the Conference Group, The State University, Oshkosh, Wisconsin 54901.

LSUNO Seminar

A seminar on The Future of German Politics was held April 17, 1970 at Louisiana State University, New Orleans. This seminar was cosponsored by the Department of Government, the Gulf States Center for Atlantic and International Studies, and the Conference Group on German Politics. Faculty and students from a number of universities and colleges located in Louisiana and Mississippi attended the conference. Two main papers were presented. One was delivered by Rudolf Wildenmann, University of Mannheim and presently Visiting Professor at State University in New York at Buffalo. This paper dealt with the West German Elections of 1969 and the Electoral Prospects for the Future. The other paper was presented by Dieter Senghaas, University of Frankfurt and presently at the Center for International Studies at Harvard. Senghaas' paper focused on the Impact of the Past on Germany's Foreign Policy. John Leich of Louisiana Polytechnic Institute and John Wildgen of LSUNO were discussants on the Wildenmann paper. Phillip Dur of the University of Southwestern Louisiana and Professor R. Judson Mitchell of LSUNO commented on the Senghaas paper. Charles R. Foster, Secretary-Treasurer of the Conference Group on German Politics discussed current research and studies on German politics in the United States.

CPSA Proceedings

This year the Canadian Political Science Association presented a considerably enlarged program at its Annual General Meeting. More than 50 papers were delivered at the meetings in Winnipeg between June 1st and June 4th by leading Canadian and American political scientists. They cover the following major areas of the discipline: International Relations, Comparative Western Systems, The Third World, Communist Systems, Political Philosophy, Canadian Politics (National), Canadian Provincial and Municipal Politics, Public Policy and the State of the Discipline.

In the past, those who have delivered papers have been deluged by requests for copies of their papers by those who either were at the meetings and could not obtain them or who were unable to attend. This year, the CPSA has decided to make available to all university libraries in Canada and other universities with Canadian studies programmes, a package brochure of all 50 papers at a considerably reduced cost of \$45.00 per package, bound in Class A library binding (including mailing costs).

Professional Conferences

Past Conferences

IPSA Round Table on Experimentation and Simulation

A Round Table of the International Political Science Association was held at the University of British Columbia March 23-26th on the topic "Experimentation and Simulation in Political Science." The participants were:

Michael Argyle, *University of Oxford*
Hector M. Cappello, *University of Mexico*
Stephen Clarkson, *University of Toronto*
Oscar Cornblit, *Instituto Torcuato Di Tella Argentina*
Cheryl Christensen, *M.I.T. University*
Karl Deutsch, *Harvard University*
Heinz Eulau, *Stanford University*
S. E. Finer, *University of Manchester*
Robert T. Golembiewski, *University of Georgia*
Jun-ichi Kyogoku, *University of Tokyo*
Michael Lanphier, *York University*
J. A. Laponce, *University of British Columbia*
Michael Leavitt, *Northwestern University*
Kinhide Mushakoji, *Sophia University*
A. Pelowski, *Northwestern University*
William Riker, *University of Rochester*
Mari Holmboe Ruge, *International Peace Research Norway*
Paul Smoker, *University of Lancaster*
Ilan Vertinsky, *Northwestern University*
Jerzy Wiatr, *University of Warsaw*

The following papers (publication of which is expected in 1971) were given at the meeting:

J. A. Laponce, "Experimentation and Political Science. A plea for more pre-data experiments."

Michael Argyle, "Social Skills and Inter-Cultural Communication in Politics."

Robert Golembiewski, "A Planned Change In Organizational Style: Underlying Theory and Some Results."

Heinz Eulau, "A Quasi-Longitudinal and Quasi-Experimental Design for Policy Research."

William H. Riker, "Rational Behavior In Politics: Evidence From A Three Person Game."

Michael Lanphier, "Field of Natural Experiments: Design and Analysis."

Jerzy Wiatr, "'Experiment' In Local Government: A Case Study Of An Approach To The Strategy Of Economic Development."

Karl Deutsch, "System Survival Under Unfair Competition."

K. Mushakoji, "The Strategies Of Negotiation."

J. A. Laponce, "The Use of Visual Space To Measure Ideology: A Preliminary Report On A Methodological Experiment."

Mari Holmboe Ruge, "Perception and Behavior In a Cross-Cultural Simulation Experiment."

Paul Smoker, "Analyses Of Conflict Behaviors In An International Processes Simulation and An International System 1955-60."

Oscar Cornblit, "A Model Of Short Run Political Change."

Hector Capello, "International Tension As A Function of Reduced Communication" (A Simulation Study).

Ilan Vertinsky, "Methodology Of Simulation and Experimentation For Social Planning."

Hayward Alker and Cheryl Christensen, "Modelling U.N. Peacekeeping."

[This report was submitted by J. A. Laponce, University of British Columbia, at the Editor's request.]

IPSA Rio Roundtable

The International Political Science Association, with the support of the Brazilian Political Science Association, the Brazilian Teaching Society, and the Rio de Janeiro Research Institute, sponsored a special round table held in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, from October 27 to 31, 1969. Professor Carl J. Friedrich, Harvard University, President of IPSA, and Professor Candido Mendes de Almeida, Sociedade Brasileira de Instrucao, collaborated to make the meeting possible. Two main topics were discussed: "Political Models," with Professor Karl Deutsch, Harvard University, as *rapporteur*; and "Political Participation," led by Professor Elio Jaguaribe, Instituto Universitario de Pesquisas do Rio de Janeiro.

The following papers were delivered:

Carlos A. Astiz, State University of New York at Albany, "The Peruvian Armed Forces as a Developmental Elite; Can They Develop a New Developmental Model."

Darío Cantón, Instituto Di Tella, Argentina, "The 'Argentine Revolution' of 1966 and a National Projection."

Julio Cottler, Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, "Military Populism as a Model of National Development, the Peruvian Case."

José Luis de Imaz, Catholic University of Argentina, "Argentina, a Case of Traumatic Political Participation."

Helio Jaguaribe, Instituto Universitario de Pesquisas do Rio de Janeiro, "Underdeveloped Societies and Political Models for National Development."

Candido Mendes de Almeida, Sociedade Brasileira de Instrução, "Power Elites, Democracy and Development."

Simon Schwartzman, Universidade do Rio de Janeiro, "Political Development and Political Openness."

Fanny Tabak, Universidade de São Paulo, "Economic Development Without Political Development at the Local Level."

Amílcar Alves Tupiassu, Universidade Federal do Pará, "Socio-Structural Conditions and Political Participation in the Amazon Region of Brazil."

José A. Silva Michelena, Universidad Central de Venezuela, "Models for the Diagnosis of a Political System: the Venezuelan Case."

The commentators of the above papers were Juárez Rubens Brandão López, Fernando Bastos de Avila, Dankwart A. Rustow, Carlos Fortín, Karl Deutsch, Giovanni Sartori, Miguel Reale, Samuel Huntington, Leónidas Xausa and Paulo Bonavides.

[This summary was submitted by Carlos A. Astiz, SUNY at Albany, at the Editor's request.]

Brandeis Urban Conference

The Trustees of the James Gordon Foundation were the special guests at an all-day conference devoted to urban problems, presented by the Politics Department at Brandeis University on April 16. The Chicago-based Foundation is the sponsor of the Gordon Grant Fellowships awarded to selected advanced graduate students at Brandeis involved in basic research in urban studies and policy.

The conference consisted of lectures and discussion, a luncheon and an informal cocktail party. Speaking at the morning session was Thomas O'Brien, of the Brandeis Economics Department, now on leave as Acting Research Director of the Boston Renewal Authority. His topic was "Information Systems: Reforming City Government Through the Introduction of Modern Management and Research Techniques." M.I.T. Political Scientist Alan Altshuler was the featured lecturer at the afternoon session. The title of his talk was "The 'Community Control' Movement in Urban America."

The Conference was part of a continuing series of research and policy activities concerned with urban affairs which the Politics Department and the Gordon Foundation are jointly undertaking at Brandeis.

Southern Seminar on Africa

The Department of Political Science at Southern University held its Third Annual Seminar on Political Change and Development in Africa, April 8-10, 1970 under the direction of Festus Ohaegbulam. The Seminar was partly financed with a grant from the African Studies Association.

The first phase of the Seminar was a Model Organization of African Unity in which undergraduates from colleges and universities and seniors from Baton Rouge high schools participated as delegations of thirty African states.

The rest of the Seminar comprised three plenary sessions and nine group discussions. Speakers during the plenary sessions were: V. Olorunsola, Department of Political Science, Iowa State University – "Problems of Unity in Africa: National and International"; Elliot P. Skinner, Department of Anthropology, Columbia University – "African Studies in the USA"; Mack Jones, Department of Political Science, Atlanta University – "Historical Antecedents of Contemporary Black Political Thought"; Angie Brooks, President of the 24th Session, UN General Assembly – "The Role of Women in the Development of Africa."

The topics of the group discussions included: Teaching About Africa in South Central United States; Problems of National Integration in Tropical Africa; Institutions of Political and Economic Modernization in Africa; Foreign Technical Assistance Programs and African Development; Politics of Inequality in Southern Africa; The Roots of Black Cultural Nationalism; Black Studies:

Professional Conferences

Past Conferences

Problems of Content, Relevance and Personnel;
The Status of Women in African Politics.

Soviet Law Group

A two-day Conference on Soviet Legal Studies in the United States was held in New York on June 9-10, 1969, at the Columbia University Law School. Convened in celebration of John N. Hazard's sixtieth birthday, the Conference was arranged by Professors Harold J. Berman, Whitmore Gray, Leon Lipson, with the sponsorship of the Parker School of Foreign and Comparative Law.

The object of the meeting was to survey and evaluate American scholarship on Soviet law over the past fifty-odd years with a view toward identifying useful future lines of research. Eight reporters prepared working papers on American writings in the following fields: the Soviet courts, procuracy, and legal profession, George Ginsburgs and Leon Lipson; Soviet criminal law and procedure, John B. Quigley, Jr. and Zigurds Zile; Soviet civil and economic law, Whitmore Gray and Peter Maggs; and Soviet approaches to public and private international law, William E. Butler and Kazimierz Grzybowski. The papers were discussed successively by the thirty invited lawyers, political scientists, and legal historians.

Political scientists participating in the Conference as discussants included: Donald D. Barry, Lehigh; Darrell P. Hammer, Indiana; Peter H. Juviler, Barnard; Glenn G. Morgan, University of California, San Jose; Robert Sharlet, Union; and Jan F. Triska, Stanford.

The Conference appointed a steering committee of Harold J. Berman, Whitmore Gray, John N. Hazard, and Leon Lipson to take the necessary steps to initiate a newsletter and reprint exchange among persons in the Soviet law field and to organize a second working conference for discussion of substantive research papers.

Stanford Departmental Anniversary

The Department of Political Science at Stanford University held its Fiftieth Anniversary on April 17-18, 1970. Activities included an address by Senator Frank Church; a panel on "The Challenge to Pluralism in American Life," with chairman Dwaine Marvick, UCLA, and panelists David B. Truman, Mount Holyoke College and Theodore Lowi, University of Chicago; a luncheon address by Stephen Horn, American University; a panel on "The

Theory of Representation: Continuities and Discontinuities," with chairman John Sprague, Washington University and panelists Robert Peabody, Johns Hopkins University and Kenneth Prewitt, University of Chicago; and an Anniversary Banquet. The banquet program featured James T. Watkins, IV, Heinz Eulau, Chairman of the Department, and Karl Deutsch, Harvard University and President of the APSA. The Council and staff of the Association were guests of the Stanford Department for the banquet since they were meeting in San Francisco at the time.

Liberalism Conference

The Conference for the Study of Political Thought sponsored a meeting on "Liberalism," April 3-5, 1970, at the City University of New York Graduate Center, New York. The Proceedings will appear in the second volume of *Studies in Political Thought*. Sessions were held on "Problems in the History and Theory of Liberalism"; "Some Liberal Themes Reconsidered"; "Liberalism, Natural Rights and Tolerance," and on works by Robert Paul Wolff and Isaiah Berlin.

Those interested in joining the Conference may write to the Secretary, Melvin Richter, Conference for the Study of Political Thought, Graduate Center, CUNY, 33 West 42nd Street, New York, New York 10036.

Western Meeting

The Twenty-fourth Meeting of the Western Political Science Association was held at Sacramento State College, April 2-4, 1970. Officers elected were President, H. Paul Castelberry, Washington State University; Vice President and Program Chairman, Currin V. Shields, University of Arizona, Tucson; Secretary-Treasurer, Paul R. Murray, Sacramento State College; Executive Council, Ernest A. Engelbert, University of California at Los Angeles; James L. Busey, University of Colorado, Craigmore Campus; T. Phillip Wolf, University of New Mexico; Joyce M. Mitchell, University of Oregon; John H. Bunzel, San Francisco State College; E. Wallace Miles, San Diego State College; James C. Davies, *ex officio*, University of Oregon; Ellsworth E. Weaver, *ex officio*, University of Utah.

Midwest Meeting

The Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association was held April 30-May 2, 1970, in Chicago. Officers elected were President-Elect, Leon J. Epstein, University of Wisconsin; Vice-President, Robert J. Steamer, Lake Forest College;

Council Members, Lucius J. Barker, Washington University, and Dean Jaros, University of Kentucky. Chairman of the Nominating Committee was Twiley Barker, University of Illinois.

Dale Pontius, Roosevelt University, circulated a statement opposing the troop movements in Cambodia, which 245 people signed.

Peace Research Meeting

The third Meeting of the Western Regional Division of the International Peace Research Society was held at Berkeley, California, on June 1, 1970.

Sessions were held on the topics "Youth, Youth Movements and Future World Politics" with papers by David Osterberg, University of Washington, Jon Christopherson, University of Washington, and Paul Magnolia, Stanislaus State College; and "Decision-Making, and the Future International System," with a paper by G. Matthew Bonhan and Michael J. Shapiro.

Program chairman was John Gerhard Ruggie, Institute of International Studies, University of California, Berkeley.

Communications

On Rationalizing the Irrational

Marvin Surkin

Adelphi University

Ithiel de Sola Pool's rejoinder ("Some Facts About Values," *P.S.*, Spring 1970) to my essay "Sense and Nonsense in Politics" (*P.S.*, Fall 1969) covers familiar ground. We already know the basis of his thinking — including both his "science" and his "ideology." He extols the virtues of a particular mode of science and the efficacy of a particular political system, as well as its policies and priorities. Professor Pool is in the mainstream of American political science today, and for those who share *his* tradition his rejoinder undoubtedly makes sense. What this implies, in my view, is that whether or not there is full agreement as to the mandarin role of social scientists espoused by Pool is of only secondary importance since the options are limited by the given standard of rationality as well as by the conditions of the social world.

My essay is an attempt to analyze this problem in social knowledge and theory. I have tried to show the irrationality of the system of rationality developed in American political science in which sense is really non-sense, science is really ideology. Professor Pool's rejoinder serves to reinforce the connections I have described between "policy" science and political "science." He admits, for instance, that "Researchers in any science are seldom very clear about the logical status of what they are doing. That is an exercise left to philosophers of science." This admission tallies, of course, with his view that, on the one hand, social scientists will be able to supply the men of power with "a way of perceiving the consequences of what they do," while on the other hand, "... these various psychological and logical notions that we have been reviewing did get wound up in the day-to-day frame of thought (or ideology if you wish) of practicing social scientists into a highly useful set of liberal professional norms." The language changes from one context to the next but the meaning remains the same: the purpose of "science" or ideology or "liberal professional norms" is to serve the men of power.

My perspective is different. Not because it may be judged more or less rational or scientific, more or less ideological or value-laden. It is

different because I have applied to social science, to ideology, and to theoretical criticism an alternate standard of rationality. My essay sketches such a new direction in social science. On this point I hope there is no misunderstanding. In any case, what is certainly clear to me is how successfully the existence of these two worlds in a journal of American political science reflects the difficulty any political scientist has in either sinking rationality or rescuing it.

To the Editor:

This letter is addressed to all foreign-born political scientists, and especially to those who have a non-European cultural background.

Recently the American Political Science Association has made concrete efforts to deal with discriminatory practices against black political scientists, as well as women in the profession. However, little attention has been given to a variety of discriminatory practices against foreign-born, yet tax-paying, political scientists because of their national origin, skin color, accent, and different cultural background. These discriminatory practices are evidenced in administrative behavior affecting their recruitment, salary levels, ranks, promotions, grants and awards, participation in exchange programs, and so on. Foreign-born political scientists often do not feel free to express openly their political preferences and views. During their doctoral training, many foreign-born political scientists have experienced typical colonial attitudes.

We all know that many federal, state and local agencies refuse to hire foreign-born political scientists. The same is the case with industries obtaining contracts from the government. We need to draw up a list of discriminatory practices and identify the sources of their occurrence.

It would seem opportune to organize an interest group under the auspices of the APSA to study the problems in depth and to devise strategies and correctional methods.

As a first step, we have written various letters to several foreign-born political scientists for their suggestions and viewpoints.

As a second step, we have been in communication with the APSA Executive Director. Specifically, we requested the APSA Program Committee to make room available at the 1970 meeting in Los Angeles where foreign-born political scientists and others interested in their difficulties can get together. This request was met, and a meeting has been scheduled for Thursday, September 10, at 12 noon in the Roman Room, Biltmore Hotel (Conference Room Number One).

As a third step, we ask you through this letter in PS to send us your reactions and suggestions so that we may formulate a questionnaire and a tentative program of action for an open discussion at the

Los Angeles meeting.

As a fourth step, we have requested APSA President Karl W. Deutsch to appoint a special committee to study the status of foreign-born political scientists and to recommend specific measures for the APSA to deal with this problem.

It is hoped that out of these endeavors will emerge a well-organized group which would function on a continuing basis to alleviate the existing discriminatory practices and handle future ones as they arise.

We urge you to attend the APSA meeting in Los Angeles (September 8-12). Any suggestions you have concerning any of the matters discussed in this communication may be addressed to: M. L. Goel or Ralph C. Chandler, The University of West Florida, Pensacola, Florida 32504, or Amrit Lal, Tuskegee Institute, Tuskegee Institute, Alabama 36088.

M. L. Goel
Ralph C. Chandler
University of West Florida

Amrit Lal
Tuskegee Institute

To the Editor:

This letter is prompted by the resolution and argument submitted by Professor Sanford Levinson asking for termination of the Congressional Fellowship Program. I hope it will be possible to make my view known through the pages of *PS*.

I think I should begin by briefly giving some background information about my own knowledge of the program. Until six months ago, when I was appointed to the Program's advisory committee, I had no official connection with the program at all; indeed, when I tried to become a Congressional Fellow myself in 1960, I was turned down. In the intervening years I have endeavored to study Congress on my own, and have invariably found succeeding classes of Congressional Fellows enormously helpful and hospitable as I have gone about my field work. So I would have to say that to some important degree I have been a beneficiary of the program, as have, I daresay, most students of Congress whether they themselves were fellows or not.

The attribute of throwing off benefits to scholars and students at a remove, which I have just

attested to, is of course a significant hallmark of a successful educational venture, as are the publications and other educational activities of former fellows. In my opinion these taken all together identify the Congressional Fellowship Program unequivocally as a program designed and executed to encourage the study of political science squarely within the meaning of the objects of the Association as set forth in its Constitution. You are aware, I know, of my long-standing opposition to the recently terminated Congressional Distinguished Service Award because it did not meet this test, which the Congressional Fellowship Program clearly passes.

I think others must testify as to the actual internal workings of the program – how Fellows determine which Congressmen and Senators they work with, what variety of experience is made available to them, how this experience has (or has not) assisted them in understanding Congress and those public issues, ideas, institutions, and movements touching and touched by Congress both during their fellowship year and later. I can report only my impression that fellows have had a great diversity of experiences, and have learned all manner of things from their year on Capitol Hill – not only about Congressional processes, but also about Civil Rights, about foreign affairs, about taxes and spending, about public bureaucracies and private interest groups, about political campaigns and party politics all over the country. Congress is, after all, an institution of great significance in American life in part because so much of American life in some way or another does filter through Congress.

No doubt a corresponding insight about the judicial process in America – which I believe is ordinarily attributed to Toqueville – prompted Professor Levinson to apply for his Russell Sage Fellowship in Law and Society. The publisher's blurb on a book of essays Professor Levinson recently co-edited indicates that he will hold this Fellowship at Stanford Law School in the coming year. One may, I think, legitimately ask whether it will hasten the day that political scientists study what Professor Levinson thinks they should study (The American Legion? The Black Panthers? General Motors' foreign policy?) if his own Fellowship were abolished. My own view is that it will not, nor will the abolition of someone else's Congressional fellowship. I myself should like to see studies of many of the topics alluded to in Professor Levinson's letter – and some other things besides. But I doubt that termination of the Congressional Fellow-

ship Program will get any of them sponsored, or done.

Research agendas are, in my opinion, less susceptible to change through the public debate that Professor Levinson seems to crave than through the private decisions of scholars to emulate the example of good work, thoughtfully pursued. I think many of the studies of politics that the Congressional fellowship program has in one way or another facilitated do have this exemplary quality. It is thus understandable that others will want to see what they can learn from an experience so manifestly enlightening. I believe that the opportunities of the Congressional Fellowship Program should continue to be made available to succeeding groups of scholars, and not restricted to those who have already had the benefit of this program.

This, in the end, is what disturbs me most about Professor Levinson's resolution: It offers nothing but the destruction of an important educational opportunity for future political scientists. It comes from someone who has himself sought and accepted an opportunity almost identical to that which he would now deny to others.

I hope this resolution is defeated.

Nelson W. Polsby

University of California, Berkeley

To the Editor:

I note that a resolution will be presented at the 1970 APSA annual meeting to abolish the Congressional Fellowship Program.

This resolution is based upon a false assumption and a basic misunderstanding. The false assumption is that we have sufficient knowledge of Congress (relative to other kinds of unexamined political activity). The misunderstanding is that the Congressional Fellows program is primarily for research purposes.

While I'm sure there has been a good research byproduct of the program I feel its primary value has been to acquaint the Fellows with the realities of Congressional government and politics while educating Congressmen as to the realities of political science and its practitioners. In my experience this value has been demonstrated. The program continues to be of great benefit to the political science profession. My view in no way

rules out the possible values of other kinds of fellowships or the need to acquaint political scientists with other elements in American society.

Harry Howe Ransom
Vanderbilt University

To the Editor:

I write to urge rejection of Professor Sanford Levinson's resolution advocating termination of the APSA Congressional Fellowship program. Although not a former fellow myself, over the past decade I have had an opportunity to observe the program rather closely. The prime payoffs, it seems to me, have been fourfold: (1) substantial research and writing on the workings of Congress; (2) more sensitive seminar and classroom teaching; (3) improved press coverage; and (4) a growing number of bureaucrats more keenly aware of the strengths and limitations of our national legislature. Members of Congress who have utilized congressional fellows usually come away with a better understanding of what professional political scientists are doing and thinking. This has led to improved access for all congressional scholars. One of the richest indirect benefits of the program is the opportunity to exchange ideas not only with congressmen and staff but also the journalists, lawyers and civil servants who are also participating in the program. Nor should the contributions of a year in Washington, D.C. to the development of individual careers be minimized.

Professor Levinson's reasons for wanting to terminate the program are not persuasive. The staff assistance that individual fellows contribute to various Senators and Representatives is a small price to pay for the experience and understanding gained from drafting amendments and following legislation from committees, to the floor, and so on to the other body. I'm all for participant-observation in other political organizations, including the American Legion and the Black Panthers. But I don't think we should underestimate the inherent difficulties of securing access or raising the necessary financial support to launch such internships. In the meantime we have a strong, on-going program which has and will continue to yield rich dividends.

I would agree with Professor Levinson that our understanding of Congress has advanced considerably over the past two decades. The APSA Congressional Fellowship program has made its

definite contribution. But I would strongly disagree that a shift in focus to "private governments," even General Motors, would have the sustained, cumulative payoffs that continued research on congressional politics is likely to produce. A study of the politics of the Ford Foundation would also be fascinating, but Professor Levinson may be sitting around a long time waiting for funds to materialize. Unless he decides to participate in the Congressional Fellowship program – then, Representative Wright Patman might have some leads.

Robert L. Peabody
Johns Hopkins University

To the Editor:

As one who feels that it would be a tragic mistake for the Association to terminate the Congressional Fellowship Program, I am both amused and concerned with the amount of nonsense Sanford Levinson manages to squeeze into three short paragraphs which also reveal a certain amount of sophistication. I have come to expect this combination of qualities; Levinson's letter is a perfect manifestation of the chic radical Zeitgeist that is now sweeping over a large part of the American academic community. Precisely because he turns fashionable sentiments to the task of attacking a program which I admire (and, yes, from which I have derived benefit), I am moved to reply.

The sophistication to which I refer may be seen in Levinson's recognition that "value neutrality" is impossible in social research and that participant observation is a useful means of learning about political life. What seems to follow in this case, I believe to be naive, if not simpleminded. Political scientists, we are told, are now giving "valuable professional assistance" to one elite (congressmen) and depriving others of it. Now, anyone who has the slightest knowledge of the Congressional Fellowship Program ought to know that the benefit flows precisely in the other direction. It is political scientists, not congressmen, who gain. If it is desirable, and I think it is, to understand how important allocative decisions are made in American politics, it can be easily demonstrated that the Fellowship Program has provided access to many kinds of information that would otherwise have been unavailable to us. I would doubt as a former fellow that we have managed to provide assistance of equal worth in return. This most participating congressmen know full well – so well, in fact, that they would regard Levinson's argument

as more than a little otherworldly. I might say that I think the same argument would hold for the Black Panthers. I very much doubt that Bobby Seale would gain much from our "valuable professional assistance." I *could*, though, imagine our learning a good bit from him, and I hereby join Mr. Levinson in proposing that we attempt to encourage such relationships between political scientists and the Black Panthers and other politically significant groups.

The sophistication of the second argument lies in the recognition that political scientists ought properly to study all sorts of institutions that have anything to do with the authoritative decisions of a society. Here, indeed, we can often be faulted. Historically, we have been guilty time after time of ignoring crucial political phenomena because we have defined them into someone else's discipline. The trouble with Levinson's argument is the assumption that we now understand Congress relatively well enough. This is pure nonsense, as anyone who has taken the trouble to try to derive reliable generalizations from the congressional literature can see. To be sure, there is much to be said for other kinds of internship programs. I have no trouble seeing that we can learn a great deal from such organizations as General Motors, the Ford Foundation and the Black Panthers. What I cannot see is that we would stand to gain in any way by scrapping an existing internship program that has opened so many doors to us. We might more sensibly establish new internship programs and hope they work as well.

I have the feeling that there are some unarticulated major premises in Levinson's argument. One, I suspect, is the now fashionable view that "electoral politics" and formal institutions are not really very important – that they cloak more fundamental forces which are behind the scenery. And, interestingly enough, it is the corporations and foundations to which Levinson turns. This is not the place to do battle with what I take to be an example of the disturbing tendency of political scientists of radical persuasion to ignore massive amounts of data and common sense in the name of vulgar Marxist hypotheses. I would only argue this. While we ought to study such organizations as corporations and foundations, we ought not to jettison the study of Congress and other formal institutions. Indeed, I find Lowi's arguments that we have already gone too far in this direction very persuasive. Congress does not make all of the important allocative decisions, to be sure, but it does make a great many. Anyone who supposes that men like John

Stennis, Wilbur Mills and Jamie Whitten are relatively insignificant actors in American politics needs to take another look. I must also suggest that the view from Washington is likely to be better than that from Columbus or Storrs.

There are a few flaws in the Congressional Fellowship Program, but Levinson hasn't found them. I would very much hope that our colleagues will continue to recognize the importance of Congress and to sponsor congressional research. If we are to teach our students about the realistic possibilities for social change in America, I see our continued participation in this program as an invaluable aid.

Wayne Shannon

University of Connecticut

To the Editor:

As a white subscriber to the APSA Personnel Service Newsletter, I wish to state my opposition to its silly attempts to negate historical wrongs to blacks by permitting the Newsletter to list vacancies with a preference for black candidates.

Many members of my generation were educated side by side with blacks and we accept the facts and the spirit of integration. I suggest if there are some whites who feel that their consciences must be salved, they do so with their own positions and not ours.

Karl P. Magyar

Bowdoin College

To the Editor:

This year marks the 50th anniversary of the 19th Amendment, yet women are still denied fundamental constitutional protections against discrimination.

To date the Supreme Court has upheld or refused to review state laws and practices which treat men and women differently. Examples are placing special restrictions on the employment of women as to maximum hours, night work, and types of occupations; granting less favorable social security benefits to women than to men; providing longer penalties for women than for men committing the same crime; exempting women from state jury service; and excluding women from state colleges and universities (higher admission and scholarship aid standards required for women). The inferior legal position of women in the American society

can be remedied by passage of the Equal Rights Amendment to the Constitution which reads as follows: "Equality of rights under the laws shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or any State on account of sex." This proposed amendment presently has wide congressional support and presidential endorsement.

Removing discrimination by the law, however, does not remove discriminatory practices. Three major federal laws attempt to develop equal economic and educational opportunities for women. First, the Equal Pay Act of 1963 requires that men and women doing substantially the same work be paid at the same rate. But its coverage does not extend to executive, administrative, and professional employees.

Second, the Civil Rights Act of 1964 establishes the principle of job equality for women. Title VII of the act, the equal employment opportunity title, declares a new public policy which forbids discrimination on the basis of sex in hiring, promotion, and other employment practices. But this title exempts teaching personnel in educational institutions as well as employees of state and local governments. Further, the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, the administrative agency of Title VII, is limited to conciliatory authority.

Third, Executive Order 11246 (issued by President Johnson in 1965) as amended by Executive Order 11375 (effective as of October 1968) prohibits employment discrimination by all holders of federal contracts, including educational institutions, and requires contractors to take immediate affirmative action to remedy the effects of past discrimination. But these Orders have yet to be used with regard to sex discrimination by colleges and universities that hold federal contracts, although some 40 complaints have been filed with the Secretary of Labor.

In Congress this session is legislation to extend and amend these and other laws. The Women's Caucus for Political Science urges members of the Association to actively support this legislation. At a point in history when the President's Task Force on Women's Rights and Responsibilities can comment that "research and deliberation . . . reveal that the United States, as it approaches its 200th anniversary, lags behind other enlightened, and indeed some newly emerging, countries in the role ascribed to women," we in the political science profession must work to accelerate the pace at which this society brings equality to all its citizens.

Indeed we must work to accelerate the pace at which this Association accepts the fact that political science is an asexual profession.

Katherine M. Klotzburger
National Chairwoman
Women's Caucus for Political Science

To the Editor:

All Americans, not only political scientists, are indebted to our APSA Presidents who telegraphed President Nixon to reveal the one and only solution to the greatest and most perplexing crisis of this century. If our Association leaders can be faulted it is only because they did not let the world know of the solution prior to 14 May. No doubt, however, they had to bring to bear their intimate knowledge of Indochina, as well of military strategy and tactics, in order to calculate how best to minimize the loss of human lives. Because this surely must have taken a great deal of time, their delay is perfectly understandable.

We are thankful for another reason. Though they do not match in magnitude our present Indochina plight, we have faced crises before – the depression of the 30's, two world wars, and McCarthyism, to mention but a few. How wonderful it would be if the Association were to establish a *crisis council*! If our Association Presidents since 1964 can solve the greatest crisis of this century, then the settlement of lesser crises should be relatively easy. If, say, we had a crisis council in 1930, it would have been able to wire President Hoover offering *the* solution to our economic ills. Following the format of the 14 May telegram such communications from acknowledged experts can be very succinct and to the point. In President Hoover's case, the telegram could have read: "Print more money immediately." Or think what our crisis council might have written to President Roosevelt on December 7, 1941: "In order to save lives, capitulate." Or again, the Berlin airlift crisis could easily have been resolved with a two word telegram: "No flights."

Little is to be gained by crying over spilt milk. We must look to the future. Though there are complexities associated with the establishment of a crisis council, every effort should be made to assure unanimity amongst its members. When faced with pressing problems, our national political leaders are all too frequently confused and bewildered by conflicting advice. Would, for instance, the May 14th telegram have had such a profound

national impact if one of the signers demurred and said that June, 1971, was the appropriate date for withdrawal of American troops from South Vietnam? Surely not. The telegram would have been needlessly longer but, more importantly, it would have created the impression that professional experts disagree among themselves. This could very well befuddle our national decision makers and provide them a colorable pretext to ignore the counsel of recognized experts. In sum, unanimity and simplicity of instruction are necessary if the crisis council is to operate with full effectiveness. To secure these ends perhaps we had best stick with the APSA Presidents from 1964 to 1971. Their initial effort was nothing short of exceptional.

George W. Carey
Georgetown University

To the Editor:

The discussion by Professors Danelski, Landau, and Sondermann appearing in the Winter 1970 issue of *PS* provided some excellent insights into the teaching of political science. Particularly valuable were the comments concerning an "open system" of instruction. As a consequence of these discussions, a number of points were raised which I believe require further exploration. I specifically refer to the problems of student motivation and instructor's objectives, the associations between teaching and research, and the techniques of teaching and development of teaching skills. I would like to comment very briefly on each of these points realizing the inadequacy of such commentary within the limits of this letter.

Teaching political science, or for that matter teaching in most disciplines, with an open system, where the teacher and student can establish the most beneficial relationship to the mutual pursuit of knowledge, is undoubtedly the most desirable. Yet the question remains in my mind as to the applicability of this type of system to all students. How many students are concerned enough to profit from the open system? It is a joy to most instructors to teach the concerned, the inquiring, the prepared student. But what about the student who is not in this category? What about the student who is primarily concerned with "getting the word" so that a test can be passed? What about the student who is in class because it is a required course and is simply interested in getting by as quickly as possible?

I believe we would all agree that the instructor needs to motivate, to make his subject interesting, to challenge the student. But I would also suggest that the instructor's challenges, motivations, and inspirations are not necessarily viewed as such by all students in the classroom. Students, particularly in basic courses, may come from a variety of backgrounds and may be enrolled for a variety of reasons. Consequently, they represent various levels of receptivity. To what level does the instructor direct his efforts? Should the instructor concern himself with the minority who are "students" or the majority who are "passers-by?" The greatest challenge, it seems to me, is to reach the "passers-by." Unfortunately, this appears to be on the periphery of interests of many instructors. It is the passer-by who needs to be motivated and reached. The "students" almost teach themselves. How does an instructor teaching a 10 week course reach 40-50 students and do the kinds of things suggested by Danelski, Landau, and Sondermann? What about the instructor with 100, 200 or more students?

I would agree that teaching and research are not incompatible. I would go further and suggest that one cannot teach without research. But I would not limit the definition of research purely for publication purposes. Should we not consider research conducted for the purpose of classroom preparation? How many hours are devoted to maintaining competence in the subject matter? How many hours are spent in contemplation of teaching approach, methods, and classroom personalities? An instructor committed to professional excellence and concern for the student devotes, consciously or unconsciously, a great number of hours on attempting to identify his own weaknesses and increase his own effectiveness. These considerations cannot be dismissed by simply assuming that once competence is gained, it will never be lost. This inevitably leads to last year's notes and academic stagnation. Competence requires constant revision and study, even in the most basic courses. This may be particularly relevant to the discipline of political science where there seems to be disagreement as to what the discipline encompasses as well as increasing pressure for relevance.

In most of our colleges and universities, it is assumed that the granting of a Ph.D. also grants excellence in teaching. Unfortunately knowledge of teaching techniques, competence in the classroom, and academic maturity are not automatically

awarded or acquired with the Ph.D. Yet, how many classes are assigned to the instructor with any consideration for these matters? I might add parenthetically that seniority in the academic field does not necessarily bring greater teaching ability, either. It seems to me rather naive to assume that the Ph.D. candidate acquires teaching skills while pursuing the doctoral degree. There is quite a different orientation in studying and preparing for orals and dissertation, than one who must stand before a class and teach. Teaching is more than oral presentations or "paper" reading. How many new instructors have the opportunity to take part in classes being taught by experienced teachers, before assuming academic responsibilities? Should we not insist that new instructors spend a little time simply learning how to teach? Realizing that teaching skills are not necessarily acquired by simply watching, but by experience and study, how can new instructors acquire this background quickly and effectively? Many other questions arise in this regard. When does one use class discussion? lecture? problem solving? How much of the technique is dependent upon the instructor's personality? What is the correlation between class size and teaching techniques, between class size and instructor effectiveness and student receptivity?

In my own personal experience teaching large classes, and small classes, as well as seminars, I have found the greatest satisfaction in seminars. Here a close relationship can be established between teacher and student and between students themselves. It is in this type of environment in which learning continues outside the classroom, in the coffee-houses so to speak, that is very difficult to achieve in non-seminar classes. The best type of relationship between the student and teacher is as suggested by Danelsky, Landau, and Sondermann. Frankly, it would be very difficult for a great number of instructors to have enough time in one quarter, one semester, or for that matter one academic year to develop the kinds of relationships suggested in the discussions. Perhaps this can be done with "students" but how do you achieve this with the "passers-by?" The problem is further compounded when an instructor is involved in teaching a full academic load. What I am suggesting is that the realities of academic life prevent many instructors from developing the kinds of relationships and attitudes and limit their ability to shape the academic environment in the manner suggested by Professor Danelski, Landau, and Sondermann.

Sam C. Sarkesian
DePaul University

News and Notes

Activities

Henry J. Abraham, University of Pennsylvania, has been selected as one of the ten National Phi Beta Kappa Visiting Scholars for 1970-71.

E. Ramon Arango, Louisiana State University, served as a faculty member at the Summer Institute for Mediterranean Studies in Rome sponsored by the American Universities Field Staff, Louisiana State University, and other institutions.

Charles H. Backstrom, University of Minnesota, was awarded a Ford Foundation fellowship to Upper Midwest Research and Development Council, September 1968 to August 1970.

Jonathan Barker, University of Toronto, will be on leave to attend University College, Dar es Saalam, Tanzania, for two years.

Roger W. Benjamin, University of Minnesota, has been awarded a Fulbright Fellowship from June 1969 to June 1970.

Josiah W. Bennett, U.S. State Department, is returning to assume duties as Country Director for Malaysia and Singapore after spending the academic year 1969-70 as Diplomat-in-Residence, Kansas State University.

John Bibby, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee, will be returning from the Republican Conference Committee, U.S. House of Representatives, effective September, 1970.

L. Vaughn Blankenship, SUNY at Buffalo, presented a paper on "Some Effects of Changing Technology upon the Organization of Scientific Inquiry" at the national meeting of the Operations Research Society of America in Washington, D.C.

Frank Bonn, Chatham College, will return from his sabbatical of 1969-70, in September.

Richard J. Boris, Dickinson College, was a discussant on a panel on Russian Studies at a meeting of the Mid-West Political Science Association in Chicago.

Winberg Chai, University of Redlands, has been appointed coordinator for Asian Studies Program; is a recipient of a Ford Foundation-University of Redlands Grants for Faculty Improvement in the Humanities for 1969 and 1970; and will participate in the 1970 Summer Institute in Mathematical Applications in Political Science at Virginia Polytechnic Institute in Blacksburg, Virginia.

Teh-Kuang Chang, Ball State University, was awarded a Ball State University faculty summer research grant to conduct a research project on "Communist China's Foreign Policy: Post Cultural Revolution Perspective." His research under the Ball State University faculty research grant for 1969-70 is being completed and is on "The Tenth National Congress of the Kuomintang and Political Development of China."

Stephen F. Cohen, Princeton University, was awarded a Bi-Centennial Preceptorship.

Cecil L. Eubanks, Louisiana State University, was visiting assistant professor at the University of Tennessee during the summer, 1970. He also received a Louisiana State University Graduate School Summer Research Grant.

Donald W. Flaherty, Dickinson College, will be on a three-semester leave of absence, and is spending the summer in India.

William H. Flanigan, University of Minnesota, was awarded a National Science Foundation Grant from February 1970 to February 1971.

Milton E. Flower, Dickinson College, continues his third semester on leave under a grant of the John Dickinson Foundation, working on a biography of the Founding Father for whom the College was named.

Paul Fox, University of Toronto, will be on leave at the University of London.

Merlin D. Gustafson, Kansas State University, was on sabbatical leave during the spring semester to do research on his book *Religion and the Presidency*.

Wolfram F. Hanrieder, University of California, Santa Barbara, will be returning, fall semester, after spending the academic year in Germany on a NATO Fellowship and a Fulbright Lectureship at the Universities of Munich and Braunschweig.

Jon Heggan, University of Kansas, received a grant to attend the 1970 Summer Institute in Mathematical Applications in Political Science at Virginia Polytechnic Institute.

Robert T. Holt, University of Minnesota, was awarded a National Science Foundation Grant for "Automata and Control Theory as Models for Organizational Decision Making," from June 1970 to September 1971; and a Ford Foundation Grant

to the Center for Comparative Studies in Technological Development and Social Change, from August 1969 to August 1972.

Albert C. Johns, University of Nevada, Las Vegas, was elected as a delegate to the Nevada State Democratic Convention which met at Lake Tahoe in April 1970.

Roger E. Kanet, University of Kansas, participated in the 1969 National Science Foundation Summer Institute in Mathematical Applications in Political Science at Virginia Polytechnic Institute.

Tetsuya Kataoka, SUNY at Buffalo, will be on leave of absence during 1970-71 to complete research on a study of the Chinese Communist party under a research grant from the Committee on Contemporary China of the Social Science Research Council; he also presented a paper entitled "The Battle of One Hundred Regiments, An Assessment," at the annual meeting of the Association for Asian Studies in San Francisco, April, 1970.

Everett C. Ladd, Jr., University of Connecticut, has been named a Research Fellow at the Center for International Affairs, Harvard University, through November 1970. He will also participate in a study of social and political attitudes of the American professoriate sponsored by the Carnegie Commission for Higher Education.

Roy D. Laird, University of Kansas, chaired a panel on Soviet Agriculture at the Midwest Conference of Slavic Studies in Lincoln, Nebraska; participated in the American Assembly Conference in Overcoming World Hunger, Kansas State University, November 13-16, 1969; delivered a paper on "Lenin and Agriculture" at the Conference on Lenin's 100th Anniversary, Stillwater, Oklahoma, spring 1970; and plans to attend the International Conference of Agricultural Economists, Minsk, USSR, August 24-September 2, 1970.

Trudi Lucas, SUNY at Buffalo, will be a guest scholar at the Brookings Institution, Washington, D.C., while on leave during 1970-71.

William A. Lucas, SUNY at Buffalo, will be on leave during 1970-71 in order to serve as director of the Political Science Program for the National Science Foundation, Washington, D.C.

Douglas Mendel, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee, has returned from a research leave in Japan, effective June 1970.

Bernard S. Morris, Indiana University, will be on sabbatical leave, fall semester, 1970-71.

Norman D. Palmer, University of Pennsylvania, assumed office as President of the International Studies Association, the major professional organization in the field of international studies, at their annual meeting held in Pittsburgh on April 2-4, 1970.

Jaroslav A. Piekalkiewicz, University of Kansas, has received a General Research Grant from the University of Kansas to extend his analysis of public opinion polls taken in Czechoslovakia between April, 1968 and March, 1969.

John C. Pierce, Tulane University, was awarded a Congressional Fellowship from the American Political Science Association for 1970-71.

Raymond Pomerleau, San Francisco State College, will be on leave of absence to serve as Associate Director to the Executive Seminar Center in Berkeley during the academic year, 1970-71.

Sandra Powell, San Francisco State College, received a Social Science Research Council research grant to Chile for the summer, 1970.

Richard S. Randall, New York University, received a Broadcast Preceptor Award for his book *Censorship of the Movies*, at the annual Broadcast Industry Conference, San Francisco State College.

William L. Richter, Kansas State University, is returning from his year's leave of absence at Punjabi University in India where he was doing research on his project entitled "The Political Life of the Indian Princes."

Warren Roberts, Newcomb College, Tulane University, will be on sabbatical leave during the fall semester, 1970-71.

H. Jon Rosenbaum, Wellesley College, will be on leave in 1970-71 to serve as Guest Scholar at the Woodrow Wilson Center for Scholars, Washington, and as Research Associate at the Center for International Affairs, Harvard University in the summer of 1971.

Eugene J. Rosi, Dickinson College, received the 1970 Gano Award of \$1,000 for "inspirational teaching" by vote of the senior class at Dickinson College. In June he also attended a Scholar-Diplomat Seminar sponsored by the U.S. Department of State.

News and Notes

Activities

Gerard F. Rutan, Western Washington State College, has been elected one of seven members of the national steering committee of the Committee on Canadian Studies in the United States and is at present developing the program in Canadian Studies at Western Washington State College.

Dean Schooler, Jr., University of Arizona, will be on leave during 1970-71, on a Fulbright Advanced Research Grant at the University of Tilburg, John F. Kennedy Institute, Center for International Studies in The Netherlands. His research will deal with scientists' role in policymaking in The Netherlands.

Thomas M. Scott, University of Minnesota, received a National Science Foundation Grant, February 1970 to February 1971.

William W. Shaw, Tulane University, will be on sabbatical leave during the spring semester, 1970-71.

Philip Siegelman, San Francisco State College, will formally assume the post of Book Review Editor for the *American Political Science Review* starting with the December, 1970 issue.

J. E. Smith, University of Toronto, will be on leave at Columbia University.

Albert Somit, SUNY at Buffalo, presented a paper on "The Legal, Political and Philosophical Implications of Two Emerging Technologies," at the World Futures Research Conference, Kyoto, Japan, April, 1970.

Frank J. Sorauf, University of Minnesota, received a Gugerheim Fellowship, August 1969 to August 1970.

Owen S. Stratton, Wellesley College, has been named Ralph Emerson Professor, and will be on sabbatical leave in 1970-71.

Michael W. Suleiman, Kansas State University, will return from his leave as a Ford Faculty Fellow at Oxford University, where he has been working on his project entitled "The Political World of Arab Intellectuals." He is also lecturing at Mid-East Universities.

Dennis F. Thompson, Princeton University, was awarded a Bi-Centennial Preceptorship.

T. L. Thorson, University of Toronto, will be on leave at the University of Indiana.

Rudolf L. Tökés, Wesleyan University, was on leave as a Senior Fellow at the Research Institute on Communist Affairs, Columbia University.

Andrew C. Tuttle, University of Nevada, Las Vegas, was elected to the Nevada State Democratic Convention which met at Lake Tahoe, April, 1970.

Manfred Vernon, Western Washington State College, will be on sabbatical leave during the academic year 1970-71 in Geneva and the Hague doing research on the international legal problems surrounding the problem of control over the deep sea bed.

John L. Washburn, Lehigh University, received the Alfred Noble Robinson Award for performing outstanding service and showing excellent promise.

Meredith Watts, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee, is returning from Air University, Maxwell Air Force Base, effective September 1970.

Kent M. Weeks, College of Wooster, will be on leave of absence during 1970-71; he has been selected as a U.S. Office of Education Fellow.

Lloyd Wells, University of Missouri, Columbia, will be on leave during 1970-71.

Rene De Visme Williamson, Louisiana State University, was a guest of the Government of the Republic of South Africa in April, 1970, in support of research on social conditions in that country.

Ann Ruth Willner, University of Kansas, will be on leave during the fall semester, 1970, doing research in Indonesia on changing patterns of authority and leadership.

David Wood, University of Missouri, Columbia, spent the spring 1970 semester in Europe doing research on a forthcoming textbook.

Peter R. Zwick, Louisiana State University, received a U.S. Office of Education Grant to develop specialized instructional and research materials for the Russian Area Studies Center.

Staff Changes

New Appointments

Phillip S. Althoff, assistant professor, Kansas State University; formerly of Cornell University.

Alfred S. Arkley, lecturer, Western Washington State College.

Robert W. Backoff, assistant professor, University of Pennsylvania; formerly of Indiana University.

Harold M. Barger, assistant professor, University of North Carolina, Asheville; formerly of University of Illinois, Chicago Circle.

Margaret R. Barnett, lecturer, Princeton University; formerly of University of Chicago.

Dennis Beller, assistant professor, San Fernando Valley State College.

Walter Berns, professor, University of Toronto.

Allan Bloom, professor, University of Toronto; formerly of Cornell University.

Gina Bridgland, lecturer, Glendon College, York University.

Richard E. Brown, associate professor, SUNY at Brockport; formerly of William and Mary College.

Robert Burns, assistant professor, South Dakota State University.

John Calhoun, assistant professor, Auburn University, Montgomery campus; formerly of Chatham College.

Joseph A. Cepuran, instructor, St. Louis University.

John Cobb, assistant professor, Southwest Texas State University.

David Collier, lecturer, Indiana University.

Walker F. Connor, professor, SUNY at Brockport; formerly of Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute.

Kenneth F. Cook, assistant professor, SUNY at Buffalo.

Orville G. Cope, associate professor, The College of Idaho; formerly of University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee.

Richard Day, assistant professor, University of Toronto; formerly of University of London.

Richard Deleon, assistant professor, San Francisco State College.

Roger Durand, assistant professor, University of Missouri, Columbia.

Dennis Eckhart, assistant professor, University of Colorado.

Virginia Boyle Ermer, assistant professor, Goucher College.

Florestan Fernandes, professor, University of Toronto.

Jeff Fishel, assistant professor, San Francisco State College; formerly of American University.

Frederic J. Fleron, Jr., associate professor, SUNY at Buffalo.

Maurice Foisey, lecturer, Western Washington State College.

Douglas M. Fox, assistant professor, University of Connecticut; formerly of Bowdoin College.

Joan Franklin, instructor, St. Louis University.

Richard Funston, assistant professor, San Diego State College.

Milton Garber, assistant professor, Thomas More College.

Barry Gerber, lecturer, San Fernando Valley State College.

Peter R. Gluck, assistant professor, Brooklyn College, CUNY; formerly of Canisius College.

John Goldbach, associate professor, San Fernando Valley State College; formerly of University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee.

Jack Goldsmith, assistant professor, California Lutheran College.

Paul E. Grosser, assistant professor, Louisiana State University; formerly of University of Texas, El Paso.

News and Notes

Staff Changes

Mary Marsh Grow, assistant professor, Merrimack College.

Frederick W. Grupp, Jr., assistant professor, University of Connecticut.

Charles Hadley, assistant professor, Louisiana State University, New Orleans; formerly of University of Connecticut.

Jay E. Hakes, assistant professor, Louisiana State University, New Orleans; formerly of Duke University.

Howard Handelman, assistant professor, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee; formerly of University of Wisconsin.

Brett W. Hawkins, associate professor, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee; formerly of University of Georgia.

J. Frank Henderson, assistant professor, SUNY at Buffalo.

Francis Hoole, assistant professor, Indiana University; formerly of University of Florida.

Michael C. Hudson, associate professor and director of the Middle East studies program, John Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies; formerly of Brooklyn College, CUNY.

Michael Hutchinson, instructor, San Antonio College.

Marion R. Just, assistant professor, Wellesley College.

Ilpyong J. Kim, associate professor, University of Connecticut.

Youngje Paul Kim, assistant professor, Oregon College of Education.

Arthur Klinghoffer, associate professor, Rutgers – The State University.

Ellis S. Krauss, lecturer, Western Washington State College.

Akira Kubota, assistant professor, University of Windsor; formerly research associate, Survey Research Center, University of Michigan.

Richard Kurzenabe, instructor, Rutgers – The State University.

Michael Landauer, assistant professor, University of Toronto; formerly of Yale University.

Colin Leys, professor, University of Toronto; formerly of University of Sussex and Makerere University College, Uganda.

Sarah F. Liebschutz, assistant professor, SUNY at Brockport.

Charles A. Lindquist, associate professor, SUNY at Oswego; formerly of Beaver College.

Thomas McCord, assistant professor, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee; formerly of SUNY at Buffalo.

Kenneth McRoberts, lecturer, York University.

Joel Margolis, instructor, Rutgers – The State University.

Penny G. Martin, lecturer, Indiana University

Benjamin David Meyers, lecturer, University of North Carolina, Greensboro.

Josephine F. Milburn, associate professor, University of Rhode Island; formerly of Simmons College.

Charles A. Miller, assistant professor, Princeton University; formerly of Clark College.

Ralph E. Miner, lecturer, Western Washington State College.

Ronald N. Montaperto, lecturer, Indiana University.

J. Donald Moon, lecturer, Wesleyan University.

Charles Moran, assistant professor, Rockhurst College.

Douglas F. Morgan, assistant professor, Sangamon State University.

John Morser, assistant professor, Wisconsin State University, Stevens Point, effective September 1970.

Philip D. Nicoll, assistant professor, Dickinson College.

H. L. Nieburg, professor, SUNY at Binghamton, effective September 1970; formerly of University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee.

Steven Norris, lecturer, Wesleyan University.

Patrick O'Connor, assistant professor, Louisiana State University; formerly of Indiana University.

Michael O'Hara, instructor, Bowling Green State University.

Alan I. Pfeffer, instructor, SUNY at Brockport.

John N. Plank, professor, University of Connecticut.

David E. Repass, assistant professor, University of Connecticut.

David Rosenbloom, assistant professor, Hamilton College; formerly of Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

Richard Sandbrook, assistant professor, University of Toronto; formerly of University of Sussex.

Ray Scheele, assistant professor, DePaul University.

Donald Smiley, professor, University of Toronto; formerly of University of British Columbia.

Paul Sniderman, assistant professor, University of Toronto; formerly of Stanford University.

Peter Solomon, assistant professor, University of Toronto; formerly of Columbia University.

Susan Solomon, assistant professor, University of Toronto; formerly of Columbia University.

James A. Stimson, assistant professor, SUNY at Buffalo.

Timothy A. Tilton, lecturer, Indiana University.

Rudolf L. Tökés, associate professor, University of Connecticut; formerly of Wesleyan University.

Malcolm Valentine, lecturer, Indiana University.

Winston Van Horne, assistant professor, Ohio State University.

Douglas Weber, instructor, Northern Michigan University.

Douglas Whatley, assistant professor, SUNY at Buffalo.

C. Sylvester Whitaker, professor and chairman of the Afro-American Studies Program, Princeton University; formerly of University of California, Los Angeles.

Wilbur Will, assistant professor, University of Tulsa.

Richard Wiste, assistant professor, Northern Illinois University.

Goetz Wolff, assistant professor, University of North Carolina, Asheville; formerly of Occidental College.

James P. Zais, assistant professor, SUNY at Buffalo.

Walter Zelman, lecturer, San Fernando Valley State College.

Visiting and Temporary Appointments

Sir Richard Allen, distinguished professor, Western Washington State College, spring, 1970; professor, Linfield College, 1970-71.

Thomas I. Atkins, member of Boston City Council; lecturer, Wellesley College, 1969-70 and 1970-71.

James F. Brennan, instructor, State University College, Brockport, fall semester, 1970.

William Buchanan, Washington and Lee University; professor, SUNY at Buffalo, summer, 1970.

Steven Dale, instructor, University of Southern California.

Stephen L. Fisher, instructor, Tulane University, 1970-71.

William C. Gibbons, Texas A & M University; Mary Whiton Calkins visiting professor, Wellesley College, 1970-71.

Walter Goldstein, SUNY at Albany; professor, School of International Affairs, Columbia University.

Leland Goodrich, professor, University of Toronto, 1970-71.

Thomas Greene, lecturer, University of Southern California, 1970-71.

William John Hanna, City University of New York; adjunct professor, New York University, spring 1970.

Takeo Hayakawa, Kobe University, Japan; professor, SUNY at Buffalo, first semester, 1970-71.

Clyde R. Ingle, University of Tennessee; assistant professor, SUNY at Buffalo, summer 1970.

News and Notes

Staff Changes

Michael E. Kraft, instructor, Vassar College, 1970-71.

Chae-Jin Lee, University of Kansas; associate professor, University of Washington, 1970-71.

J. S. McClelland, University of Nottingham; assistant professor, Indiana University, 1970-71.

Krishen Dayal Mathur, associate professor, Western Washington State College, 1970-71.

Frank Petrusak, instructor, Tulane University, 1970-71.

Raymond H. Scheele, instructor, DePaul University, 1970-71.

Lester G. Seligman, University of Oregon; Thord-Gray lecturer, University of Umea, Sweden, fall semester, 1970.

Paul G. Steinbicker, St. Louis University; professor, University of Dayton.

Richard E. Stryker, assistant professor, Indiana University, 1970-71.

William G. Vanderbok, assistant professor, Indiana University, 1970-71.

Morris Wilhelm, assistant professor, State University College, Brockport, summer term, 1970.

Administrative Appointments

Davis B. Bobrow, professor and director, Center for International Relations and Area Studies, University of Minnesota.

Burton Brazil, acting dean, School of Humanities and Arts, San Jose State College.

Leonard Cardenas, Jr., director, Latin American Studies Institute, Louisiana State University, effective September, 1970.

Douglas Chaffey, chairman, Chatham College, effective September, 1970.

Henry A. Christopher, chairman and director, Latin American Studies Program, St. Louis University.

Robert D. Fagaly, Jr., assistant director, Center for Advanced Study in Organization Science and assistant professor, University of Wisconsin; formerly of Wisconsin State University, Oshkosh.

Federico G. Gil, president-elect, Latin-American Studies Association.

Michael Grossman, professor and chairman, Towson State College; formerly associate secretary, American Association of University Professors.

James F. Herndon, chairman, Virginia Polytechnic Institute, effective September, 1970.

Stephen Horn, president, California State College, Long Beach, effective August 1, 1970; formerly dean, Graduate Studies and Research, American University.

Henry M. Hyatt, assistant director, Maritime Plans in the Office of Policy and Plans, Maritime Administration, U.S. Department of Commerce.

William Irwin, lecturer and director, Milwaukee Urban Observatory, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee; formerly of Case Western Reserve University.

Ray C. Jolly, head, College of Idaho.

Marguerite Kane, chairman, Merrimack College.

Robert W. Kaufman, acting director, Institute of Public Affairs, Western Michigan University.

J. Gus Liebenow, associate dean, Research and Advanced Studies and for International Programs, Indiana University.

Grant McConnell, executive vice chancellor, University of California, Santa Cruz, effective July 1, 1970.

Theodore Marmor, associate professor and director, School of Public Affairs, University of Minnesota; formerly of University of Wisconsin.

Theodore Norton, acting chairman, San Jose State College.

William J. Parente, dean, College of Arts and Sciences, University of Scranton; formerly associate dean of faculty, Antioch College.

Frank P. Piskor, president, St. Lawrence University; formerly of Syracuse University.

Francis M. Rich, Jr., professor and chairman, Southwest Texas State University; formerly chairman, Appalachian State University.

Steven E. Schanes, special assistant to the secretary for policy development, U.S. Department of Commerce; formerly of University of San Diego.

Alan H. Schechter, associate professor and chairman, Wellesley College, 1970-73.

H. Pierre Secher, head, Kansas State University; formerly of Case Western Reserve University.

Promotions

Charles H. Backstrom, University of Minnesota: professor.

Peter Bishop, University of Toronto: associate professor.

Stephen D. Bryen, Lehigh University: assistant professor.

Teh-Kuang Chang, Ball State University: associate professor.

Henry A. Christopher, St. Louis University: associate professor.

Jerome I. Cooperman, Goucher College: associate professor.

Michael N. Danielson, Princeton University: professor.

I. Ridgway Davis, University of Connecticut: professor.

Richard Dohm, University of Missouri, Columbia: associate professor.

Jameson W. Doig, Princeton University: professor.

Patrick T. Dougherty, St. Louis University: associate professor.

Jack D. Dowell, Washington State University: professor.

Lyle A. Downing, Louisiana State University, New Orleans: associate professor.

Roy E. Feldman, Massachusetts Institute of Technology: associate professor.

William H. Flanigan, University of Minnesota: professor.

Robert G. Gilpin, Jr., Princeton University: professor.

Marianne Githens, Goucher College: associate professor.

Wilbur Grasham, University of Toronto: professor.

Leland E. Hess, Oregon College of Education: associate professor.

Jerry F. Hough, University of Toronto: professor.

C. I. Eugene Kim, Western Michigan University: professor.

Bennett Kovrig, University of Toronto: associate professor.

Louis E. Lambert, Indiana University: professor.

William Lammers, University of Southern California: associate professor.

Chae-Jin Lee, University of Kansas: associate professor.

Jean-Robert Leguey-Felleux, St. Louis University: associate professor.

Lela Garner Noble, San Jose State College: associate professor.

Theodore Norton, San Jose State College: professor.

Leroy N. Rieselbach, Indiana University: professor.

Fauneil Rinn, San Jose State College: professor.

Ernest E. Rossi, Western Michigan University: associate professor.

Lloyd A. Rowe, University of Connecticut: associate professor.

Harvey M. Sapolsky, Massachusetts Institute of Technology: associate professor.

Peter C. Sederberg, Wellesley College: assistant professor.

News and Notes

Staff Changes

Jay A. Sigler, Rutgers – The State University: professor.

Paul E. Sigmund, Princeton University: professor.

Walter W. Toxey, Louisiana State University, New Orleans: professor.

Frederick C. Turner, University of Connecticut: professor.

Andrew C. Tuttle, University of Nevada, Las Vegas: associate professor.

F. L. VanVoorhees, Western Michigan University: associate professor.

Ann Ruth Willner, University of Kansas: professor.

Howard Wolpe, Western Michigan University: associate professor.

Richard F. Wright, University of Nevada, Las Vegas: assistant professor.

Dean Yarwood, University of Missouri, Columbia: associate professor.

Retirements and Resignations

Florence M. Casey, has resigned from SUNY at Buffalo.

David C. Leege, has resigned from SUNY at Buffalo.

Robert Scigliano, has resigned from SUNY at Buffalo.

Albert Somit, has resigned from SUNY at Buffalo.

George V. Wolfe, is retiring as professor and head after twenty-four years of service with the College of Idaho; he has accepted an invitation to serve during the academic year 1970-71 as visiting professor at Johnson State College in Vermont.

Corrections

The Ford Foundation announcement of the award of a Research Fellowship to Everett C. Ladd, Jr., of the University of Connecticut, in the Fall, 1969, issue of *P S* incorrectly listed him as an associate professor and incorrectly listed his subject as "Ideology and Conflict in a Southern Metropolitan Region." His correct title is professor, and his correct subject is "Professors and Politics."

In Memoriam

Ralph L. Bisco, born August 22, 1933 and raised in Peoria, Illinois, died unexpectedly Tuesday, April 21, 1970 at his home in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. Eldest of six children, he began his undergraduate work at the age of 17 in Evanston; but after two years his study was interrupted by military obligation, serving in the Korean War. After fulfilling his military duty he resumed his studies at the University of Michigan and completed his B.A. degree in Political Science in 1959. Mr. Bisco continued his education at the University of Michigan and received his M.A. in political science in 1961.

Ralph served as the Executive Director of the Council of Social Science Data Archives at the University of Pittsburgh from 1968 until his death. In addition to the Directorship of the Council he held several faculty positions at the University of Pittsburgh including appointments in the departments of Political Science, Computer Science, and Library and Information Science.

From 1960 to 1968 he served as Director of the Technical Services of the Inter-University Consortium of Political Research (University of Michigan), Head of the Computer Services Facility, Institute for Social Research, at the University of Michigan and Technical Co-ordinator of the Council of Social Science Data Archives. He also served as Vice-chairman of the Special Interest Group for the Behavioral and Social Sciences of the American Documentation Institute and Chairman of the Program Committee of the Council of Social Science Data Archives Annual Conference.

He edited a recently published book, *Data Bases, Computers and the Social Sciences*. This book was released after his death. His contributions to leading journals have been extensive and diverse.

Ralph was primarily concerned with the development of mechanisms by which social scientists everywhere could share their data and their programs. He believed that only through such sharing could the social sciences achieve their goals and assert their relevance to contemporary problems. We at the University of Pittsburgh will miss his immediate presence. The entire social science community will be less than it can be if the shared nature of research to which he committed himself is not accepted by us all.

Carl Beck
University of Pittsburgh

Karl A. Bosworth joined the faculty of the University of Connecticut twenty-two years ago after a previous career as a public service worker, researcher, and teacher in the field of public administration. He was born in Kansas, pursued his undergraduate and early graduate education at the University of Nebraska and concluded his education with a Ph.D. from the University of Chicago. He had served at different times on the staff of the Kansas Legislative Council and the Illinois Legislative Council. He had worked with the Civil Service Assembly of the United States and Canada, now the Public Personnel Association. He had similarly worked with the American Municipal Association. He had held academic posts at the University of Wichita, the University of Alabama, and Western Reserve University.

Professor Bosworth's primary intellectual interest was in the role of the professional public servant, and particularly the relationship of professional public servants to the more overtly political activities of others which provided the opportunities and limitations within which the professional could render his services to the public. In an area where "reform" cities of artificially limited political activity and of formal nonpartisanship have afforded a base for training limited servants for limited functions, Bosworth demanded that the public servant must be trained to understand political processes and be prepared to operate in politically active jurisdictions. Thus, his own work ranged deeply into the politics and the political ecology of local communities and particularly of legislative bodies. In his early career he published penetrating studies of the local politics of two rural counties in Alabama. Later he concentrated closely on governmental practice and developments in the several states. In 1955 he wrote the general analysis and conclusions on state legislatures arising out of the American Assembly study in the previous year of the condition of the state governments. He continued to publish in the area of state governments in his last years.

In Connecticut Bosworth actively maintained contact with state and local officials and frequently served formally or informally as a consultant. In his first year in the state he participated as budget consultant in the general study of state government organization under Governor Bowles. He was active in the Connecticut Chapter of the American Society for Public Administration. He was a consultant for the Hartford Health Survey of 1956-1957, for the state constitution study of the National Municipal League in 1959, for the charter commission of Norwich in 1960-61, for Station WTIC during the

In Memoriam

state constitutional convention in 1965, and for the charter commission of East Hartford in 1967. He was serving at the time of his death as Chairman of the Charter Commission of the Town of Mansfield.

Bosworth was active in national professional affairs in political science and the specific field of public administration. He served in 1965 on the award committee of the American Political Science Association for the Leonard D. White Award for the best annual dissertation in the public administration field. At the time of his death he held the post of President-Elect of the New England Political Science Association.

In the Department of Political Science Bosworth long taught a variety of courses at all levels in the general areas of public administration and of state and municipal government. He was particularly concerned with, and largely assumed responsibility for, the program of graduate training for professional public servants. Recognized by a regular M.A. degree, this is a program more directed to general intellectual development than to specific job duties. Although his own teaching was limited after his assignment in 1965 to the directorship of the Institute of Urban Research, he continued to take general charge of the public administration graduate students, and he had the satisfaction of beginning to work with doctoral students after the Department inaugurated work for the Ph.D. in the public administration field.

Bosworth was a leader among his colleagues and frequently in contact with the administration in relation to matters of employee welfare. He participated in the local chapters of both the American Association of University Professors and the American Federation of Teachers. He served also for many years as an elected member of the University Senate and his death occurred on March 16, 1970 while participating in one of its meetings. His comments and arguments at various meetings within the University community which he attended will be widely remembered. He was a notable figure, a recognized representative of many valid values and interests, and a friend to many. We salute him for two decades of service to our own community and to the general public.

G. Lowell Field
University of Connecticut

Gladys M. Kammerer died on July 17, 1970 of acute leukemia. The illness was brief and was diagnosed only on July 10, 1970. Dr. Kammerer was among the most prominent women political scientists in the United States. At the time of her death she was professor of political science and Director of the Public Administration Clearing Service at the University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida. Before coming to the University of Florida in 1958, she had been a professor at the University of Kentucky and prior to that had served on the faculty at Wellesley College, Massachusetts.

She held offices as secretary of the American Political Science Association, 1956-57; Executive Committee, 1960-61; and Council 1960-62. She was past President and past Program Vice President of the Southern Political Science Association. She served on the National Council of the American Society for Public Administration from 1948-51 and on the Executive Committee of the Committee on Graduate Education, since 1964. She was a member of the national advisory committee of the National Civil Service League. She had served on the National Council, 1955-58, of the American Association of University Professors and was President of the University of Florida chapter, 1966-68.

Dr. Kammerer earned her A.B. degree from Washington University, St. Louis, Missouri, her M.A. degree from the University of Wisconsin and Ph.D. from University of Chicago, the latter being received in 1946.

By appointment of the President of the United States, she had served as a member of the National Advisory Council of the National Heart and Lung Institute, National Institute of Health, 1967-70. From 1966-68 she was a member of the United States Department of Agriculture Marketing Research Advisory Committee.

Dr. Kammerer has received awards and grants from the Guggenheim Foundation, the Ford Foundation, the Rockefeller Foundation, and the Social Sciences Research Council. In 1956 she was chosen distinguished professor of the year by the faculty at the University of Kentucky and had received a comparable award in 1964 at the University of Florida.

Dr. Kammerer's published works numbered some 15 books and monographs and over 50 articles. She had a special interest in public policy, both American and comparative. Among her leading works were: *Impact of War on Federal Personnel*

Administration, 1951; *British and American Child Welfare Services: A Comparative Study in Administration*, 1962; *City Managers in Politics*, 1962; *The Urban Political Community*, 1963.

Dr. Kammerer also participated in a wide variety of public programs and served on a number of advisory committees on public policy at national, state and local levels of government.

Dr. Kammerer has a vigorous inquiring mind. She held to a rigorous philosophy on the necessity for empirical testing of policy positions. She made significant contributions to the field of administrative and organization theory. At the time of her death she was directing a Ford Foundation study in collaboration with Walter A. Rosenbaum and Thomas A. Henderson on factors affecting local government consolidation and voter approval or rejection. With O. R. McQuown, her former student and long-time associate, she had just completed a study on factors affecting the development of a political community. The night before her hospitalization she had completed an article critically analyzing the economic theory underlying the concept of Programming Planning and Budgeting as a decision making approach.

Gladys Kammerer will be remembered as a truly professional person. Her awards for teaching manifest her classroom effectiveness with undergraduate and graduate students alike. Her wide range of notable publications places her at the forefront of the field of policy studies. Her broad range participation in public activities was evidence of professional concern for the problems of American society.

She was a person of strong principles and determination. She believed in empirical testing of results, and that the study of values was a part of the study of political science. She tried to test the effects programs had on people, and she had broadly humane sympathies. She believed in expressing herself and did so vigorously. When she was buried, there was a storm. It rained and there was thunder and lightning. It was appropriate.

Manning J. Dauer
O. R. McQuown
University of Florida

Henriette Neubuerger McCarthy died December 6, 1969, as a result of cancer at the age of 41. She was a Ph.D. Candidate at the University of Colorado, where she had been elected to Phi Beta Kappa and had received a B.A. in 1964.

Her memorial is a life devoted to promoting love and understanding among people.

J. Howard McCarthy
Golden, Colorado

Doctoral Dissertations in Political Science in Universities of the United States

compiled by **Walter E. Beach**
American Political Science Association

Dissertations – in – Preparation

Additions, changes, deletions since 1969 listing

Political Philosophy, Theory and Methodology Additions

Abdelrahman A. Adbelrahman, The Impact of the Behavioral Approach on Organization Theory. *Indiana*.

Robert Albritton, The Poetic Method: An Approach to the Understanding of Politics. *California* (Los Angeles).

Douglas Anderson, The Level of Analysis Problem: A Theoretical Critique. *Cincinnati*.

Gabriel Arieli, Man, Cultures and Governments, *Minnesota*.

John Darrel Astin, An Appraisal of System Theory. *Utah*.

William A. Barnes, Elite-Mass Linkages and Viable Growth: Functionalist/Pluralist Theory Versus the Reality of Uneven Development in Chile, Mexico, and the Philippines. *Michigan*.

David D. Barney, Political Relevance in the Work of Marshall McLuhan. *California* (Berkeley).

Paul C. Beach, Jr., Man and Crisis: Reflections on José Ortega y Gasset and Modern Revolution. *Johns Hopkins*.

Beckmann, A. Heino, The Paradox of Freedom: Freedom in Germany – An Empirical Examination of the Relationship Between Freedom and Socio-Political Realities with Particular Reference to East and West Germany. *Pennsylvania*.

David M. Bethune, The Political Thought of Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr.: A Critical Analysis. *Tulane*.

Keith R. Billingsley, The Antecedents of Political Efficacy. *Wisconsin*.

Robert Blackwell, The Obkom Elite. *Michigan*.

Steven L. Blake, Ideological Diversity in Contemporary Communist Theory. *Virginia*.

Bruce D. Bowen, The Paradox of Voting: A Theoretical and Empirical Examination. *Kentucky*.

William Pew Brandon, The Potential Impact of the Philosophy of Linguistic Analysis Upon the Study of Politics. *Duke*.

Gina Bridgeland, Camus: Concept of Abstraction and his Critique of Bourgeois Society. *California* (Los Angeles).

Stephen N. Bryant, Selected Urban Characteristics as Related to Thorndike's Index of Goodness. *Florida*.

Thomas Buchanan, Radical Cadres and Three Strategies for Working Class Organizations. *SUNY* (Buffalo).

Malcolm Byrnes, Toward the Source of Order: An Analysis of Gnosis as the Symbolic Form of Western Political Consciousness in the Work of Eric Voegelin. *Tulane*.

John P. Calvert, The Political Thought of John Kenneth Galbraith. *Tulane*.

Bradley Kent Carter, Democratic Organization Theory: A Critique. *California* (Berkeley).

Karen Chagi, Drama and Politics in the City: Historical and Contemporary Themes. *California* (Berkeley).

Maria Chanco, The Catholic Church and Rebellion: A Study of the Cristero Movement in Mexico (1926-1929). *Massachusetts*.

Terry Christensen, Citizen Participation: The Analysis of Process as Policy. *North Carolina*.

D. Robin C. Christopher, The Impact of Modernization on Values. *Fletcher School*.

Richard C. Clark, Wendell Phillips: Radical Agitator. *Maryland*.

Ross L. Clark, Jr., The Comparative Method of Max Weber with Special Emphasis on the Possible Uses of this Method for Political Science. *Tulane*.

Clarke E. Cochran, Politics of Interest; the Eclipse of Community in Contemporary American Political Theory. *Duke*.

Michael S. Cummings, A Theory of Dogmatism. *Stanford*.

Stephen L. Daigle, The Effects of Cultural Secularization on the Psychological and Political Orientations of Individuals. *Indiana*.

Joan Davis, Community Action and Local Political Traditions: Convergence without Synthesis. *North Carolina*.

DeCoursey, Vincent W., Jr., Loyalty and Disloyalty. *Chicago*.

John Deegan, Jr., Multivariate Models of Political Behavior: The Pathological Consequences of the Multicollinearity. *Michigan*.

Steven M. DeLue, "Who Makes History: Jean-Paul Sartre on Politics and Human Consciousness." *Washington*.

Bob deVoursney, The Floating Voter: The Nature, Causes, and Effects of Irregular Voting. *North Carolina*.

Eileen W. Dooley, Equal Employment Opportunities for Women: An Analysis of Public Policies and Proposals. *Chicago*.

Carolyn Lee Dorrance, The Concept of Loyalty in American Political Thought. *California*. (Santa Barbara).

George Durrie, The Question of "Conflict" in Democratic Theory. *Washington*.

Tom Eamon, The Relationship of Social Class to Authoritarianism: A Study of White Americans. *North Carolina*.

Ralph Earle, A Computer Simulation of the Synchrony of Status Quo Arrangements in Periods of Inflation. *M.I.T.*

Frank J. Fato, The International Socialization of Children in a Suburban Community. *Fordham*.

Richard B. Fitchen, Existentialism in Political Thought. *California* (Santa Barbara).

Leslie E. Friedman, The Political Thought of Frederick Douglass. *Cornell*.

Norman Frohlich, An Entrepreneurial Theory of Politics. *Princeton*.

Larry Garner, Marxism of Antonio Gramsci. *Columbia*.

Banning Garret, The Dialectics of Alienation. *Brandeis*.

Blaine M. Garvin, Political Culture and the Explanation of Political Problems. *California* (Berkeley).

John Gasiorowski, Erich Fromm: Alienation, Technology, Mass Society; A Critique. *Pittsburgh*.

James M. Glass, Plato, Rousseau and Marx: A Study of the Theory of Non-Alienated Being and the Transformation of Consciousness. *California* (Berkeley).

Reginald H. Gooden, Jr., Concepts of Leadership with Special Reference to Vargas and Peron in Latin America. *California* (Santa Barbara).

Richard G. Gold, Consciousness and Myth. *California* (Berkeley).

Mary Ellen Grafflin, A Quaker Theory of Politics: Historical Foundations and Contemporary Significance. *California* (Los Angeles).

Omar Grine, The Ideology of American Radicalism in the 1960's. *Columbia*.

Susan Gumpert, Political Alienation. *California* (Berkeley).

Farreol Hansen, The Organic Concept in Theories of Political Development. *Missouri*.

Richard Harper, Social Theory and Individualistic Values in Recent American Radical Thought. *Chicago*.

Russell Harrison, The Effects of External Aid and Internal Effort on Citizen Impact in the Vocational Educational Policy Arena. *North Carolina*.

Dorina Hermann, Power and its Corrupting Influence. *California* (Los Angeles).

Carolina Galicia Hernandez, The Christian Marxist Dialogue. *Duke*.

Douglas A Hibbs, Economic Development, Social Mobilization, Political System Performance, and the Dimensions of Domestic Conflict: Some Static and Dynamic Cross-sectional Causal Models. *Wisconsin*.

Darrel Hoffman, Ideology of Natural Science in the Social Sciences. *Syracuse*.

Thomas C. Hone, The Relationship of Political Equality to the Problem of Political Obligation. *Wisconsin*.

Drew Hyman, Stress, Crisis and Societal Outcomes: A Theory of Behavior Alternatives in Social and Political Systems (with a case study of the Black Man in America). *California* (Los Angeles).

Karla Irvine, Criticism of Pluralist Democratic Theory. *Cincinnati*.

Laura Irwin, The Problem of Aggregation and Disaggregation in Public Policy Analysis. *North Carolina*.

Paul Irwin, The Determinants of Education Expenditures in the American States. *North Carolina*.

Willoughby G. Jarrell, The Political Thought of Thomas Paine. *Emory*.

Glyndwr Desmond Anthony Jones, The Political Thought of Emerson. *California* (Santa Barbara).

Michael R. Kagay, Political Attitudes of Mass Publics. *Wisconsin*.

Sugwon Kang, Principles of Social Reconstruction: The Political Thought of Graham Wallas. *Columbia*.

William S. Kasper, Primordial Loyalties and Political Systems: Role of Values in System Alteration. *California* (Berkeley).

Eugene Earl Kingdon, The Classical and Contemporary Problems of Divergence and Unification in the Social Sciences. *California* (Santa Barbara).

Michael E. Kirn, The Idea of a Value-free Social Science. *Wisconsin*.

William R. Klecka, Political Generations and Political Behavior. *Illinois*.

Doctoral Dissertations in Political Science

Dissertations — in — Preparation

Harvey Klehr, The Theory of American Exceptionalism. *North Carolina*.

Gernot Koehler, An Application of Weis Data in Foreign Policy Research: The United States and Western Europe. *North Carolina*.

Allan M. Kosofsky, The Post-Behavioral Revolution in American Political Science: Radical Perspectives on the Study of Politics. *Florida State*.

Leonard J. Lamm, The Phenomenology of Intentional Social Systems: an essay in the possibility of 'political philosophy.' *Princeton*.

Larry Lee, A Non-Parametric Causal Inference Model of the Position of Bureaucratic Development in Political Development. *Washington*.

Amelia C. Leiss, Typologies of Arms Races. *Fletcher School*.

Ross Lence, The American Declaration of Independence Re-examined. *Indiana*.

Jacobus Letterie, The Competitively Oriented Personality. *North Carolina*.

Craig Liske, Congress and the Common Defense: A Proposal Study of the Role of Congress in the Formulation of U.S. Defense Policy. *North Carolina*.

G. Peter Lyman, The Critique of Reified Politics from Marx to Merleau-Ponty. *Stanford*.

Terence E. Marshall, The Relation Between Freedom and Nature in Rousseau's Political Philosophy. *Pennsylvania*.

John T. McCartney, Black Powers as a Political Philosophy. *Iowa*.

John McClusky, A Critique of Existential Political Theory: The Cohesion and Publicness of Politics. *California (Berkeley)*.

Michael McGrath, Essay on Political Theory and the Political Thought of Hans Morgenthau. *Minnesota*.

Richard D. McKelvey, Some Extensions and Modifications of a Spatial Model of Party Competition. *Rochester*.

Philip Melanson, Professionalization and Political Science. *Connecticut*.

William J. Meyer, The Problems of Freedom and Authority in the Writings of Major American Pragmatism. *Pennsylvania State*.

Arthur H. Miller, The Impact of Congressional Committees on the Structure of Policy Outputs: Agents of Decision Making and Indirect Representation. *Michigan*.

Regina Mezei, Spanish Traditionalism in the Twentieth Century: The Political Thought of the Carlists. *Fordham*.

Felipe Miranda, The Political Philosophy of Jose P. Laurel. *Chicago*.

Mark Owen Morris, Theories of the Person as Citizen in American Political and Social Thought. *California (Berkeley)*.

Conrad Flournoy Morrow, A Psychological Model of Aggressive Political Behavior. *Yale*.

Edward N. Muller, III, Sources of Behavioral Support for the Political System. *Iowa*.

Sharon Nickel, The Post Marxian Critique of Industrial Society. *California (Los Angeles)*.

Bob O'Connor, Empirical Theory with Application in State and Local Government. *North Carolina*.

William W. O'Grady, Hegel on Theory and Practice. *Chicago*.

Joe A. Oppenheimer, An Entrepreneurial Theory of Politics. *Princeton*.

Jeffrey R. Orenstein, The Tradition of Individualist Revolt in Political Philosophy. *Wisconsin*.

Elizabeth Palter, Participatory Democracy and Contemporary Political Thought. *Massachusetts*.

Thomas L. Pangle, Montesquieu and the Moral Basis of Liberal Democracy. *Chicago*.

Melvin R. Pate, Subjective Political Perceptual Differences and Dynamics. *Wisconsin*.

Kenneth A. Payne, Value Congruence, Participatory Competence and Social Stratification: Three Aspects of the Process and Condition of Democratic Political Development. *Fletcher School*.

Sidney A. Pearson, Jr., The Idea of the Future in Contemporary Political Thought. *Michigan*.

Johannes Pedersen, Aggregate Change of Political Attitudes. *California (Berkeley)*.

Norman Patrick Peritore, Toward a Phenomenological and Existential Redefinition of Social Science Methodology. *California (Santa Barbara)*.

Rosalind Petchesky, Prospects in Biological Engineering and their Implications for the Concept of Moral Agency. *Columbia*.

Robert L. Peyton, Violence and American Politics. *California (Berkeley)*.

David G. Pfeiffer, Rationality and the Calculus of Voting. *Rochester*.

Adalberto Pinelo, The Concept of Ideology. *Massachusetts*.

Charles P. Quigley, Concepts of Economic and Political Development of the Marxists as Applied to Developing Nations. *Florida*.

Frederick W. Rhyhart, Power to the Workers in the Workplace: Strategy and Ideal, Yesterday and Today. *Wisconsin*.

Charles R. Roll, Morality and the Law: A Philosophical Analysis of the Relationship between Law and Morality. *Indiana*.

Robert M. Rood, Agreement in the International System: An Empirical Analysis of Alliance Patterns in the European Balance of Power System, 1814-1914. *Syracuse*.

Henry Ross, The Philosophical Roots of Elitism. *Rutgers*.

Ross A. Rudolph, Thomas Hobbes, The Politics of Historical and Scriptural Interpretation. *Columbia*.

Elliott Sachs, Marxian Social Theory as Revealed in Marxian Economics. *California (Berkeley)*.

Jay Salmon, A Systematic Analysis of Armed Conflict. *North Carolina*.

David Sampson, The Politicization of Science: An Empirical Study of the Attitudes Toward the Political Obligation of Science as Perceived by Members of the Scientific Community. *SUNY (Buffalo)*.

Harold Sarf, The Relationship Between Thought and Action. *California (Berkeley)*.

Robert L. Savage, Patterns of Change-Proneess Among the American States: Concepts, Findings, and Techniques. *Missouri*

Norman W. Scanlon, A Re-Examination of the Political Philosophy of John Stuart Mill from the Perspective of His Philosophy of History. *Pittsburgh*.

Juan Schehtman, Small Group, Decision Making Processes: Their Behavioral Dynamics. *North Carolina*.

Michael Schwartz, Representation, Citizen Participation, and Elitism: A Study of the Democratic Process in Developed Society. *Connecticut*.

Gerald Schwertfeger, European Political Integration: Theory and Practice. *Brandeis*.

Harold Shill, The Senate and the Making of Security Commitments. *North Carolina*.

John S. Shockley, Normative and Empirical Aspects of Democratic Theory. *Wisconsin*.

Howard S. Siegel, Toward a Psychological Process: Theory of Electoral Behavior. *Illinois*.

Jerry Lansky Simich, Norms, Rules and Policies: An Analysis of Some Fundamental Concepts of Recent Jurisprudence. *California (Santa Barbara)*.

Vera Simone, Political Philosophy as Anti-Utopia: A Critical Evaluation of Hannah Arendt's Political Philosophy. *Michigan*.

Justin H. Simpson, Albert Camus, Political Obligation, and the New Left. *Washington State*.

Paul M. Sniderman, Correlates of Self-Esteem. *California (Berkeley)*.

Laurie Solomon, Coding and Sorting Categories in Client Centered Decisions. *Illinois*.

Larry D. Spence, A Communications Theory of Political Organization. *California (Berkeley)*.

Thomas Graham Squire, A Systematic Approach to Political Realism. *California (Santa Barbara)*.

George Stein, The Political Thought of Richard Hooker: A Contribution to a Theory of Obligation. *Indiana*.

Maren A. Stein, Political Events and Political Attitudes. *Illinois*.

David V. Steiniche, An Analysis of Authority in Some Representative Works on Modern Organizational Theory with Reference to Certain Ideas in Normative Political Theory. *Nebraska*.

James G. Stephens, The Changing Nature of Political Theory: Authority and Action. *Northwestern*.

Peter Gordon Stillman, The Liberalism of Hegel's Philosophie des Rechts. *Yale*.

Pauline Vaillancourt, Political Socialization of Children. *California (Berkeley)*.

Winston Van Horne, Social Phenomena: An Exploratory Essay in the Limits of Science in its Investigation. *California (Los Angeles)*.

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Edward P. Moxon-Browne, Integration Among the Countries of the European Free Trade Association. *Pennsylvania*.

Akiiki Mujaju, Youth Action and Political Development in Uganda. *Columbia*.

Robert J. Mundt, Family Structure and National Integration: Implementation of the Civil Code in the Ivory Coast. *Stanford*.

Michael Murray, Oligarchic Tendencies in Voluntary Associations. *Indiana*.

Walter Kendall Myers Jr., Poland and the European System, 1933 to 1939. *SAIS, Johns Hopkins*.

Ivan M. Myhul, Soviet Ukrainian Identity. *Columbia*.

Michael Nagan, The Concept of the Proletariat in Chinese Communist Theory and Practice. *Washington*.

Andrew J. Nathan, The Politics of the Peking Government, 1916-1928. *Harvard*.

Edward Ncube, Presidential Politics in Africa. *Washington (St. Louis)*.

Jorge Novella Nef, Nationalism and Conflict in Chilean Politics: An Essay on Political Mediation, *California (Santa Barbara)*.

Masashi Nishihara, Indonesian Responses to Post-War Japan, 1951-1970. *Michigan*.

Michael O'Hara, Negotiating with the Soviets: The Case of the Austrian State Treaty. *California (Los Angeles)*.

Julius E. Okolo, The Change in Patterns of Federalism and Democracy in Nigeria. *Howard*.

Laura O'Shaughnessy, The National Peasant Confederation of Mexico: the Integration of the Marginal Group. *Indiana*.

Oscar Oszlak, The Politics of Agrarian Reform: A Comparative Study of Argentina, Chile, and Peru. *California (Berkeley)*.

Umesh Pant, Small Nation — Great Power Alliance: A Case Study of Pakistani-U.S. Relations. *Michigan*.

Han Shik Park, Political Participation and Socio-economic Status in the United States and Korea: A Comparative Study. *Minnesota*.

Bruce Parrott, Technology and the Soviet Polity: A Study of Symbiosis and Contradiction. *Columbia*.

David W. Paul, Czechoslovakia: An Alienated Political Culture. *Princeton*.

Kenneth Pedersen, The Social Democratic Party of Denmark. *California (Los Angeles)*.

Al Pelowski, The Simulation of Crisis Systems: Comparing Crises Through Computer Experimentation. *Northwestern*.

Stephen B. L. Penrose, The Dynamics of Soviet-American Interaction in the Middle East, 1957-1958. *Fletcher School*.

Reto A. Pieth, A Comparative Study of Legislators' Role Perceptions in the State Legislatures of New York (Assembly) and Basel, Switzerland (Grosser Rat). *Syracuse*.

Thomas Pinckney, Third Parties and the Philippine Political System. *Tennessee*.

Jonathan Pool, Language as a Political Issue. *Chicago*.

Jean Victor Poulard, The French Communist Party: A Study of Its Evolution. *Chicago*.

Charles Prysby, Socio-Economic Development and the Structure of Political Party Competition in Chile. *Michigan State*.

John Purcell, Community Power in a Socially and Culturally Plural Society: A Study of Durban, South Africa. *California (Los Angeles)*.

Michael A. Quinn, Role Perceptions of Municipal Bureaucrats in Brazil. *Illinois*.

James A. Ramsay, Nation Building in Thailand. *Cornell*.

Reid R. Reading, Political Socialization in Columbia. *Wisconsin*.

Fabio Wanderley Reis, Urbanization, Mobilization and Political Influence. *Harvard*.

Louise Resnikoff, A Study of the Attitudes and Behavior of the Luguru Peoples in Central Tanzania with Emphasis on the Process of National Integration. *California (Berkeley)*.

Delbert J. Ringquist, Cross-National Patterns of National Development and Political Violence: The Former French Colonies. *Oklahoma*.

John E. Robertsom, Political Recruitment in India: The Return of the Prince. *Pennsylvania*.

Harlan D. Robinson, The Politics of Rural Mobilization in the Malagasy Republic. *Stanford*.

Eliseo J. Rocamora, Indonesian Nationalist Party: 1946-1958. *Cornell*.

Joseph A. Roccaforte, Germany as a Problem in U.S.-Soviet Relations: 1943-1947. *Pennsylvania*.

Stanley Rosen, The Political Process in Chung Shan County, Kuang Tung Province Since the 1911 Revolution. *California (Los Angeles)*.

Donald F. Ross, Jr., Neighborhood Councils and Other Community Organizations. *Fletcher School*.

Barbara Roth, Adult Political Socialization: The Study of American Immigrants in Israel. *Rutgers*.

Alwyn R. Rouyer, Elite Recruitment in and Modernization in Kenya. *Tulane*.

Michael Rubner, The Israeli Technical Assistance Program in Central and Latin America: An Inquiry into the Politics of Bilateral Technical Cooperation. *California (Berkeley)*.

Jacob John Ruff, The Continuity of Political Behavior in Latin America. *Nebraska*.

Stanley T. Samuels, Israel's Programme of Technical Assistance in Venezuela – Their Contribution to Local Political, Social and Economic Development. *Pennsylvania*.

Bhim S. Sandhu, The Sino-Indian War of 1962 and its Implications: A study in Conflict Resolution. *Missouri*.

Paul Savage, German Nationalism and Political Parties: The Case of the Nationaldemokratische Partei Deutschlands (NPD). *Massachusetts*.

Charles J. Savio, Public Policy Outcomes in Selected Venezuelan Cities. *Florida*.

Amos Sawyer, Socialization and National Development: A Liberian Case Study. *Northwestern*.

David E. Schmitt, Political Culture and Political Development in Ireland: A Comparative Analysis. *Texas*.

Gebhard L. Schweigler, National Consciousness in the Divided Germany. *Harvard*.

Naomi Ruth Schwiesow, French Policy in Eastern Europe, 1958-1969. *SAIS, Johns Hopkins*.

Douglas Scott, Political Mobilization in Northern Ireland: A Study in Segmented Pluralism. *Columbia*.

Sabi H. Shabtai, The Role of the Military in the Process of National Integration in the New States of Tropical Africa. *Chicago*.

Vincent J. Sherry, Jr., Democratization of the Political Institutions in South Vietnam. *Southern Mississippi*.

Paul R. Shirk, Political Development and Modernization in the Non-Industrial State: The Experience of Thailand. *American*.

John Shoka, Nation-Building in Tanzania since 1961. *Washington*.

Barry Shutz, The Political Impact of European Immigration after World War II in Southern Rhodesia. *California (Los Angeles)*.

Ruth S. Simmons, The Political Behavior of Untouchables in India. *California (Berkeley)*.

Jeffrey Simon, The Writer and Eastern European Politics. *Washington*.

Israel Singer, The Religious Factor and Politics Israel: A Case Study. *The City University of New York*.

Donald Richard Smith, Religion and Politics in East Africa. *California (Los Angeles)*.

Theodore Smith, Indonesian Bureaucratic Productivity: Implications for the New Five-Year Plan. *California (Berkeley)*.

Susan Gross Solomon, Soviet Planning of Social Change in the 1920's. *Columbia*.

Safwat S. Souryal, Andrew Jackson and Gamal Abd-El Nasser: A Comparative Study in Political Leadership. *Utah*.

Joan Edelman Spero, France and West Africa: The Policies of the Fifth Republic. *Columbia*.

Marcia B. Steinhauer, The Higher Governmental Bureaucrat in Costa Rica: An Application of Selected Dimensions of the Prismatic Model. *Florida*.

Michael T. Steinman, English Primary School Headquarters: The Role of a Professional Subgroup in a Complex Formal Organization. *Chicago*.

Joanne Banthin Stelzer, Attitudinal Bases of the Indian Party System: Prospects for Continuity and Orderly Change. *Michigan*.

Hugh Stinson, Mexico: The Political Campaign in a One-Party System. *Tulane*.

Ron Stockton, Political Attitudes of Rural Leaders in Kenya. *Michigan State*.

John J. Stromlau, Nigeria's Civil War Diplomacy: A Study of the Efforts to Contain the Throat of African Recognition of Biafra. *Fletcher School*.

Ilkay Sunar, Politics of Development and Underdevelopment in Turkey. *California (Berkeley)*.

Doctoral Dissertations in Political Science

Dissertations -- in -- Preparation

Jonathan Sunshine, The Relation of Economic and Political Factors in Development: A Statistical Study. *Columbia*.

John Tannehill, Civil Strife in the States of India. *Princeton*.

Chester Neal Tate, The Social Background and Decision-Making of Philippine Supreme Court Justices, 1901-1968. *Tulane*.

Souheil Tawil, Ideology, Leadership and Politics of the Egyptian Revolution, 1952-1967. *Catholic*.

Ronald Tiersky, The Problem of Political Legitimacy in a Modern Polity: The Case of France. *Columbia*.

Robert Trudeau, Costa Rican Voting Behavior. *North Carolina*.

Vichai Tunsiri, Thai Parliaments: Social Background and Career Patterns. *Indiana*.

Thomas H. Turner, Tetela Ethnicity and the MNC-Lumumba. *Wisconsin*.

Jerry L. Ulrich, Political Culture and the Expansion of Political Participation in England, 1950-1900. *Chicago*.

Peter Vanneman, The Supreme Soviet and the Soviet Political Elite. *Pennsylvania State*.

Siegfried A. Vogt, The Bayern Party. *Washington State*.

Loren Waldman, The Nazi Voter: A Social and Political Profile. *Chicago*.

Dennis L. Walker, A Comparative Analysis of the Factors Influencing Party Voting Cohesion in Democratic Legislatures. *Washington State*.

James Ware, Regional Politics and Growth in Latin America. *North Carolina*.

Gary B. Wasserman, The Politics of Decline: Kenyan European Settlers and the Land Question, 1959-1963. *Columbia*.

Gerald G. Watson, Recruitment and Representation: A Study of Career Patterns, Constituency Characteristics, and Role Conceptions Among Members of the West German Bundestag. *Florida*.

Peter Weitz, Italian Labor Unions: The Changing Context. *M.I.T.*

Mary Wellling, The Institutionalization of Party Systems in Africa. *Northwestern*.

D. Gordon White, City Politics in Tientsin, 1949-1969. *Stanford*.

Charles J. Wilkins, The United States and the Soviet Union 1946-1970: A Mathematical Oriented Study of Bipolarity. *Colorado*.

Miles W. Williams, The National Front in Colombia: An Experiment in Controlled Democracy. *Vanderbilt*.

Sister Roberta Williams, Latin American Politics, "Promocion Popular": The Christian Democratic Party and Political Participation in Chile. *California (Berkeley)*.

Shelton L. Williams, The Evolution of the U.S. Nonproliferation Program and the Security of Asia. *SAIS, Johns Hopkins*.

Laurie Wiseberg, Nigerian Foreign Policy 1960-70. *California (Los Angeles)*.

Richard Wiste, The Finnish Popular Front. *California (Los Angeles)*.

Francisco R. Wong, The Political Behavior of Exile Communities: The Cubans. *Michigan*.

Kim Woodard, Fluctuation and Recurring Cycles in the Making of Chinese Communist Foreign Policy, 1949-1969. *Stanford*.

Minoru Yanagihashi, Electoral Politics in Contemporary Japan. *Michigan*.

Sung-chul Yang, Revolution and Change: Comparative Studies of the April Student Revolution of 1960 and the May Military Coup d'etat of 1961 in Korea. *Kentucky*.

Richard A. Yoast, Anarchism in Latin America. *Wisconsin*.

Robert L. Youngblood, Political Socialization of Filipino High School Students and Their Parents. *Michigan*.

Sajjad Yusuf, The Foreign Policy of Nepal: A Landlocked Kingdom in World Affairs. *Virginia*.

Maximino Zaragoza, The Influence of Vicente Lombardo Toledano on Modern Mexican Institutions. *St. Louis*.

Sharon Zukin, The Meaning of Yugoslav Socialism: Political Behavior and Social Consciousness. *Columbia*.

Foreign and Comparative Government and Politics Changes

Barry C. Ames, Redistributive Politics in Post-Revolution Brazil: Toward a Theory of Bureaucratic Responsiveness. *Stanford*.

Darlene Boroviak, Economic Development and Political Integration of Labor in Western Europe. *Washington, St. Louis*.

John Dean Caldwell, Insurgency and Response: The Problem in Northern Thailand. *California (Santa Barbara)*.

Heath B. Chamberlain, *Urban Leadership and Organization in Communist China: Shanghai, Tientsin, and Canton, 1949-1953.* Stanford.

Robert B. Charlick, *Authority and Participation in Rural Hausa Modernization – The Political Implications of Agricultural Innovation in Niger.* California (Los Angeles).

John O. Field, *Politicization and Partisanship in India: A Survey Analysis.* Stanford.

Steven Goldberg, *Postwar Socialism in Britain and Italy.* Michigan State.

Howard Gutfeld, *Computer Models of Latin American Instability.* Washington (St. Louis).

Douglas L. Johnson, *Democratic Attitudes and Psychological Characteristics in Urban Japan: A Survey Research Study in a Tokyo Suburb.* Stanford.

Elizabeth G. King, *Political Socialization in the Soviet Union: The Role of the Social Sciences.* Missouri.

William M. Lafferty, *Economic Development and the Response of Labor in Scandinavia: A Multi-Level Analysis.* Florida.

Geoffrey Lambert, *Trends in the Circulation of the Elite in Communist China Since 1949.* Minnesota.

Boyd L. Lanier, *Post-Colonial Linkages Between the United Kingdom and Selected Former Colonies in British Africa.* Florida State.

Kenneth Lieberthal, *The Communist Takeover of Tientsin.* Columbia.

Cyrus Manzoorolhagh, *University Reform in Iran.* Fletcher School.

Hassan Mohammadi-Nejad, *National Front of Iran: Its Development, Ideology, and Activities.* Southern Illinois.

David I. Petts, *Internal Security and Civil Liberties in Great Britain, 1948-1968.* California (Santa Barbara).

John C. Pollock, *How Bureaucrats Learn: The Professional Role Socialization of Public Housing Architects in Colombia.* Stanford.

David F. Ronfeldt, *Atencingo: Agrarian Struggle in Mexico.* Stanford.

C. Bradley Scharf, *Labor Organizations in East German Society.* Stanford.

John Semack, *El Salvador: The Dimensions of Oligarchial Rule.* Columbia.

Benedict Stavis, *Political Dimensions of the Technical Transfiguration of Chinese Agriculture.* Columbia.

Julius Waiguchu, *Nation Building in Kenya: Culture, Politics, Economics and Technology.* Temple.

David Weaver, *Public Law 480, India and the Objectives of United States Foreign Aid: 1954-1966.* Cincinnati.

Foreign and Comparative Government and Politics Deletions

Paul A. Beckett, *Comparative Analysis of African Theories of Revolution.* Wisconsin.

Shirley Castelnuovo, *Legal and Judicial Integration in Tanzania.* California (Los Angeles).

Clarence E. Goode, Jr., *The Commonwealth Immigration Act of 1962: A Study in the British Legislative Process.* Pittsburgh.

Henriette N. McCarthy, *Religion and Politics in the German Federal Republic.* Colorado.

Daniel Melnick, *Political Communication and the Mass Media in India.* Wisconsin.

Richard P. Mock, *Decision Making and Policy Implementation in the Ghana Water and Sewerage Corporation.* Wisconsin.

Clark Neher, *Political Integration of a Thai District.* California (Los Angeles).

Donald V. Schwartz, *Social Control in the USSR: Effectiveness of Soviet Concepts and Theories.* Wisconsin.

Franklin Wilson, *The Unification of the French Left.* California (Los Angeles).

Michael D. Wormser, *Political Parties and Representation in the European Parliamentary Assembly of the European Economic Community.* Pittsburgh.

Gary W. Wymia, *Development Politics and Administration in Central America.* Wisconsin.

International Organization Politics and Law Additions

Domingo E. Acevedo, *Hauriou's Institutional Theory and Internationalism.* Catholic.

Murray L. Adelman, *Cognitive Balance and Perceptual Distortion in International Politics.* Stanford.

Nisuke Ando, *Occupation and Private Property in International Law: A Case Study of United States Practice During the Occupation of Surrendered Japan.* Fletcher School.

Doctoral Dissertations in Political Science

Dissertations – in – Preparation

Anthony Angiletta, The Relation of Political Philosophy and International Relations Theory: The Example of Myres S. McDougall. *Maryland*.

Carol A. Balassa, Changing Attitudes of French Business Towards Questions of European Economic Integration. *Johns Hopkins*.

Robert G. Barnes, World Corporations and the Nation-State. (Standard Oil Co., of New Jersey – Peru). *Washington*.

Dona Baron, U.S. Policy for the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands: The Effect of the United Nations Surveillance. *Columbia*.

Robert V. Barylski, Latin America in Soviet Strategic Thought: An Analytical History of Soviet Latin American Policy Since World War II. *Harvard*.

Younes P. Benab, The Bolshevik Challenge in Iran, 1917-1927: A Case Study in East-West Rivalry. *Catholic*.

Terry Bender, The Role of the Non-Communist Political Parties in The Democratization Process in Czechoslovakia – January to August 1968. *Michigan*.

Louis René Beres, The Management of Power in Alternative World Systems: An Hypothetico-Deductive Analysis. *Princeton*.

Paul Bernstein, Scientific Analysis of Contemporary Imperialism: USSR and USA. *Stanford*.

Wayne Bert, A Comparative Study of Radical Periods in Chinese Foreign Policy and Analysis of Domestic-Foreign Policy Linkages. *Kansas*.

Barry M. Blechman, The Cost and Effectiveness of Reprisals: A Case Study of the Israeli Usage, 1949-1969. *Georgetown*.

J. Richard Bumgarner, An Application of Probability Theory in Construction of Models for International Relations Research. *Syracuse*.

Shu-Yuan Chang, The International Political and Social Implications of Educating Chinese Nationals in American Colleges and Universities. *Utah*.

Roy Christman, The United Nations Special Committee of 24 and the Problems of Decolonization. *Pennsylvania State*.

Joel G. Cohn, The Role of the Third World in Marxist-Leninist Theory as Viewed During the Krushchev Leadership, 1956-1964. *Notre Dame*.

Theodore H. Cohn, Decision-making in the World Bank. *Michigan*.

Paul Czuchra, Alliance Functions and American Foreign Policy. *Chicago*.

Donald C. Daniel, The Policy Science Approach to International Law: A Critical Appraisal of the McDougall Framework for International Legal Analysis. *Georgetown*.

John R. Davidson, The Politics of the Alliance for Progress. *Wisconsin*.

William S. de Camp, The Politics of Regionalism: The Latin American Group in a Changing United Nations Environment, 1955-1965. *Tulane*.

Michael F. H. Dennis, Sea Power and Limited War. *Minnesota*.

Robert L. DeVries, Controlling the Peaceful Uses of Nuclear Energy – U.S. Policy Formation in the Nonproliferation Treaty Negotiations. *Michigan*.

Ronald J. Deziel, The Politics of War: El Salvador vs. Honduras, 1969. *Notre Dame*.

Jerome P. Dickhaus, Private Foundation Support of American Higher Education Activities in World Affairs. *St. Louis*.

A Lowell Dittmer, Intra-Elite Struggle and the Chinese Cultural Revolution. *Chicago*.

Michael Erisman, Revolution and Revolutionary Elites in Latin America. *Pennsylvania State*.

Regis A. Factor, A Comparison of Basic Assumptions of Underlying Four Contemporary Views of International Relations: The Views of Hans J. Morgenthau, Morton A. Kaplan, Raymond Aron and Pope John XXIII. *Notre Dame*.

Peggy L. Falkenheim, Continuity and Change in Soviet Policy Toward Japan Since the Fall of Khrushchev. *Columbia*.

Stanley Feder, The Small State as Actor and Object in International Politics. *Brandeis*.

Wayne H. Ferris, A Theoretical and Empirical Analysis of Power Concepts, and of Hypotheses Relating These Concepts to War in the International System. *Pennsylvania*.

Eric M. Forman, Competitive Intervention in Civil War. *Johns Hopkins*.

John M. Garner, The Presidency and Arms Sales Restrictions to Developing Nations. *Columbia*.

David C. Garnham, Attitude and Personality Patterns of Foreign Service Officers and the Conduct of American Foreign Affairs. *Minnesota*.

Charles Garraway, Soviet-Czech Foreign Relations 1948-1968. *Southern Mississippi*.

Peter J. Geib, Congressional Influence and East-West Trade Policy (Trade with Communist Nations). *Michigan*.

Douglas J. Grandquis, Coalitions in World Politics: A Study of the Dynamics of Coalition Formation within the General Assembly of the United Nations. *Washington*.

Roland J. Green, The Eighteenth Century Balance of Power: A Systemic Analysis. *Chicago*.

Joseph Guannu, Liberia and the League of Nations: The Crisis of 1929-34. *Fordham*.

Bhabani Sen Gupta, The Fulcrum of Asia. *The City University of New York*.

Samad Hafezi, United States and Pakistan: A Study of their Relations. *Massachusetts*.

Donald L. Halper, Intervention in a "Balance of Power" System: Case Studies in 19th Century Europe. *Chicago*.

Thomas Halper, Appearance and Reality in Five American Foreign Policy Crises. *Vanderbilt*.

James M. Handelman, The Secretary of State's Images of the World Arena: The Influence of Idiosyncratic, Role, and Systemic Factors. *Michigan*.

Vagn Hansen, Latin America and the Second Hague Conference: A Study of the Impact of a Membership Revolution on International Organization. *Virginia*.

Conway W. Henderson, British Policies on Civil and Political Rights in Selected Colonies. *Iowa*.

Mary Aline Henderson, United Nations Admission of the Mongolian People's Republic. *Fordham*.

Thomas R. Hensley, United Nations Involvement – International Conflicts: A Conceptual Mapping and Some Preliminary Findings. *Iowa*.

Ellyn Hessler, International Structure, Consciousness, and the State. *Brandeis*.

Ann L. Hollick, United States Ocean Space Policy in the Age of Aquarius. *Johns Hopkins*.

Llewellyn D. Howell, Jr., Attitudes Toward Regional Integration in Southeast Asia: An Assessment of the Future of A.S.E.A.N. *Syracuse*.

Barry B. Hughes, A Conceptual Mapping of Regional Integration. *Minnesota*.

George M. Ingram, The Role of the Corporation in International Relations. *Michigan*.

David H. Johnson, Relations Among International Organizations. *Northwestern*.

Donald Kelly Jones, Historical Memory as a Guide to Foreign Policy-making: A Comparative Analysis of Five Cases. *Columbia*.

Herbert A. Kampf, A Study of the Problem of Okinawa. *The City University of New York*.

David A. Karns, The United Nations and the United States Congress: A Behavioral Case Study of Collective Legitimization. *Michigan*.

Charles W. Kegley, Jr., A Cross-National Comparative Study of the Influence of Domestic Politics on Foreign Policy. *Syracuse*.

Henry H. Kerr, The European Parliament and European Integration: The Effects of Participation in an International Parliamentary Assembly. *Michigan*.

Francis P. Kessler, The Ninth Meeting of Foreign Ministers: Organization of American States, Washington, D.C. Conference Meetings held: July 21-26, 1964. *Notre Dame*.

John B. Kotch, Korean-American Security Relations (1953-1970). Retrospect and Prospect. *Columbia*.

Stephen D. Krasner, International Bargaining in Primary Commodities Industries. *Harvard*.

Elaine M. Krass, Perceptions and Actions as Causes of Escalation and De-Escalation of Conflict: A Study of the Kennedy-Khrushchev Case, 1961-1963. *Stanford*.

Kuo-chung Lin, Classical Chinese Concepts of International Politics and Their Influence on Contemporary Chinese Foreign Policy. *Oklahoma*.

Yu-Long Ling, Functional Compared to Traditional Diplomatic Privileges and Immunities of International Representations. *Indiana*.

Charles Lockhart, Principles of Bargaining: Behavior in International Crises. *SUNY (Buffalo)*.

Joanne F. K. Loomba, A Quantitative Analysis of the Relationship Between American Foreign Policy Decision-Makers' Images and Political Affiliations and Their Orientations Toward Foreign Aid for India, 1951-1967. *Stanford*.

Johan Lovald, International Organization and Ocean Resources – A Study of Multi-Functional Problem-Solving in an International Setting. *Northwestern*.

Chih Hun Lu, A Border Problem Between China and India. *Tennessee*.

Yilma Makonnen, A Study of the Problems of the Law of State Succession in the New States of East Africa. *Fletcher School*.

Albert C. Malone, An Inquiry Into the Relevance of International Law to Irregular Forms of Warfare. *Pennsylvania*.

Alan R. Mandel, The Shelter Controversy: A Study in National Security Politics and Arms Control. *Columbia*.

Doctoral Dissertations in Political Science

Dissertations – In – Preparation

Wayne R. Martin, A Study of Limited War: Vietnam and Korea. *Southern California*.

John Massaro, Zionist Influences on U.S. Foreign Policy 1945-48. *Southern Illinois*.

Richard A. Melanson, The Structure and Functions of Alliance in the Contemporary International System. *Johns Hopkins*.

Marcia Fay Michaels, The Dynamics of Intra-Bloc Behavior: A Study of Systems Cohesiveness. *Indiana*.

Harry I. Miller, The United Nations and the Vietnam Question. *West Virginia*.

Donald E. O'Connor, Council of Foreign Ministers, 1945-1947. *Clark*.

Tadahiko Nakamura, The Geopolitical and Geostrategic Importance of the Taiwan Straits: An Analysis of the Offshore Islands Crises in 1954, 1958 and 1962. *Catholic*.

John H. Neu, Problems of Political Integration in Africa. *Nebraska*.

Hannah Z. Neumann, Jus Cogens – International Law and International Order. *Johns Hopkins*.

Alfred Nucci, Alliance Strategy in the International System. *Indiana*.

Sang-Seek Park, The Concept of African Non-Alignment as Revealed in United Nations Debates. *Massachusetts*.

George Payette, The United Nations Special Committee on Peace-Keeping Operations. *Pennsylvania State*.

Frederick S. Pearson, The Interaction and Autonomy of an International Political Subsystem: The Middle East, 1963-65. *Michigan*.

Joseph N. Pelton, An Investigation of the International Telecommunications Satellite Consortium: The Prospects for Functionalist Development. *Georgetown*.

Rita Peters, Neutralism: An Analytical Study. *Boston*.

James W. Pfister, International Violence in Mainland Southeast Asia: Systemic and National Predictors for the Pre-Colonial Period. *Michigan*.

Eduard Quiko, The Role of Foreign Minister Subandrio in Indonesian Politics: An Analysis of Selected Indonesian Foreign Policy, 1957-65. *Southern Illinois*.

Jack J. Reid, The New York Times, 1931-1941: A Study in Editorial Response to International Politics. *Kansas*.

Thomas A. Reilly, Personality and Organization at the International Level: A Study of the U.N. Secretariat. *The City University of New York*.

Don Rhoades, Some Aspects of Political Integration in Europe. *Nebraska*.

Harold A. Rice, Regionalism and World Order: A Case Study of Western Europe as an Hierarchical Bloc Actor in a Multipolar International System. *Fletcher School*.

Raymond A. Rimkus, A Decision-Making Analysis of the Cuban Missile Crisis. *Oklahoma*.

John Romagna, Great Power War and System Transformation: A Comparative Study, 1792-1950. *Columbia*.

Manouchehr Salimi, The Politics of Development in Iran. *St. Louis*.

Donald H. Scharfe, Ambivalence and Images of War in Students and Veterans. *Columbia*.

Jerwyn L. Schatz, Problems of Coalition Maintenance at the International Level; A Study Utilizing Simulation and Real-World Data. *Temple*.

Barry R. Schneider, Towards a Theory of Escalation and De-escalation. An Analysis of Historical and Simulation Data on the Outbreak of World War One and Two. *Columbia*.

Harris O. Schoenberg, The Concept of "People" in the Principle of Self-Determination. *Columbia*.

Gurcharan Singh, A Study of Indian Diplomacy at the U.N. *The City University of New York*.

Keith A. Smith, Multiple Loyalties and National Foreign Policy Formation: A Case Study of Europeanization and the Netherlands. *Fletcher School*.

Robert James Smith, United States and the Secret Anglo-Soviet-Balkan Agreement, 1944. *Clark*.

Walter C. Soderlund, The Functional Roles of Intervention in International Politics. *Michigan*.

Estrella Solidum, The Nature of Cooperation in Southeast Asia as Perceived from Elite Attitudes: A Factor for Regional Integration. *Kentucky*.

Carol Soroos, The United Nations and the World Press: A Study of Salience and Images, *Northwestern*.

Jerry G. Sullivan, Pro German Feeling in Ireland in World War II. *Southern Mississippi*.

Robert S. Thompson, United States Policies Toward the Central American Common Market and the Latin American Free Trade Association, 1961-1965. *Michigan*.

Howard Tolley, *Children and War: A Study in Political Socialization*. *Columbia*.

Richard G. Trotter, *The Cuban Missile Crisis: An Analysis of Policy Formulation in Terms of Current Decision-Making Theory*. *Pennsylvania*.

William Turley, *Civil-Military Relations in North Vietnam: The Political Development of a Mass-mobilization System under Stress*. *Washington*.

Justin Jack Turner, *Arab-Asian Positive Neutralism and United States Foreign Policy*. *Kentucky*.

Wilfrido V. Villacorta, *The Doctrinal Foundations of International Law as Developed by Thailand and Ceylon*. *Catholic*.

Martin Sours, *The Brain Drain and World Politics*. *Washington*.

Harvey Starr, *To the Victor . . . War Partners, Payoffs and the Consequences of War*. *Yale*.

Lloyd A. Wagner, *The Evolution of the Inter-American Economic and Social Council*. *Notre Dame*.

Michael D. Wallace, *Relative Deprivation, Vertical Mobility and International War, 1820-1964*. *Michigan*.

James Wanless, *Order in the Underworld: A Study of the Cosa Nostra*. *Columbia*.

Edith Brown Weiss, *The International Political and Legal Problems of Weather and Climate Modification*. *California (Berkeley)*.

Anthony Wermuth, *Implications of United States Military Presence Abroad in the 1970's*. *Boston*.

Paul R. Willging, *Soviet Foreign Policy in the German Question: 1950-1955*. *Columbia*.

Richard L. Wilson, *The United States Policy Towards the Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons: A Systemic and Historical Perspective*. *Johns Hopkins*.

Paul D. Wolfowitz, *Technology and Nuclear Proliferation: Economics and Politics of Large-Scale Nuclear Desalting in the Middle-East*. *Chicago*.

George David Wolverton, *Trends in United States Military Thought Since 1956*. *California (Santa Barbara)*.

Dennis Yena, *Crises and Conflict in International Politics*. *SUNY (Buffalo)*.

Chi-Wen Yin, *The Problem of Chinese Representation in the United Nations*. *Massachusetts*.

Aysen H. Young, *The Use of History in the Study of International Politics: An Analysis and a Demonstration*. *Tulane*.

International Organization Politics and Law Changes

David R. Hager, *International Space Law and the United Nations: A Study of the Organization's Role in Development and Codification*. *Virginia*.

William D. Jackson, *The Brokerage State's Function in an International Organization*. *Virginia*.

Lawrence Juda, *The Political Background and Legal Development of the American Position on the Continental Shelf*. *Columbia*.

William R. Pendergast, *UNESCO and French Foreign Policy*. *Columbia*.

Stephen Sternheimer, *Administration and Political Development in Russia and the USSR: Historical Continuity or Revolutionary Change*. *Chicago*.

Stephen G. Walker, *International Restraints and Foreign Policy Choices: Britain and the Balance of Power, 1930-1941*. *Florida*.

International Organization Politics and Law Deletions

Stephen J. Cimbala, *Dimensions of Conflict in Foreign Policy as an Issue Area*. *Wisconsin*.

Addendum, Political Theory

Henry David Rempel, *The Organic Ideal in Political Theory*. *Minnesota*.

Doctoral Dissertations in Political Science

Dissertations Completed Since the Last Listing

Political Philosophy, Theory and Methodology

Abdi Abdushah: B.S., University of Tehran, 1954; M.S., Kansas State College, 1960; Ph.D., Oregon, 1970. *An Exploration in Developmental Theory. Oregon.*

Larry Lee Adams: A.B., California (Santa Barbara), 1958; M.A., *Ibid.*, 1960; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1970. *The Political and Social Authority: The Political Psychology of Edmund Burke and Sigmund Freud. California (Santa Barbara).*

Edward H. Allen: B.A., Swarthmore College, 1964; Ph.D., Pennsylvania, 1970. *Complexity and Political Dynamics: A Theory of the Measurements of Environment. Pennsylvania.*

Richard W. Alsfeld: A.B., Providence College, 1961; Ph.D., Brown, 1970. *American Opinions of National Socialism, 1923-1939. Brown.*

Phillip S. Althoff: M.A., Iowa, 1966; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1970. *Paul A. Baran: American Marxist Political Economist. Iowa.*

John M. Amoda: A.B., Dartmouth College, 1965; M.A., California (Berkeley), 1966; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1969. *Discrimination as Alienation: A Re-evaluation and Re-interpretation of the Theories of Prejudice in the Context of the Racial Problem of Black in White America. California (Berkeley).*

John A. Baden: A.B., Wittenberg, 1964; M.A., Kentucky, 1966; Ph.D., Indiana, 1969. *The Management of Social Stability: A Political Ethnography of the North American Hutterites. Indiana.*

Howard Ball: B.A. Hunter College, 1960; Ph.D., Rutgers, 1970. *Moral Responsibility and "Social Justice": An Examination of the Supreme Court's Ethical Valuations as Seen in Selected "Equal Protection" Cases, 1940-1964. Rutgers.*

George W. Bradley: B.A., California, 1966; M.A., Oregon, 1968; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1970. *Political Alienation. Oregon.*

Clifford W. Brown, Jr.: A.B., Harvard, 1964; M.A., *Ibid.*, 1970; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1970. *Hobbes and Kant on Peace and War. Harvard.*

David Evan Brown: B.A., Ohio State, 1956; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1969. *The Political and Social Thought of Lewis Corey. Ohio State.*

Christopher John Bruell: A.B., Cornell, 1964; M.A., Chicago, 1966; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1969. *Xenophon's Education of Cyrus. Chicago.*

William Campbell: B.A., Allegheny, 1962; M.A., Pittsburgh, 1964; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1970. *Machiavelli's "New Route". Pittsburgh.*

Paul Cassidy: B.A., Massachusetts, 1962; Ph.D., North Carolina, 1969. *West German Political Cultures: A Test of the Substantive and Methodological Utility of the Political Cultural Approach. North Carolina.*

Richard Chapman: B.A., California, (Berkeley), 1958; M.A., San Jose State College, 1960; Ph.D., California, (Los Angeles), 1969. *Leviathan Writ Small: Thomas Hobbes on the Family. California, (Los Angeles).*

Duncan L. Clarke: A.B., Clark, 1963; LL.B., Cornell, 1966; Ph.D., Virginia, 1970. *Strategy and Policy: Their Theoretical Relationship. Virginia.*

Charles Lee Cotrell: A.B., St. Mary's, 1961; M.A., *Ibid.*, 1962; Ph.D., Arizona, 1969. *American Elitist Claims: A Representative Study. Arizona.*

Donald E. Crawford: B.A., Gonzaga, 1956; M.A., Oregon, 1964; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1970. *University Administration as a System of Political Behavior. Oregon.*

Robert Crew: B.A., Maryland, 1962; M.A., *Ibid.*, 1964; Ph.D., North Carolina, 1969. *State Political Systems and Public Policy: An Examination of State Commitment to Sources Conservation and Development. North Carolina.*

Norman W. Diamond: B.A., Chicago, 1964; Ph.D., Harvard, 1970. *The Development of Socialist Consciousness in Cuba. Harvard.*

Don J. Eisenach: A.B., Harvard, 1960; M.A., California (Berkeley), 1962; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1969. *Laws, Manners, and Gods: Three Disciplines of English Liberalism. California (Berkeley).*

Robert S. Erikson: B.A., Lake Forest College, 1963; M.A., Illinois, 1966; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1969. *A Multivariate Analysis of Congressional Elections. Illinois.*

Kathleen A. Flanagan: B.A., Pittsburgh, 1963; M.A., Harvard, 1966; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1970. *Individual Freedom and Social Cohesion: A Comparative Study of the Theories of Jean Jacques Rousseau and John Stuart Mill. Harvard.*

Thomas E. Flanagan: A.B., Notre Dame, 1965; M.A., Duke, 1967; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1970. *Robert Musil and the Second Reality. Duke.*

Daniel W. Fleitas: B.S.P., Florida, 1956; B.A., South Florida, 1966; Ph.D., Florida State, 1970. *The Underdog Effect: An Experimental Study of Voting Behavior in a Minimal Information Election. Florida State.*

Elliot M. Fox: A.B., Washington, 1942; M.A., Columbia, 1954; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1970. *The Dynamics of Constructive Change in the Thought of Mary Parker Follett. Columbia.*

John L. Fremstad: A.B., Yale, 1964; M.A., Wisconsin, 1966; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1970. Political Theory and the Flight from Science. *Wisconsin*.

Francis X. Gannon: A.B., Scranton, 1956; M.A., Catholic, 1963; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1970. Thomas Carlyle: Reform, Reason and Politics. *Catholic*.

Gerard Gibbons: A.B., Woodstock College, 1946; M.A., *Ibid.*, 1948; Ph.D., New York, 1970. Epistemology of Political Science. *New York*.

John Arthur Gueguen, Jr.: A.B., Notre Dame, 1956; M.A., *Ibid.*, 1958; Ph.D., Chicago, 1970. Political Order and Religious Liberty: A Puritan Controversy. *Chicago*.

Kenneth A. Harris: B.S., Kansas, 1952; B.A., *Ibid.*, 1958; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1969. The Political Thought of Albert Camus: The Limits of Liberalism. *Kansas*.

Paul B. Henry: B.A., Wheaton College (Illinois), 1963; M.A., Duke, 1968; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1970. Protestant Theology and the Natural Law Tradition. *Duke*.

Charles W. Hill: B.A., Shepherd College, 1962; M.A., American, 1964; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1969. The Political Theory of John Taylor of Caroline. *American*.

Benjamin Guy Hoffman: A.B., Albion College, 1960; A.M., Michigan; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1969. The Political Thought of James Burnham. *Michigan*.

John Holm: B.A., Wittenberg College, Ohio, 1960; M.A., Johns Hopkins, 1962; Ph.D., California, (Los Angeles), 1969. Marxism and Nkrumalism: Some Problems of Ideological Adaptation in a Mobilizing System. *California (Los Angeles)*.

Kenneth R. Hoover: A.B., Beloit College, 1962; M.S., Wisconsin, 1965; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, Identity and the Psyche: An Argument for Liberal Idealism. *Wisconsin*.

Donald W. Hopps: B.A., Seattle, 1963; M.A., Washington (Seattle), 1965; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1969. Teilhard de Chardin and the Vision of the Scientific State: A Critical Evaluation. *Washington (Seattle)*.

Douglas Hunter: B.S., Harvey Mudd, 1961; M.A., California, (Los Angeles), 1965; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1969. Development of a Decision-Making Model in Nuclear Deterrence Theory. *California (Los Angeles)*.

Donald W. Keim: A.B., Michigan, 1964; A.M., *Ibid.*, 1966; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1970. Political Participation: Paradigms and Prospects. *Michigan*.

Patrick Kennedy: B.S., Fordham, 1952; M.A., *Ibid.*, 1959; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1970. A Study of the Charges of Inconsistency Within the Political Philosophy of James Madison. *Fordham*.

John Francis Kramer: B.A., Miami, 1959; M.S., Illinois, 1961; Ph.D., M.I.T., 1969. A Computer Simulation of Audience Exposure in a Mass Media System: The United Nations Information Campaign in Cincinnati, 1947-1948. *M.I.T.*

Stuart Lillie: B.A., Drake, 1963; M.A., Johns Hopkins, 1965; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1970. Apathy About Apathy: A Critical Analysis of Contemporary Evaluations of Nonvoting. *Johns Hopkins*.

Trudi Miller Lucas: B.A., Cornell, 1962; Ph.D., North Carolina, 1969. Socialization and Mobilization: The Persuasive Impact of Political Symbols. *North Carolina*.

Donald S. Lutz: A.B., Georgetown, 1965; Ph.D., Indiana, 1969. James Madison as a Conflict Theorist: The Madisonian Model Extended. *Indiana*.

Larry R. Matheny: B.A., Virginia, 1961; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1969. Harold Lasswell and the Crisis of Liberalism. *Virginia*.

Steven Randall McCarl: A.B., Denver, 1960; M.A., Missouri, 1963; Ph.D., California (Santa Barbara), 1969. The Politics of Liberty. *California (Santa Barbara)*.

James W. McKenney: B.A., Willamette, 1958; M.A., Oregon, 1964; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1970. Voluntary Associations and Political Integration. *Oregon*.

David B. Meltz: A.B., Brooklyn, 1965; Ph.D., Rochester, 1970. Competition and Cohesion: A Model of Legislative Majority Party Bargaining. *Rochester*.

Richard B. Muller: B.A., Harvard, 1961; Ph.D., Indiana, 1969. Individualism, Community, and the Open Society. *Indiana*.

Walter Odajnyk: B.A., Hunter College, 1962; M.A., California (Berkeley), 1963; Ph.D., Columbia, 1970. Marxism and Humanism: The Question of Continuity in the Thought of Marx. *Columbia*.

Albert Palm: B.S., Central Michigan, 1961; M.A., *Ibid.*, 1965; Ph.D., Iowa, 1970. Political Man: The Politicization of Self World and Behavior. *Iowa*.

Ridgely H. Pate: B.A., Rice, 1966; Ph.D., Texas, 1970. Russell Kirk, Friedrich Hayek, and Peter Viereck: Three Positions in Contemporary Conservative Thought. *Texas*.

Larry I. Peterman: B.A., Cornell, 1963; M.A., Claremont Graduate School, 1966; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1970. The Role of Opinions in Aristotle Ethics and Politics. *Claremont*.

Doctoral Dissertations in Political Science

Dissertations Completed Since the Last Listing

Gene S. Poschman: A.B., California (Berkeley), 1956; M.A., *Ibid.*, 1963; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1970. The Images of Organization, Pluralism, and Community in American Social Science Literature on the Legislature. *California (Berkeley)*.

Daniel W. Pound: B.A., Idaho State, 1960; Ph.D., Maryland, 1970. Varangian Political Influences on Kievan Rus'. *Maryland*.

Ronald E. Pynn: B.S., Wisconsin State, 1964; A.M., Michigan, 1965; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1970. The Influence of John Locke's Political Philosophy on American Political Tradition. *Michigan*.

Michael P. Riccards: A.B., Rutgers, 1966; M.A., *Ibid.*, 1967; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1970. On Participatory Citizenship. *Rutgers*.

Thomas H. Roback: B.A., Florida State, 1963; M.A., *Ibid.*, 1966; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1969. Attitude Constraint Among Southern Professionals: The Relationships Between the International Attitudes and Domestic Attitudes of Four Groups. *Florida State*.

Michael Roussis: B.S., City College (N.Y.), 1948; Ph.D., New York, 1970. Greek Political Ideas and Ideologies in the 20th Century. *New York*.

Najib Said: License, Paris, 1965; A.M., Fletcher School, 1968; M.A.L.D., *Ibid.*, 1969; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1970. The Philosophy of the Parti Unique in Tunisia: A Theoretical Framework. *Fletcher School*.

Jack A. Schwandt: B.A., Concordia College, 1952; M.A., Minnesota, 1959; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1969. The Relationships of the Traditional and the Contemporary Study of Politics. *Minnesota*.

Jacob A. Schwartzman: B.S., City College (N.Y.), 1936; LL.B., St. Lawrence, 1936; JS.D., Brooklyn Law School, 1953; Ph.D., New York, 1970. The Philosophy and Politics of Paul N. Miliukov (1859-1943). *New York*.

Frank P. Scioli, Jr.: B.A., Temple, 1966; M.A., *Ibid.*, 1967; Ph.D., Florida State, 1970. Political Attitude, Verbal Behavior, and Candidate Selection in Experimental Small Groups. *Florida State*.

Kenneth A. Shepsle: A.B., North Carolina; Ph.D., Rochester, 1970. Essays on Risky Choice in Electoral Competition. *Rochester*.

Roger Donald Spegele: A. B., New York, 1960; M.A., Chicago, 1964; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1969. The Political Thought of Joseph Conrad. *Chicago*.

Mark H. Sproule-Jones: B.Sc. (Econ), London School of Economics and Political Science, 1964; M.A., Indiana, 1966; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1969. A Theory of Public Employment. *Indiana*.

Jung Karp Suhr: B.P., Yonsei, 1957; M.A., American, 1961; Ph.D., Oklahoma, 1970. Confucian Theory: Its Apologia, Critique and Problem of Democracy. *Oklahoma*.

John Sullivan: B.A., Minnesota, 1967; Ph.D., North Carolina, 1970. Public Opinion, Public Policy, and the Concept of Choice. *North Carolina*.

Mrs. Frances Svensson: B.A., Smith College (Northampton, Mass.), 1966; M.A., Washington (Seattle), 1967; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1970. The Concept of Change: Alternative Perspectives. *Washington (Seattle)*.

Ross G. Terrill: B.A., Melbourne, 1962; Ph.D., Harvard, 1970. Tawney's Socialism. *Harvard*.

Herbert F. Weisberg: A.B., Minnesota, 1963; Ph.D., Michigan, 1968. Dimensional Analysis of Legislative Roll Calls. *Michigan*.

Paul Wellstone: B.S., North Carolina, 1965; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1969. A Political Socialization Study of the Negro in the Ghetto: An Attempt at Theory Building. *North Carolina*.

Morris M. Wilhelm: A.B., Brooklyn College, 1950; A.M., New School for Social Research, 1953; Ph.D., Columbia, 1969. The Political Philosophy of Friedrich A. Hayek. *Columbia*.

Ellen Meiksins Wood: B.A., California (Berkeley), 1962; M.A., California, Los Angeles, 1965; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1970. Epistemological Foundations of Individualism. *California (Los Angeles)*.

Bruce E. Wright: B.A., Kansas, 1963; M.A., *Ibid.*, 1965; Ph.D., Minnesota, 1969. An Analysis of the Logic of Normative Political Theory. *Minnesota*.

Ki Hong Yoo: B.A., Yonsei, 1958; M.A., Stetson, 1961; Ph.D., American, 1970. A Study of North Korean Communism as Related to the Rise of Kim Il-Song. *American*.

Shimshon Zelniker: B.A., Hebrew Univ. in Jerusalem, Israel, 1962; M.A., California (Los Angeles), 1964; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1970. Changing Patterns of Trade Unionism in Zambia. A Study of the Zambian Mineworkers' Union and its relationship to the Zambian Congress of Trade Unions 1948-1964. *California (Los Angeles)*.

Louis Zuccarello: B.A., St. John's College, 1958; M.A., Fordham, 1965; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1970. The Political Thought of Alfred E. Smith. *Fordham*.

Government and Politics of the United States and its Dependencies

Myrta J. Anderson: B.A., Kansas, 1950; M.A., *Ibid.*, 1956; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1970. American Federalism: Changing Patterns and New Dimensions. *Kansas*.

David W. Brady: M.A., Iowa, 1967; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1970. Party and Constituency in the McKinley Congress: An Analysis of the Congressional Party in the 55th and 56th Congresses. *Iowa*.

Saul Brenner: B.A., Brooklyn College, 1954; LL.B., Columbia, 1959; M.A., Brooklyn College, 1963; Ph.D., New York, 1970. Civil Liberties, Prestige Newspaper Response and Congressional Reaction. *New York*.

Gary Byrne: A.B., Redlands, 1965; Ph.D., North Carolina, 1969. A Balance Model of Student Protest Behavior. *North Carolina*.

Keon Soo Chi: B.A., Yonsei, Seoul, 1959; M.A., Claremont Graduate School, 1968; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1970. Creative Federalism: A Study of Intergovernmental Relations Under the Johnson Administration. *Claremont*.

James Clotfelter: B.A., North Carolina, 1963; M.A., University of Wisconsin, 1967; Ph.D., North Carolina, 1969. The Military in American Politics: Public Attitudes and Expectations. *North Carolina*.

Charles Ray Coble: B.S., United States Navy Academy, 1952; M.A., North Carolina, 1967; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1969. Social Action Programs in the Department of Defense. *North Carolina*.

James R. Craft: B.S., U.S. Naval Academy, 1934; M.S.M.E., Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1942; Ph.D., Pennsylvania, 1969. The Role of Congress in the Determination of Naval Strategy in Support of United States Foreign Policy, 1956-1966. *Pennsylvania*.

Don Stephen Cupps: A.B., Duke, 1963; M.A., Princeton, 1965; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1970. Bullets, Ballots, and Politics: The National Rifle Association Fights Gun Control. *Princeton*.

Barbara Deckard: A.B., Rice, 1962; Ph.D., Rochester, 1970. State Party Delegations in the House of Representatives. *Rochester*.

Samuel E. Deets: Th.B., God's Bible School and College, 1958; B.A., God's Bible School and College, 1959; B.S., Cincinnati, 1961; M.A., *Ibid.*, 1963; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1970. The Anti-Poverty Program: A Study in Professionalized Reform. *Cincinnati*.

Don Dittenbaugh: B.A., Huntington, 1950; M.A., Indiana, 1952; Ph.D., George Washington, 1970. The Influence of Political, Social, and Economic Variables on Roll Call Votes: A Study of Voting Behavior in the U.S. House of Representatives. *George Washington*.

Edward A. Duane: B.A., Tufts, 1960; M.A., Pennsylvania, 1962; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1970. International Behavior: Congress and Inter-American Relations, 1961-1965. *Pennsylvania*.

J. Richard Emmert: A.B., Hope College, 1965; Ph.D., Brown, 1970. Freshmen Congressmen in the House: Variations in Support for Presidential Legislation, 1963-1968. *Brown*.

Cecil L. Eubanks: A.B., Michigan, 1962; A.M., *Ibid.*, 1963; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1970. A Structural-Functional Analysis of Congressional Reform in the Twentieth Century. *Michigan*.

Suzanne G. Farkas: B.A., Barnard, 1961; M.A., New York, 1966; Ph.D., Columbia, 1969. The Urban Lobby; The U.S. Conference of Mayors in a Policy Subsystem. *Columbia*.

Gerald S. Ferman: B.A., City College of New York, 1963; M.A., Hebrew, 1965; Ph.D., Pennsylvania, 1969. Effects of Select System Characteristics on Inter-Level Bargaining: Particular Emphasis on Federalism and the Distribution of Public Monies. *Pennsylvania*.

Brenda L. Forman: B.A., Barnard, 1959; Ph.D., CUNY, 1969. American Politics 1793-1809: A Case Study in the Theory of Critical Elections. *The City University of New York*.

Vincent J. Fucillo: B.A., Brooklyn College, 1962; M.A., *Ibid.*, 1964; Ph.D., New York, 1969. The Committee for Economic Development: A Study of a Corporate Sponsor-Participant Policy Research Interest Group. *New York*.

Norma S. Gilbert: B.S., California State Polytechnic College, 1966; M.A., Claremont, 1967; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1970. Drug Abuses: A Comparison of Public Policies and Practices. *Claremont*.

Paul Goldstein: A.B., Wayne State, 1957; M.A., Arizona, 1964; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1970. Politics of the Corporation: The Liberalism of John Kenneth Gailbraith. *Arizona*.

Roger Handberg: B.A., Florida State, 1966; Ph.D., North Carolina, 1969. Violence and the Fragile State. *North Carolina*.

Caroline W. Harlow: B.A., College of St. Catherine, 1962; M.A., Minnesota, 1964; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1969. A Longitudinal Analysis of the Stability of Voting Blocs in the United States House of Representatives During the Eisenhower Years, 1952-1960. *Minnesota*.

John Joseph Harrigan: B.S., Loyola, 1961; M.A., Chicago, 1962; Ph.D., Georgetown, 1970. Negro Leadership in Washington, D.C. *Georgetown*.

Doctoral Dissertations in Political Science

Dissertations Completed Since the Last Listing

Robert E. Hindle: B.A., Dickinson College, 1964; Ph.D., Claremont Graduate School, 1970. *George Kennan and the Beginnings of Containment. Claremont.*

Layne Hoppe: A.B., Texas A & I, 1963; M.A., Houston, 1966; Ph.D., Arizona, 1969. *Agenda-Setting Strategies: Pollution Policy. Arizona.*

Edet Bassey Ituen: A.B., Portland, 1967; M.A., Oregon, 1965; M.S., *Ibid.*, 1966; Ph.D., St. Louis, 1970. *A Study of the Factors Influencing Nigeria's Foreign Relations After Independence. St. Louis.*

Edward Randolph Jayne, III: B.S., United States Air Force Academy, 1966; Ph.D., M.I.T., 1969. *The ABM Debate: Strategic Defense and National Security. M.I.T.*

Ruth Schuessler Jones: B.S., Indiana State College, 1963; Ph.D., Georgetown, 1970. *The Electorate, Parties, and Policy in U.S. Presidential Elections: 1952-1964. Georgetown.*

Alice W. Karl: B.A., Wellesley, 1953; Ph.D., Harvard, 1970. *Public School Politics in Boston, 1895-1920. Harvard.*

Thomas James Kerr: A.B., Washington, 1957; Ph.D., Syracuse, 1970. *The Civil Defense Shelter Program: A Case Study of the Politics of National Security Policy Making. Syracuse.*

Martin A. Levin: B.A., Cornell, 1963; M.A., Harvard, 1966; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1970. *Urban Political Systems and Judicial Behavior: The Criminal Courts of Pittsburgh and Minneapolis. Harvard.*

Carl Lieberman: A.B., Temple, 1963; M.A., Pittsburgh, 1964; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1969. *The 1966 Gubernatorial Campaign in Pennsylvania: A Study of the Strategies and Techniques of the Democratic Candidate. Pittsburgh.*

Joyce Lilie: B.A., Marshall University, 1963; M.A., Johns Hopkins, 1966; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1970. *The Politics of Education: A Case Study of Congressional-Executive-Interest Group Relations. Johns Hopkins.*

John M. Logsdon, III: B.S., Xavier, 1960; Ph.D., New York, 1970. *"We Should Go to the Moon": Space Policy and National Decision-Making. New York.*

Charles Herbert Longley: B.A., Union College, 1961; M.A., North Carolina, 1963; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1969. *Politics in the Pentagon: A Study of Contemporary Civil-Military Relations. North Carolina.*

Michael S. Margolis: A.B., Oberlin College, 1961; A.M., Michigan, 1962; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1968. *The Impact of Political Environment, Campaign Activity, and Party Organization on the Outcomes of Congressional Elections. Michigan.*

Robert McClure: B.A., DePauw, 1963; Ph.D., Indiana, 1969. *The Recurring Sequence in American Politics: A Longitudinal Theory of Two-Party Democracy. Indiana.*

Onalee Schwartz McGraw: A.B., Whittier College, 1961; Ph.D., Georgetown, 1970. *The Madisonian Model: An Inquiry Into Theories of the American Political System. Georgetown.*

David Mervin: B.A., Oxford, 1962; Ph.D., Cornell, 1968. *The Senate Opposition to the League of Nations: A Study in Legislative Conflict. Cornell.*

Abraham H. Miller: A.B., Illinois, 1962; A.M., Michigan, 1964; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1968. *Ethnicity and Political Behavior: An Investigation of Partisanship and Efficacy. Michigan.*

Theodore R. Mosch: A.B., Ripon College, 1960; M.A., Wisconsin, 1962; M.S.S.W., *Ibid.*, 1967; Ph.D., Oklahoma, 1970. *The Politics of Veterans Educational Benefits in the United States. Oklahoma.*

Stanley Moses: A.B., City College of New York, 1959; M.A., Hunter College, 1966; Ph.D., Syracuse, 1970. *The Learning Force: An Approach to the Politics of Education. Syracuse.*

Margaret R. Munk: B.A., Utah, 1963; M.A., Harvard, 1965; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1970. *Origin and Development of the Party Floor Leadership in the United States Senate. Harvard.*

Irene L. Murphy: B.A., Barnard, 1941; M.A., Columbia, 1946; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1970. *The Politics of Federal Water Pollution Control: A Bureau and its Subsystem React to Stress. Columbia.*

Mark Nadel: B.A., California, (Berkeley), 1965; M.A., Johns Hopkins, 1966; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1970. *The Unorganized Interests: Consumers in the Policy Process. Johns Hopkins.*

Bruce Francis Norton: A.B., SUNY (Albany), 1959; M.A., George Washington, 1961; Ph.D., Syracuse, 1970. *The Committee on Banking and Currency as a Political Subsystem of the House of Representatives. Syracuse.*

David Paletz: B.A., California, (Los Angeles), 1961; M.A., *Ibid.*, 1963; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1970. *An Analysis of the Nature and Effects of Conference Committees Utilizing Case Studies of Poverty, Traffic Safety, and Congressional Redistricting Legislation. California (Los Angeles).*

Malcolm C. Peck: B.A., Harvard, 1961; A.M., Fletcher School, 1963; M.A.L.D., *Ibid.*, 1964; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1970. *Saudi Arabia in United States Foreign Policy to 1958: A Study in the Sources and Determinants of American Policy. Fletcher School.*

David Jerome Peterson: B.A., Bowling Green State, 1954; M.A., Alabama, 1958; Ph.D., Michigan State, 1970. Longitudinal Analysis of Senate Behavior: A Methodological Inquiry. *Michigan State*.

William Stephen Quigley: B.A., Naryville College, 1936; B.D., Union Theological Seminary, 1939; M.A., Ohio State, 1960; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1969. The Ohio Protestant Clergy: Political Attitudes and Roles. *Ohio State*.

Gordon T. Saddler: A.B., West Virginia State, 1932; M.A., West Virginia, 1953; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1969. The Appalachian Regional Commission: Selected Aspects of Institutions and Processes and their Relationship to the Development of Human and Natural Resources. *West Virginia*.

Richard P. Schick: B.A., Wayne State, 1961; M.A., SAIS, Johns Hopkins, 1964; Ph.D., Maryland, 1970. National Emergency Strike Legislation: Proposals Since the Taft-Hartley Act. *Maryland*.

Seward Dean Schooler, Jr.: B.A., Wesleyan University, 1963; M.A., Ohio State, 1965; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1969. Scientists and the Executive Branch: Scientific Inputs in American National Policy, 1945-1968. *Ohio State*.

Louis Martin Seagull: A.B., Rutgers, 1963; M.A., Chicago, 1965; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1970. Southern Republicanism: Party Competition in the American South, 1940-1968. *Chicago*.

William R. Shaffer: A.B., Syracuse, 1964; M.A., *Ibid.*, 1967; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1969. Computer Simulations of Individual Voter Decision-Making. *Syracuse*.

Martin A. Shefter: B.A., Cornell, 1964; Ph.D., Harvard, 1970. City Hall and State House State Legislative Involvement in the Politics of New York City. *Harvard*.

Graeme W. Starr: B.A., Sydney, 1963; M.A., Carleton, 1966; Ph.D., West Virginia, 1969. The Politics of the United States Trade Expansion Program, 1962-1967. *West Virginia*.

James Stimson: B.A., Minnesota, 1966; Ph.D., North Carolina, 1970. Decision-Making by United States Representatives: A Preliminary Model. *North Carolina*.

Michael Stoddard: B.A., California, (Los Angeles), 1962; M.A., *Ibid.*, 1964; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1969. American Conscription: A Policy Evaluation. *California*, (Los Angeles).

Donald Tannenbaum: B.A., City College (N.Y.), 1954; M.A., *Ibid.*, 1961; Ph.D., New York, 1970. The Senate Rejects a Cabinet Level Appointee: The Case of Lewis L. Strauss. *New York*.

Michael D. Tirado: B.A., Southern California, 1964; M.A., Middlebury College, 1965; Ph.D., Claremont Graduate School, 1970. The Participation of Mexican Americans in Voluntary Political Association. *Claremont*.

J. Francis Walsh, FSC: A.B., St. Mary's College, 1945; M.A., DePaul, 1950; Ph.D., St. Louis, 1970. The Evaluation of "Citizens for Educational Freedom" as a Political Interest Group in Contemporary American Politics. *St. Louis*.

William A. Ward: A.B., Colorado, 1961; M.A., *Ibid.*, 1968; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1970. The American Legion in American Politics. *Colorado*.

Richard R. Warner: B.A., Kansas, 1955; M.A., *Ibid.*, 1956; Ph.D., American, 1970. The Concept of Creative Federalism in the Johnson Administration. *American*.

Robert Weissberg: A.B., Bard College, New York, 1965; M.A., Wisconsin, 1968; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1970. The Political Socialization of Adolescents: The Role of Social, Experimental and Psychological Factors in Political Learning. *Wisconsin*.

Susan K. Welch: A.B., Illinois, 1965; A.M., *Ibid.*, 1966; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1970. Groups and Foreign Policy Decisions: The Case of Indochina, 1950-1956. *Illinois*.

Michael White: B.S., Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1965; M.A., Northwestern, 1967; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1970. Management Science in Federal Civilian Agencies. *Northwestern*.

Allan Wolk: B.A., City College (N.Y.), 1958; M.A., *Ibid.*, 1961; Ph.D., New York, 1970. Implementation of Southern Negro Civil Rights: The Federal Executive Branch. *New York*.

Harold Louis Wolman: A.B., Oberlin College, 1964; A.M., Michigan, 1965; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1968. A Study of the Housing Political System. *Michigan*.

Maurice C. Woodward: B.A., Prairie View, 1956; M.A., *Ibid.*, 1960; Ph.D., Kansas, 1969. The Political Process and Social Welfare: Passage of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. *Kansas*.

Joseph Zentner: B.A., Wichita State, 1964; M.S., Wisconsin, 1965; Ph.D., Missouri, 1970. The 1968-69 U.S. Presidential Transition with Special Reference to the Housing and Urban Development Department. *Missouri*.

Doctoral Dissertations in Political Science

Dissertations Completed Since the Last Listing

Constitutional and Administrative Law in the United States

Carl Baar: A.B., California (Los Angeles), 1961; M.A., Chicago, 1963; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1969. When Judges Lobby: Congress and Court Administration. *Chicago*.

Jerry K. Beatty: B.A., Cornell College, Iowa, 1963; M.A., Northern Illinois, 1965; Ph.D., Iowa, 1970. An Institutional and Behavioral Analysis of Iowa Supreme Court. *Iowa*.

Stanley B. Bernstein: B.A., Brandeis, 1962; M.A., Chicago, 1964; Ph.D., Harvard, 1970. Abolitionist Readings of the Constitution. *Harvard*.

Paul H. Blackman: B.A., California (Riverside), 1964; M.A., Johns Hopkins, 1966; Ph.D., Virginia, 1970. Judicial Biography as an Approach to Public Law: A Case Study of the New Deal Court. *Virginia*.

Allan K. Butcher: B.A., Florida, 1960; M.A., New School for Social Research, 1963; Ph.D., Texas, 1970. The Judges: The Recruitment, Activities, and Attitudes of a Local Elite. *Texas*.

Robert A. Carp: B.A., Augustana College, Illinois, 1965; M.A., Iowa, 1967; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1969. The Function, Impact, and Political Relevance of the Federal District Courts: A Case Study. *Iowa*.

Constance F. Citro: A.B., Rochester, 1963; M.A., Yale, 1964; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1969. American State Supreme Courts and Judges: A Study in Political Development. *Yale*.

William J. Daniels: B.A., Upper Iowa, 1962; M.A., Iowa, 1964; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1970. Public Perceptions of the United States Supreme Court. *Iowa*.

Craig R. Ducat: B.A., Syracuse, 1966; M.A., Minnesota, 1968; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1970. Dimension of Jurisprudence and Judicial Decision-Making in the Law of Obscenity. *Minnesota*.

Malcolm M. Feeley: B.A., Austin College, 1964; M.A., Minnesota, 1967; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1969. A Comparative Analysis of State Supreme Court Behavior. *Minnesota*.

Imogene Gosnell: A.B., Oklahoma State, 1944; M.A., Creighton, 1958; Ph.D., Catholic, 1970. The Judicial Philosophy of John Marshall Harlan in the Field of Civil Liberties, 1955-1968. *Catholic*.

Ralph W. Hemphill, Jr.: B.A., Mississippi, 1965; M.A., *Ibid.*, 1967; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1970. Civil and Criminal Enforcement of Civil Rights. *Mississippi*.

Anthony J. Iezzi: A.B., St. Vincent College, 1955; A.M., Detroit, 1957; Ph.L., Saint Louis, 1961; Ph.D., Case Western Reserve, 1968. Public School Prayers and the Religious Clauses of the Constitution. *Case Western Reserve*.

William H. Jervay: B.A., Hawaii, 1965; M.A., Arizona, 1967; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1970. The Conglomerate Merger and Anti-Trust Policy. *Arizona*.

Alfred George Killilea: A.B., Notre Dame, 1963; M.A., Chicago, 1965; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1969. Judicial Accommodation of Conscience and Law. *Chicago*.

Donald C. Leavitt: B.S., Purdue, 1955; M.A., Roosevelt, 1963; Ph.D., Michigan State, 1970. Attitudes and Ideologies on the White Supreme Court. *Michigan State*.

Lawrence D. Longley: B.A., Oberlin, 1962; M.A., Vanderbilt, 1964; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1969. The Politics of Broadcasting: Industry, Congress, and the F.C.C. *Vanderbilt*.

Mary R. Mattingly: B.A., Dayton, 1962; M.A., St. Louis, 1964; Ph.D., Michigan State, 1969. The Hughes Court: A Study of the Psychological Dimensions of Decision Making. *Michigan State*.

Patrick McBride: B.A., Pomona, 1960; M.A., California (Los Angeles), 1965; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1969. Mr. Justice Black's Theory of Absolutes. *California, (Los Angeles)*.

Paul Pollock: B.A., Colorado, 1961; M.A., Cornell, 1965; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1968. Judicial Libertarianism and Judicial Responsibilities: The Case of Justice William O. Douglas. *Cornell*.

Charles Melvin Redenius: A.B., Western Michigan, 1965; A.M., Michigan, 1965; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1968. The Railway Labor Act and the Airline Industry. *Michigan*.

John A. Rohr, S.J.: A.B., Loyola, 1957; Ph.L., *Ibid.*, 1959; S.T.B., Woodstock College (Maryland), 1964; M.A., Georgetown, 1964; Ph.D., Chicago, 1970. The Selective Conscientious Objector: A Study in Public Policy. *Chicago*.

Douglas E. Rosenthal: B.A., Yale, 1961; M.A., Columbia, 1963; LL.B., Yale Law School, 1966; Ph.D., Yale, 1970. Client Participation in Professional Decision: The Lawyer-Client Relationship in Personal Injury Claims. *Yale*.

James A. Rotherham: B.A., Tufts, 1960; A.M., Fletcher School, 1961; M.A.L.D., *Ibid.*, 1966; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1970. The Role of Congress in the Development of American Strategic Air Power; 1933-1941. *Fletcher School*.

Jack Bernard Schroeder: A.B., Western Michigan, 1958; A.M., *Ibid.*, 1959; Ph.D., Michigan, 1968. Federal Protection of the Right of Equal Access to Public Accommodations: An Exploration of the Constitutional Issues. *Michigan*

Howard Sherain: A.B., Brooklyn College, 1963; M.A., California (Berkeley), 1965; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1969. The United States Supreme Court: Studies in Judicial Self-Restraint. *California (Berkeley)*.

Robert E. Smith: B.A., Virginia, 1960; M.A., South Carolina, 1962; Ph.D., Vanderbilt, 1969. The Supreme Court in the Political Process: The Impact of the *Engel* and *Schempp* Decisions. *Vanderbilt*.

Chang Moon Sohn: LL.B., Seoul National University (Korea), 1960; M.A., Columbia, 1964; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1970. Principle and Expediency in Judicial Review: Miscegenation Cases in the Supreme Court. *Columbia*.

James W. Witt: A.B., Loyola (L.A. Calif.), 1961; A.M., Southern California, 1966; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1970. The Impact of the "Miranda" Decision on Police Procedures and Morale. *Southern California*.

American State and Local Government and Politics

Robert Wilson Adams: B.A., Syracuse, 1955; M.A., *Ibid.*, 1959; Ph.D., Ohio State, 1970. Urban Renewal Politics: A Case Study of Columbus, Ohio, 1952-1961. *Ohio State*.

Dennis Anderson: B.A., Oberlin College, 1957; M.A., Northwestern, 1964; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1970; Family Structure and Adolescent Political Orientations, *Northwestern*.

Eugene S. Bardach: A.B., Columbia, 1961; M.A., California (Berkeley), 1963; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1969. The Politico as Virtuoso: The Skill Factor in California Mental Health Politics. *California (Berkeley)*.

Philip Beardsley: B.A., Oberlin, 1965; Ph.D., North Carolina, 1970. Human Needs: A Comparative Study of the Fifty State Political Systems. *North Carolina*.

Gerald Benjamin: B.A., St. Lawrence, 1965; M.A., Columbia, 1967; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1970. Metropolitan Human Rights Commissions: The New York City Case. *Columbia*.

Henry P. Brubaker: A.B., Franklin and Marshall, 1962; M.A., Lehigh, 1964; Ph.D., Syracuse, 1969. Factional Behavior in the Vermont Senate 1961-1962: An Application of Coalition Theory. *Syracuse*.

Frank M. Bryan: B.A., St. Michael's College, 1963; M.A., Vermont, 1965; Ph.D., Connecticut, 1970. Vermont: The Politics of Ruralism. *Connecticut*.

Robert R. Cantine: B.A., Park College, 1962; M.G.A., Pennsylvania, 1964; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1970. Support Mobilization by Communities. *Pennsylvania*.

David A. Caputo: B.A., Miami, 1965; M.A., Yale, 1967; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1970. The Normative and Empirical Implications of the Budgetary Processes of Four Medium-Size Cities. *Yale*.

Carrol J. Carter: A.B., Adams State, 1960; M.A., *Ibid.*, 1961; Ph.D., Colorado, 1969. The Office of Colorado County Chairman 1959-1969: A Study of Local Political Leadership. *Colorado*.

Truett L. Chance: B.S., Southwest Texas State Teacher's College, 1936; M.Ed., Texas, 1941; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1970. The Relation of Selected City Government Services to Socioeconomic Characteristics of Census Tracts. *Texas*.

Ralph Clark Chandler: B.A., Stetson, 1956; M.A., Rutgers, 1962; Ph.D., Columbia, 1970. The County Chairmanship in New Jersey: A Comparative Study of Selected States. *Columbia*.

Jonah Churgin: A.B., Johns Hopkins, 1965; Ph.D., Brown, 1970. The New Hampshire Presidential Primary: A Study of Its Impact on National Politics. *Brown*.

Theodore McSpadden Collier: A.B., Stanford, 1952; M.A., Johns Hopkins, 1953; Ph.D., California (Santa Barbara), 1969. Santa Barbara Women in Party Politics: A Behavioral Study. *California (Santa Barbara)*.

Ruth Cowan: B.S., Cornell, 1953; M.A., Illinois, 1958; Ph.D., New York, 1970. The New York City Civilian Review Board Referendum of November 1966: A Case Study of Mass Politics. *New York*.

Francis Crane: B.A., Fordham, 1933; M.A., *Ibid.*, 1967; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1970. The Politics of Administrative Review. *Fordham*.

Matthew Allen Crenson: A.B., Johns Hopkins, 1963; M.A., Chicago, 1965; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1969. Non-Issues in City Politics: The Case of Air Pollution. *Chicago*.

Dale Alan Decker: B.A., Claremont Men's College, 1966; M.A., Claremont Graduate School, 1969; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1970. Bases for an Assumptive Theory of Metropolitan Administration. *Claremont*.

Paul Henry DeForest: B.S.F.S., Georgetown, 1963; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1970. The Social Sciences and Foreign Policy-Making in Congress. *Georgetown*.

Lawrence Downey: B.A., Wichita, 1957; M.A., *Ibid.*, 1962; Ph.D., Arizona, 1969. Governmental Integration and Land Use in the Tucson Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area. *Arizona*.

Doctoral Dissertations in Political Science

Dissertations Completed Since the Last Listing

Edward Flentje: B.S.E., Kansas State (Emporia), 1964; M.A., George Washington, 1965; Ph.D., Kansas, 1969. The Legislative Process: A Kansas Case. *Kansas*.

Joseph F. Freeman, III: A.B., Indiana, 1961; M.A., Virginia, 1963; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1969. The Development of the Concept of Metropolitan Area Government: 1900-1966. *Virginia*.

James Priest Gifford: B.A., Hamilton, 1963; M.A., Columbia, 1965; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1970. The Political Relations of the Patrolmen's Benevolent Association in the City of New York, 1946-1969. *Columbia*.

Alan Hahn: A.B., Indiana, 1962; M.A., *Ibid.*, 1965; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1969. Study of Decision-Making in Planning in Two Indiana Cities. *Indiana*.

Leland E. Hall: B.S., Western Michigan, 1960; M.A., *Ibid.*, 1962; Ph.D., Illinois, 1969. The Impact of Electoral Deadlock: New Members and the 1965 Session of the Illinois House. *Illinois*.

Janet Carter Hannigan: A.B., North Carolina, 1954; Ph.D., Columbia, 1969. Commitment to Local Party Service: Thirty-three County Committeemen, Richmond County, New York. *Columbia*.

Roger H. Harrell: A.B., Southern Calif. (L.A.), 1964; M.A., *Ibid.*, 1967; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1970. Domestic Violence and Indicators of Social Change Within Nations: A Regional Perspective. *Southern California*.

Stephen W. Hartman: A.B., Hofstra College, 1962; M.A., Wayne State, 1965; Ph.D., Syracuse, 1969. Municipal Finance in the State of New York 1920-1960. *Syracuse*.

Vincent W. Hauge: B.A., Concordia College, 1958. M.A., Vanderbilt, 1960. Ph.D., Pennsylvania, 1970. Representation on City Councils: A Comparative Study of Councilors' Independence of Constituents in Six Council-Manager Cities. *Pennsylvania*.

Robert B. Hawkins: B.A., San Francisco State, 1965; M.A., Washington (Seattle), 1966; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1969. Change, Process and Democratic Theory: Some Urban Questions. *Washington (Seattle)*.

H. Hugh Heclio: B.A., George Washington, 1965; M.Phil., Yale, 1969; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1970. Politics and Social Policy. *Yale*.

Karl Johnson: B.A., Missouri, 1964; M.A., *Ibid.*, 1966; Ph.D., Oregon, 1970. Politics and Education: Educational Decision-Making in the American States. *Oregon*.

Michael A. Lerner: B.A., Harvard College, 1965; Ph.D., Yale, 1970. Personal Politics. *Yale*.

Frank Joseph Macchiarola: B.A., St. Francis College, 1962; LL.B., Columbia Law School, 1965; Ph.D., Columbia, 1970. The Judiciary and the Development of Home Rule Powers in New York State. *Columbia*.

Theodore J. Maher: A.B., Tufts, 1962; M.A., Maryland, 1967; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1970. State-County Relations in Maryland. *Maryland*.

Thomas Mikulecky: B.A., Minnesota, 1960; M.A., Fletcher, 1961; Ph.D., Arizona, 1969. Intergovernmental Relations in Tucson Community Development. *Arizona*.

David R. Morgan: B.A., Oklahoma, 1956; M.A., *Ibid.*, 1960; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1969. Suburban Differentiation and Metropolitan Political Integration. *Oklahoma*.

Doyal D. O'Dell: A.B., Redlands, 1953; D.B., Chicago, 1957; M.A., *Ibid.*, 1960; Ph.D., Colorado, 1969. A Structural-Functional Analysis of Metropolitan Political Systems: A Study of the Denver Regional Council of Governments. *Colorado*.

Henry Irvin Penfield, Jr.: A.B., Alabama, 1962; M.A., *Ibid.*, 1965; Ph.D., Alabama, 1970. The Political Socialization of the Alabama School Child. *Alabama*.

Jerry Polinard: B.A., Texas A&I, 1962; M.A., *Ibid.*, 1963; Ph.D., Arizona, 1969. An Analysis of the Inter- and Intra Party Conflict in the Arizona State Legislative Redistricting Experience. *Arizona*.

Bruce Wayne Robeck: A.B., California (Santa Barbara), 1963; M.A., *Ibid.*, 1965; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1968. The Impact of Reapportionment on the California Senate. *California (Santa Barbara)*.

Allan Saxe: B.A., Oklahoma, 1961; M.A., *Ibid.*, 1963; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1969. Protest and Reform: The Desegregation of Oklahoma City. *Oklahoma*.

Paul Schmidt: B.A., Hamline (St. Paul), 1958; A.M., California (Berkeley), 1963; Ph.D., Washington (Seattle), 1969. Federal Policy and Urban Government: The Experience in Metropolitan Seattle. *Washington (Seattle)*.

Ronald Semone: A.B., Clark, 1960; Ph.D., North Carolina, 1969. The Negro Middle Class in the South: A Study of Race, Class, and Political Behavior. *North Carolina*.

Kammana M. Shyamala: A.B., Madras University, 1956; M.A., Presidency College, 1958; M.P.A., Indian School of Public Administration, 1960; Ph.D., Syracuse, 1969. Location of Heavy Industry in India. *Syracuse*.

Roland E. Smith: B.A., Pacific, 1950; M.A., Oregon, 1959; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1970. The Relationship of Political Risk to the Political Recruitment Process in Oregon. *Oregon*.

Stephen N. Smith: B.A., North Texas State, 1959; M.A., *Ibid.*, 1963; Ph.D., Kansas, 1970. Legislative Reapportionment in Kansas in the 1960's: A Case Study. *Kansas*.

Richard A. Stautenberger: B.A., Maryland, 1962; M.A., *Ibid.*, 1965; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1970. County-Municipal Relations in Maryland. *Maryland*.

Robert P. Steed: A.B., Alabama, 1965; M.A., Virginia, 1967; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1969. Republican Committeemen in Three Local Organizations in Virginia. *Virginia*.

James C. Strouse: B.A., Maryland, 1966; M.A., *Ibid.*, 1967; Ph.D., North Carolina, 1970. Politics, Economics, Elite Attitudes and State Outputs: A Dynamic Analysis Using a Block Recursive Model. *North Carolina*.

Robert D. Thomas: A.B., North Carolina (Charlotte), 1966; M.A., Arizona, 1968; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1970. Policy-Making in the American Federal System: Intergovernmental Responses to Water Problems in Arizona. *Arizona*.

Eric P. Veblen: B.A., Dartmouth College, 1964; M.A., Yale, 1966; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1969. Newspaper Impact in Election Campaigns: The Case of Two New England States. *Yale*.

Elizabeth C. Warren: B.A., Bryn Mawr, 1949; M.A., Kansas, 1965; Ph.D., Nebraska, 1970. The Anatomy of Decision-Making in a Local Community, A Study of Kansas City. *Nebraska*.

Ronald E. Weber: A.B., Macalester College, 1964; Ph.D., Syracuse, 1969. Public Opinion in the States: A Simulation Approach. *Syracuse*.

Robert I. Wessel: B.S., Iowa State, 1953; M.S., *Ibid.*, 1961; Ph.D., Minnesota, 1969. Determinants of County Government Expenditure Levels in Minnesota. *Minnesota*.

Dennis L. West: B.A., Portland State College, 1963; M.A., Claremont Graduate School, 1965; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1970. A Case Study of the Planning Process in the Portland, Oregon Model Cities Program. *Claremont*.

Jonathan West: B.S., Utah, 1965; M.A., Northwestern, 1966; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1969; The Scope and Impact of Collective Negotiation in Selected Urban and Suburban School Systems: Implication for Public Policy, *Northwestern*.

Mark R. Yessian: A.B., Clark, 1964; M.A., Syracuse, 1966; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1970. Urban Renewal: The Program and the Political Process. *Syracuse*.

Canadian Government and Politics

Wallace Gagne: A.B., Alberta, 1965; Ph.D., Rochester, 1970. Class Voting in Canada. *Rochester*.

Dennis R. Garff: B.A., Utah, 1965; A.M., Fletcher School, 1966; M.A.L.D., *Ibid.*, 1967; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1970. Heirs of New France: An Ethnic Minority in Search of Security. *Fletcher School*.

Richard Anthony Wier: A.B., Blackburn College, 1961; M.A., St. Louis, 1962; Ph.D., Georgetown, 1970. Patterns of Interaction Between Interest Groups and the Canadian Political System: The Case of the Canadian Medical Association. *Georgetown*.

Public Administration

Marlan Blissett: B.A., Texas Tech, 1960; M.A., Berkeley, 1963; Ph.D., Texas, 1969. The Politics of Professionalized Science. *Texas*.

Azucena Bulanadi: B.A., Far East University, 1963; M.A., Claremont Graduate School, 1966; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1970. An Ecological Study of a Development Organization: The Philippine Community Development Program From Its Inception to the Present. *Claremont*.

Richard Chackerian: A.B., California (Berkeley), 1961; M.A., Washington (Seattle), 1963; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1969. Capital Improvement Decision-Making: A Comparative Functional-Requisite Analysis. *Washington (Seattle)*.

Don Clasen: B.S., Carroll, 1959; M.P.A., Southern California, 1967; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1970; Public/Private Perceptions: An Analysis of the Perceptions of Electronic Data Processing Programmers in Public and Private Organizations. *Southern California*.

Tyrus Ross Clayton: B.A., Long Beach State, 1958; M.P.A., UCLA, 1960; Southern California, 1966; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1970; Organizational Evaluation and the Government Laboratory. *Southern California*.

Nicholas T. Clerk: B.A., London, 1955; M.P.A., Southern California, 1965; D.P.A., *Ibid.*, 1970; Bureaucracy and the One-Party State. *Southern California*.

Donald C. Collins: B.A., Drake, 1960; M.A., *Ibid.*, 1963; Ph.D., Iowa, 1970. Institutionalized Decision-Making: A Study of the Effects of Background, Career, Structural, and Functional Factors on the Decision-Making Behavior of Senior Administrators in the Department of Defense. *Iowa*.

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Dissertations Completed Since the Last Listing

Alexander H. Cornell: B.A., Union, 1940; M.S., Ohio State, 1947; Ph.D., American, 1969. An Analysis of Inter-Allied Collaboration in the Organization and Management of Weapons Development and Co-Production. *American*.

Michael Decker: B.A., Western Michigan, 1963; M.A., *Ibid.*, 1966; Ph.D., Case Western Reserve University, 1969. The Design of Organization Operations and Human Problem-Solving: The Case of Public School Physical Plant Planning. *Case Western Reserve*.

Robert J. Dworak: B.S., Southern California, 1965; M.P.A., *Ibid.*, 1968; D.P.A., *Ibid.*, 1970; An Empirical Study of Economizing Behavior in the Research and Development Industry With a Concentration on Aerospace Programs. *Southern California*.

Dennis Eckart: B.A., California (Davis), 1965; M.A., *Ibid.*, 1966; Ph.D., California (Los Angeles), 1970. Innovation in Complex Organizations. *California, (Los Angeles)*.

Uma Eleazu: B.A., Durham, 1962; M.A., *Ibid.*, 1965; M.A., California (Los Angeles), 1966; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1969. Federalism and Nation Building in Nigeria: A Study of Political Integration in a Plural Society. *California (Los Angeles)*.

Robert Elkin: B.S., New York, 1945; M.S.W., UCLA, 1950; Ph.D., American, 1970. Predicting Costs of Residential Group Care for Children. *American*.

Walter G. Ellis: B.A., Washington (Seattle), 1964; M.A., *Ibid.*, 1965; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1969. The Jamaican Civil Service: An Exploratory Analysis of Higher Civil Servants in Four Ministries. *Washington (Seattle)*.

Dan W. Figgins, Jr.: A.B., Grinnell College, 1962; Ph.D., Syracuse, 1970. Program Budgeting in Developing Nations: The Case of Peru, 1962-1966. *Syracuse*.

Richard Fineberg: B.A., Beloit College, 1964; M.A., Claremont Graduate School, 1967; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1970. Green Card Workers in Farm Labor Disputes: Post-Bracero Mexican National Farm Workers in The San Joaquin Valley, 1968. *Claremont*.

Kevin C. Gottlieb: A.B., Springfield College, 1964; Ph.D., Syracuse, 1970. The Political Philosophy of Woodrow Wilson as President of Princeton University, 1902-1910. *Syracuse*.

Gary M. Halter: B.A., Midwestern, 1964; M.A., *Ibid.*, 1967; Ph.D., Maryland, 1970. The Hatch Act Reconsidered. *Maryland*.

Robert C. Herold: B.A., Brigham Young; M.A., George Washington; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, The Politics of Decision-Making in the Defense Establishment. *George Washington*.

Granville W. Hough: B.S., United States Military Academy, 1946; M.S., Southern California, 1955; M.S., George Washington, 1965; Ph.D., American, 1970. A Systems Approach for Technology Diffusion by Federal Agencies. *American*.

Glenn H. Ivy: B.A., Texas Tech, 1949; M.A., *Ibid.*, 1951; Ph.D., Texas, 1970. An Organizational Structure for Gubernatorial Leadership in Texas State Government. *Texas*.

Ellsworth E. Johnson: B.S., Utah State, 1961; M.P.A., Southern California, 1964; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1970; Urban Executive Leadership for Black Professionals. *Southern California*.

Sintaek Kang, A.B., Seoul National University, 1959; M.P.A., *Ibid.*, 1961; M.P.A., Philippines, 1963; Ph.D., Pennsylvania, 1969. An Analysis of Structure of Planning-Programming-Budgeting System: Norms of Rationality and Administrative Programs in Government. *Pennsylvania*.

John Kirlin: B.A., Notre Dame, 1963; M.P.A., California (Los Angeles), 1966; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1969. A Computer Model of Group Decision-Making. *California (Los Angeles)*.

Truong Hoang Lem: Diploma, National Institute of Administration (Saigon), 1960; M.P.A., Southern California, 1968; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1970. A Test of Survival: The Case of South Vietnam. *Southern California*.

Leonard G. Marks: B.A., San Jose State, 1953; M.S. in P.A., Southern California, 1956; M.P.A., *Ibid.*, 1968; D.P.A., *Ibid.*, 1970. An Exploratory Study of Behavioral Characteristics of Certain Selected Municipal Firefighters Utilizing the Personal History Index. *Southern California*.

John Marrero: B.S., Maryland, 1954; M.A., *Ibid.*, 1963; M.S., U.S. Air Force Institute of Technology, 1963; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1970. Soil Conservation and Social Change: A Systems Approach. *Maryland*.

Mrs. Dale Marshall: B.A., Cornell, 1959; M.A., California (Berkeley), 1960; Ph.D., California (Los Angeles), 1969. The Politics of Participation in Poverty: A Case Study of the Board of the Economic and Youth Opportunities Agency of Greater Los Angeles. *California (Los Angeles)*.

Eugene B. McGregor, Jr.: A.B., Dartmouth College, 1964, Ph.D., Syracuse, 1969. Education and Career Mobility Among Federal Administrators: Toward the Development of a Comparative Model. *Syracuse*.

Arnold J. Meltsner: A.B., U.C.L.A., 1956; M.A., California (Berkeley), 1966; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1969; The Politics of Local Revenue. *California (Berkeley)*.

Victor Dallas Merrell: B.S., Brigham Young, 1960; M.S., *Ibid.*, 1964; M.P.A., Southern California, 1966; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1970. Transchange Theory and Strategies for Management Education. *Southern California*.

Lynn S. Miller: B.A., Whitman, 1958; M.P.A., Southern California, 1966; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1970; Interpersonal Profit Among Professionals in a Research and Development Laboratory. *Southern California*.

Lawrence K. Munns: A.B., Washington State, 1962; M.A., Chicago, 1963; Ph.D., California (Berkeley), 1970. Bureaucratic Entrepreneurship: A Comparative Study of Change in Public Bureaucracies. *California (Berkeley)*.

William Morris Pearson: B.S., Sam Houston State, 1963; M.A., Texas A&M, 1965; Ph.D., Louisiana State, Baton Rouge, 1970. Louisiana State Executives: A Social Profile. *Louisiana State*.

Charles R. Porter: B.A., Texas, 1948; M.A., *Ibid.*, 1949; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1970. The Search for Consensus: Models and Actual Processes of Decision-Making by an Ad Hoc Study Committee (A Study of Decision-Making by the Texas Governor's Committee on Public School Education). *Texas*.

David O. Porter: B.S., Utah, 1963; M.A., *Ibid.*, 1965; Ph.D., Syracuse, 1970. Mobilizing Resources and the Politics of Budgeting: The Case of Federal Aid to Education. *Syracuse*.

Prachanda Pradhan: B.A., Tri-Chandra College, 1958; M.A., Lucknow, 1961; Ph.D., Claremont Graduate School, 1970. Bureaucracy and Development in Nepal. *Claremont*.

David Harry Rosenbloom: A.B., Marietta College, 1964; M.A., Chicago, 1966; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1969. The Relationship between the Citizen and the State in Public Employment in America. *Chicago*.

Mohammed Amjad Shah: B.A., Punjab, 1942; M.A.F.A., George Washington, 1957; M.A.P.A., *Ibid.*, 1959; LL.B., Karachi, 1963; M.P.A., Southern California, 1968; D.P.A., *Ibid.*, 1970; A Survey of Executive Development Program Evaluation. *Southern California*.

Lawrence J. Shaw: B.S., Missouri, 1941; M.P.A., Harvard, 1964; Ph.D., American, 1970. The United States Military Assistance Program: A Study in Executive-Legislative Relationships. *American*.

Ralph Smalley: B.A., Manitoba, 1962; B.H.L., Hebrew Union, 1966; M.A., Cincinnati, 1968; M.C.P., *Ibid.*, 1968; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1970. The Planning Uses of Information. *Cincinnati*.

Neal Dorsey Thigpen: A.B., Maryland, 1963; M.A., *Ibid.*, 1966; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1970. Maryland State Government Administrators: A Case Study. *Maryland*.

Dennis L. Thompson: A.B., Idaho, 1960; M.A., Arizona State, 1961; Ph.D., California (Santa Barbara), 1969. Domestic Diplomacy: An Ecological Focus on Interstate Relations. *California (Santa Barbara)*.

Nguyen Quoc Tri: Diploma, National Institute of Administration (Saigon), 1957; High Diploma in Public Law, 1st Degree, University of Saigon, 1959; High Diploma in Public Law, 2nd Degree, *Ibid.*, 1960; M.P.A., Southern California, 1967; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1970; Culture and Technical Assistance in Public Administration. *Southern California*.

Daniel E. Willmore: B.A., Idaho State, 1953; M.A., American, 1959; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1970. The Use of Language in Administration and Management Theory: A Critique and an Attempt to Construct Operational Definitions. *American*.

Fred Zuercher: B.S., Northwestern, 1954; M.A., Wyoming, 1960; Ph.D., California (Los Angeles), 1969. The California Superintendent of Public Instruction: A Study in Politics and Administration. *California (Los Angeles)*.

Foreign and Comparative Government and Politics

Ervand Vahan Abrahamian: B.A., Oxford, 1963; M.A., Columbia, 1966; M.A., Oxford, 1968; Ph.D., Columbia, 1969. Social Bases of Iranian Politics: The Tudeh Party, 1941-53. *Columbia*.

Robert F. Adie: B.A., Carleton, 1964; Ph.D., Texas, 1970. Agrarianism in the Mexican Political System. *Texas*.

Shahrough Akhavi: B.A., Brown, 1962; M.A., Harvard, 1964; Ph.D., Columbia, 1969. The Egyptian Image of the Soviet Union, 1954-1968: A Study in Press Communication. *Columbia*.

Walter Ashley: B.A., Oxford, 1948; M.A., *Ibid.*, 1948; Ph.D., New York, 1970. Philanthropy and Government: A Study of the Ford Foundation's Overseas Activities. *New York*.

Negussay Ayele: B.A., California (Los Angeles), 1962; M.A., *Ibid.*, 1964; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1969. The Politics of the Somalia-Ethiopia Boundary Problem: 1960-1967. *California (Los Angeles)*.

Doctoral Dissertations in Political Science

Dissertations Completed Since the Last Listing

Ronald F. Bartel: A.B., Illinois, 1964; M.A., *Ibid.*, 1967; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1970. Attitudes Toward Limited War: An Analysis of Elite and Public Opinion During the Korean Conflict. *Illinois*.

Ali Barzegar: B.A., Wisconsin State College, 1965; M.A., South Dakota, 1966; Ph.D., Oklahoma, 1968. Protest and Political Modernization in Southwest Asia. *Oklahoma*.

Robert Hinrichs Bates: B.A., Haverford College, 1964; Ph.D., M.I.T., 1969. Unions, Parties, and Development: A Study of Government Policy Toward the Mineworkers of Zambia. *M.I.T.*

Richard Baum: A.B., California (Los Angeles), 1962; M.A., California (Berkeley), 1963; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1970. Revolution and Reaction in Rural China: The Struggle Between Two Roads During the Socialist Education Movement (1962-1966) and the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (1966-1968). *California (Berkeley)*.

George G. Bauroth: B.A., Connecticut, 1958; M.A., *Ibid.*, 1960; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1970. An Institutional Organization: Australia's Role and Intent in the Creation of the South East Asian Treaty Organization. *Connecticut*.

Paul A. Beckett: B.A., State College of Washington, 1960; M.A., Wisconsin, 1965; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1970. Revolutionary Systems: A Conceptual Model and Comparative Study of Four African Revolutionary Regimes. *Wisconsin*.

Robert E. Bedeski: A.B., California (Berkeley), 1964; M.A., *Ibid.*, 1965; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1969. The Politics of National Unification: China, 1928-36. *California (Berkeley)*.

Dennis Beller: A.B., Pomona College; M.A., California (Los Angeles), 1961; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1970. The Portuguese Territories Issue in the United Nations: An Analysis of Debates. *California, (Los Angeles)*.

Thomas P. Bernstein: A.B., Harvard, 1959; M.A., Columbia, 1962; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1970. Leadership and Mobilization in the Collectivization of Agriculture in China and Russia: A Comparison. *Columbia*.

Harry Wallace Blair: A.B., Cornell, 1960; M.A., Duke, 1966; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1969. Caste, Politics and Democracy in Bihar State, India: The Elections of 1967. *Duke*.

David Eugene Blank: B.A., Brooklyn College, 1959; Ph.D., Columbia, 1969. Policy Making Style and Political Development: The Introduction of a System of Democratic Planning in Venezuela (1958-1968). *Columbia*.

Kathryn Boals: B.A., Smith College, 1965; M.A., Princeton, 1968; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1970. Modernization and Intervention: Yemen as a Theoretical Case Study. *Princeton*.

John W. Bowling: A.B., George Washington, 1942; Ph.D., American, 1970. The Long-Gone Goblins: Contemporary Political Development in Historical Perspective. *American*.

William J. Brisk: B.A., Brown, 1960; M.A., Johns Hopkins (SAIS), 1965; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1969. Peruvian Agricultural Policy and Politics. *SAIS, Johns Hopkins*.

Rod Ai Camp: A.B., George Washington, 1966; M.A., *Ibid.*, 1967; Ph.D., Arizona, 1970. The Role of the Tecnico in Policy Making in Mexico: A Comparative Study of a Developing Bureaucracy. *Arizona*.

Thomas Wentworth Carroll: B.E., Yale, 1959; S.M., M.I.T., 1962; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1969. Computer Simulation of the Diffusion of Dairy Innovations in a Rural Community of Brazil. *M.I.T.*

Shirley Castelnovo: B.A., Rutgers, 1951; M.A., New York, 1955; Ph.D., California (Los Angeles), 1969. Judicial and Legal Integration in Tanzania. *California (Los Angeles)*.

David H. H. Chen: B.A., Brigham Young, 1964; M.A., *Ibid.*, 1966; Ph.D., Utah, 1970. The Thought of Mao in the Light of Chinese Tradition and Revolutionary Development. *Utah*.

Myung Chey: LL.B., Seoul National, 1962; A.M., Illinois, 1967; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1970. The Dynamics of Party and Army in China: A Study of Institutions in Conflict and Consensus. *Illinois*.

Trevor Chandler: B.S., Cal. State Polytechnic, 1966; M.A., Oregon, 1968; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1970. Paradigms of Development in World Perspective: The Applicability of Modified Marxist Models to Developing Areas. *Oregon*.

Hee Chae Chung: LL.B., Seoul National, 1948; M.A., Pennsylvania, 1964; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1969. Politics and Structural Changes in the Meiji Restoration Era. *Pennsylvania*.

Parris H. Chang: B.A., National Taiwan, 1955; M.A., Washington, 1963; Ph.D., Columbia, 1969. Patterns and Processes of Policymaking in Communist China, 1955-1962: Three Case Studies. *Columbia*.

Everett Chard: A.B., Miami, 1962; M.A., California (Berkeley), 1963; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1970. District Government and Economic Development in Kenya. *California (Berkeley)*.

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Richard L. Coe: A.B., College of Wooster, 1962; Ph.D., Syracuse, 1969. Policy and Policy Implementation in Transitional Societies: The Case of the Kenya National Youth Service. *Syracuse*.

Leonard A. Cole: B.A., California (Berkeley), 1961; M.A., Columbia, 1965; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1970. The Parliamentary Left Wing of the British Labour Party: 1964-1968. *Columbia*.

Kenneth Coleman: A.B., Grinnell, 1965; Ph.D., North Carolina, 1970. On Putting the Sword Back in the Scabbard: The Depoliticization of the Mexican Military. *North Carolina*.

Jerry Colletter: A.B., Principia College, 1961; Ph.D., Indiana, 1969. Coalition Politics in the German Federal Republic: Extensions of Empirical Theory. *Indiana*.

Kenneth E. Colton: B.S., Harvard, 1936; M.A., State University of Iowa, 1942; Ph.D., American, 1969. The Non-Viet Minh Movements in Vietnam from 1945 to 1956. *American*.

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Chester A. Crocker: B.A., Ohio State, 1963; M.A., Johns Hopkins (SAIS), 1965; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1969. The Military Transfer of Power in Africa: A Comparative Study of Change in the British and French System of Order. *SAIS, Johns Hopkins*.

Frederick W. Crook: B.A., Brigham Young, 1964; A.M., Fletcher School, 1965; M.A.L.D., *Ibid.*, 1966; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1970. An Analysis of Work Payment Systems Used in Chinese Mainland Agriculture, 1956 to 1970. *Fletcher School*.

Gholam Hossein Dargahi: B.A., Teheran, Iran, 1945; M.A., Denver, 1951; Ph.D., Utah, 1970. The Development of Islam as the Ideology of Arab Unity, A.D. 622-632. *Utah*.

Hampton Davey: A.B., Ohio, 1960; M.A., *Ibid.*, 1961; Ph.D., California (Los Angeles), 1969. The Transformation of an Ideological Movement into an Aggregative Party: A Case Study of the Bharatiya Jana Sangh. *California (Los Angeles)*.

Edward B. Davis, III: B.A., Virginia Military Institute, 1960; Ph.D., Virginia, 1970. French Colonial Policy in Senegal. *Virginia*.

Patrick H. Deese: A.B., David Lipscomb College, 1961; M.A., Harding College, 1962; Ph.D., Tennessee, 1970. The Politics of Decolonization: The Political Transformation of Equatorial Africa Since World War II. *Tennessee*.

Margarita Dobert: M.A., School of Business Administration, Berlin, Germany, 1932; Ph.D., George Washington, 1970. Civil and Political Participation of Women in French-Speaking Africa. *George Washington*.

James A. Dunn, Jr., B.A., La Salle College, 1965; M.A., Pennsylvania, 1966; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1970. Social Cleavage, Party Cohesion and Political Integration: The Belgian Experience. *Pennsylvania*.

Cyrus Elahi: B.A., American, 1966; M.A., *Ibid.*, 1968; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1970. Society and Foreign Policy in Iran. *American*.

Jean Entwistle: B.A., Bryn Mawr College, 1955; M.A., New York, 1960; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1970. Nigerian Foreign Policy. *New York*.

Ustun Erguder: B.S., Robert College, 1957; A.B., Manchester, 1961; Ph.D., Syracuse, 1970. The Politics of Agricultural Taxation in Turkey, 1950-1965. *Syracuse*.

Kenneth P. Erickson: B.A., Michigan, 1961; Ph.D., Columbia, 1970. Labor in the Political Process in Brazil: Corporation in a Modernizing Nation. *Columbia*.

Mark Falcoff: A.B., Missouri, 1963; M.A., Princeton, 1967; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1970. Argentine Nationalism on the Eve of Peron: The Force of Radical Orientation. *Princeton*.

Lee C. Fennell: B.S.J., Florida, 1959; M.A., *Ibid.*, 1965; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1970. Class and Region in Argentina: A Study of Political Cleavage, 1916-1966. *Florida*.

Steven Flanders: B.A., Haverford College, 1963; M.A., Indiana, 1965; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1970. Control of Movement-Regime Bureaucracies: A Comparative Study of Stalinist Russia, Maoist China, and Meiji Japan. *Indiana*.

Roger Warren Fontaine: B.A., Valparaiso, 1963; M.A., Johns Hopkins (SAIS), 1965; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1970. The Foreign Policy-Making Process in Brazil. *SAIS, Johns Hopkins*.

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Dissertations Completed Since the Last Listing

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Richard A. Fredland: A.B., Wofford College, 1958; M.A., American, 1965; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1970. The Impact of the New States of Africa Upon the International Political System. *American*.

Robert F. Galbreath, III: B.A., Westminster College, 1964; A.M., Fletcher School, 1965; M.A.L.D., *Ibid.*, 1966; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1970. The United States and the Rehabilitation of Italy, 1943-1948. *Fletcher School*.

Daniel Bernard German: A.B., South Dakota, 1962; M.A., *Ibid.*, 1964; Ph.D., Georgetown, 1970. Student Political Orientations Toward Legitimacy, Efficacy, and Dissent/Opposition in the United States, England, Sweden, and West Germany. *Georgetown*.

Sari Jane Gilbert: B.A., Syracuse, 1963; M.A., Johns Hopkins (SAIS), 1965; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1970. From Armistice to Alliance: Goals and Methods in Italian Foreign Policy, 1945 to 1949. *SAIS, Johns Hopkins*.

Richard David Gillespie: B.A., Harvard, 1960; Ph.D., M.I.T., Feb. 1970. Cybernetics and Politics in the Soviet Union. *M.I.T.*

John Edward Glab: B.S., U.S. Military Academy, 1944; M.S., Iowa State, 1949; M.A., American, 1964; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1970. Transportation's Role in Development of Southern Africa. *American*.

Guido G. Goldman: A.B., Harvard, 1959; M.A., *Ibid.*, 1964; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1970. Heavy Industry and Foreign Policy in the Weimar Republic: The Ruhr and Reparations in Germany after the First World War. *Harvard*.

Peter A. Gourevitch: B.A., Oberlin, 1963; Ph.D., Harvard, 1970. The Resilience of Ideologies in France: A Study of the Continuity of Political Ideas in Contemporary France. *Harvard*.

Robert D. Grey: B.A., Wesleyan, 1961; M.A., Yale, 1963; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1970. Education and Politics in Ethiopia. *Yale*.

Roger D. Hansen: B.A., Yale, 1957; M.A., Oxford, 1959; M.P.A., Princeton, 1961; Ph.D., Johns Hopkins (SAIS), 1970. Mexico's Development: Today's "Miracle" and Yesterday's Heritage. *SAIS, Johns Hopkins*.

John W. Harbeson: B.A., Swarthmore College, 1960; M.A., Chicago, 1962; Ph.D., Wisconsin, 1970. Nationalism and Nation Building in Kenya: The Role of Land Reform. *Wisconsin*.

Paul Harper: B.A., Pittsburgh, 1960; Ph.D., Cornell, 1969. Political Roles of Trade Unions in Communist China. *Cornell*.

Margaret I. Haupt: B.A., Denver, 1962; A.M., Fletcher School, 1963; M.A.L.D., *Ibid.*, 1964; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1970. Australian Policy Towards the West Irian Dispute. *Fletcher School*.

Leo A. Hazlewood: B.A., Georgetown, 1965; M.A., Illinois, 1966; Ph.D., Pennsylvania, 1969. Political Violence and the Political System. *Pennsylvania*.

Jon P. Heggan: A.B., Delaware, 1961; M.A., *Ibid.*, 1963; Ph.D., Illinois, 1969. Political Socialization in Colombia's Schools: The Impact of Three Secondary Institutions on Student Political Attitude and Behavior. *Illinois*.

Stanley J. Heginbotham: A.B., Stanford, 1959; Ph.D., M.I.T., Feb. 1970. Patterns and Sources of Indian Bureaucratic Behavior: Organizational Pressures and the Ethic of Duty in a Tamil Nadu Development Program. *M.I.T.*

Martin Heisler: B.A., California (Los Angeles), 1960; M.A., *Ibid.*, 1962; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1969. Political Community and its Formation in the Low Countries. *California (Los Angeles)*.

John Stephen Hoadley: A.B., Purdue, 1958; M.A., California State, 1964; Ph.D., California (Santa Barbara), 1968. The Government and Politics of Hong Kong: A Descriptive Study with Special Reference to the Analytical Framework of Gabriel Almond. *California (Santa Barbara)*.

Luba A. Halowaty: B.S. Ed., Temple, 1953; M.A. Ed., *Ibid.*, 1959; M.A., Pennsylvania, 1964; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1970. The Soviet Union and the Countries of the African Horn: A Case Study of Soviet Perceptions and Policies, 1959-1968. *Pennsylvania*.

Robert D. Hormats: B.A., Tufts, 1965; A.M., Fletcher School, 1966; M.A.L.D., *Ibid.*, 1967; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1970. Peasants and Pressure: The Peasant as an Active Force in the Process of Change and Development in Rural Tanzania. *Fletcher School*.

Robert C. Horn, III: B.A., Wittenberg, 1964; A.M., Fletcher School, 1965; M.A.L.D., *Ibid.*, 1966; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1969. Soviet-Indonesian Relations, 1956-1966: A Case Study of Soviet Foreign Policy. *Fletcher School*.

Mab Huang: Bach. of Law, Taiwan University, 1955; M.A., Chicago, 1958; Ph.D., Columbia, 1969. The Function and Limits of the Mass Line: A Study of the People's Commune Movement in China, 1958-1966. *Columbia*.

Tran-Thanh-Hung: Dip. (higher Buddhist Education) Institute of Buddhist Studies (Viet-Nam) 1960; M.A., Claremont Graduate School, 1969; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1970. Buddhism and Politics in Southeast Asia. *Claremont*.

Michael Hur: B.A., Concordia, 1961; M.A., Cincinnati, 1965; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1970. Japan's Quest for a Policy Toward the People's of China and the Republic of China. *Cincinnati*.

Hans H. Indorf: A.M., Columbia, 1957; Ph.D., New York, 1969. Party System Adaptation to Political Development in Malaysia During the First Decade of Independence, 1957-1967. *New York*.

Clyde B. Ingle: A.B., North Carolina, 1959; M.A., *Ibid.*, 1961; Ph.D., Syracuse, 1969. Inter-System Linkage: Politics and Rural Development in Handeni and Tanga Districts, Tanzania. *Syracuse*.

Abel Jacob: B.A., California (Los Angeles), 1962; M.A., *Ibid.*, 1964; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1969. The Political Outcomes of Foreign Aid: Israel's Foreign Aid Program. *California (Los Angeles)*.

Rounaq Jahan: B.A., Dacca, 1962; M.A., *Ibid.*, 1963; M.A., Harvard, 1968; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1970. Nation-building in the New State: Pakistan a Case Study: The Relationship between East Pakistan and the Central Government of Pakistan 1958-1968. *Harvard*.

Anthony J. Joes: B.A., St. Joseph's College, 1965; Ph.D., Pennsylvania, 1970. Italy Moves to the Left: Cleavage and Integration in a Multi-Party System. *Pennsylvania*.

Edward William Johnson: A.B., Rutgers University, 1950; M.A., New School for Social Research, 1956; Ph.D., New York, 1970. Comparative Approaches to the Study of the Hindu Communal Political Parties in Contemporary India: Some Limitations in the Applicability of (1) Systems Analysis and (2) Political Modernization and Development Theory. *New York*.

Richard Jerome Johnson: B.A., Columbia, 1961; M.A., *Ibid.*, 1965; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1970. The Okhrana Abroad, 1885-1917: a Study in International Police Cooperation. *Columbia*.

Kenneth Jowitt: A.B., Columbia, 1962; M.A., California (Berkeley), 1963; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1970. Revolutionary Break/Throughs and National Development: The Case of Romania, 1944-1965. *California (Berkeley)*.

Marion R. Just: B.A., Barnard, 1963; M.A., Johns Hopkins, 1965; Ph.D., Columbia, 1969. Popular Support and the Fate of Governments in Great Britain: 1959-1966. *Columbia*.

Karl H. Kahrs: A.B., Hamburg, 1956; M.A., California (Santa Barbara), 1967; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1970. Elite Recruitment in the German Democratic Republic. *California (Santa Barbara)*.

Han Mu Kang: A.B., Indiana Central, 1962; M.A., Cincinnati, 1965; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1970. The United States Army Military Government in Korea: A Study of the Occupation and Its Effect Upon the Democratization of Korea. *Cincinnati*.

Yinmaw Kau: B.A., National Taiwan Un., 1956; M.A., Cornell, 1960; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1968. Governmental Bureaucracy and Cadres in Urban China Under Communist Rule, 1949-1965. *Cornell*.

Susan B. Kaulman: B.A., Barnard, 1963; M.A., Columbia, 1965; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1970. Decision-making in an authoritarian regime: The politics of profit-sharing in Mexico. *Columbia*.

James N. Karioki: B.A., Lincoln, 1966; M.A., American, 1968; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1970. Philosophy and Politics of Dr. Julius Nyerere: An Analysis of African Statesmanship. *American*.

Robert R. Kehoe: B.A., Rutgers, 1947; M.A., Columbia, 1949; Ph.D., American, 1970. The Cease-Fire in China-1946; the Operations of the Peiping Executive Headquarters and the Truce Teams During the 1946 Cease-Fire. *American*.

Eldon G. Kenworthy: B.A., Oberlin College, 1956; M.A., Yale, 1963; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1970. The Formation of the Peronist Coalition. *Yale*.

Richard John Kestler: A.B., Cornell, 1959; Ph.D., Ohio State, 1969. An Analysis of British Political Party Policies Toward the Independence Movement in Four African Countries: 1946-1964. *Ohio State*.

Naomi Eleanor Kies: B.A., Swarthmore, 1962; M.A., Northwestern, 1963; Ph.D., M.I.T., February 1970. Constituency Support and the Israeli Party System: An Analysis of Elections in Jerusalem, 1959-1965. *M.I.T.*

Robert R. King: B.A., Brigham Young, 1966; A.M., Fletcher School, 1967; M.A.L.D., Fletcher School, 1968; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1970. The National Problem and Relations Between the Communist States of Southeast Europe. *Fletcher School*.

Seung Ko: B.A., College of Wooster, 1962; M.A., Pennsylvania, 1963; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1969. The Domestic Political Process and Foreign Policy-Making in the Republic of Korea: A Study of the Korean-Japanese Normalization Treaty. *Pennsylvania*.

James W. Kolka: B.S., Wisconsin State (Eau Claire), 1960; LL.B., Wisconsin (Madison), 1963; Ph.D., Kansas, 1969. Political Socialization: A Cross National Comparison. *Kansas*.

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Ladis Kris Donabed Kristof: A.B., Reed College, 1955; M.A., Chicago, 1956; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1969. The Historical and Political Role of a Nation in Space: A Case Study of Russian and Soviet Concepts, Perceptions, Images, and Identifications. *Chicago*.

Stephen F. Lau: B.A., American, 1965; M.A., *Ibid.*, 1966; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1970. The Attitudes of Chilean Public Policy-Makers Toward United States Direct Private Investment. *American*.

Walter W. Layson: B.S., Tennessee, 1961; Ph.D., Virginia, 1969. The Political and Strategic Aspects of the 1962 Cuban Crisis. *Virginia*.

Rafael A. Lecuona: B.S., Florida State, 1958; M.S., *Ibid.*, 1966; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1970. A Comparative Analysis of the Perceptions of Selected Elementary School Children From Tallahassee, Florida, U.S.A. and Popayan, Columbia, South America About Politics, Government, and Citizenship. *Florida State*.

Hoyoung Lee: B.A., Seoul National University, 1958; Ph.D., Maryland, 1970. The Role of the Military in South Korean Politics. *Maryland*.

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Raymond J. Lewis, Jr.: A.B., Allegheny College, 1963; Ph.D., Syracuse, 1970. Modernization and Political Participation: A Survey of Upper-Form Secondary School Students in Sierra Leone. *Syracuse*.

Sanford R. Lieberman: A.B., Rochester, 1959; A.M., Harvard, 1967; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1970. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union and Political Controls During World War II. *Harvard*.

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Karen Lindenberg: B.S., Oregon, 1965; M.A., *Ibid.*, 1966; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1970. The Effect of Negative Sanction on Politicization Among Lower Class Sectors in Santiago, Chile and Lima, Peru. *Oregon*.

Osman Faruk Logoglu: B.A., Brandeis, 1963; M.A., Princeton, 1966; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1970. Ismet Inönü and the Political Modernization of Turkey, 1945-1965. *Princeton*.

Angelo Loiria: B.S., Xavier, 1959; M.A., Saint Louis, 1961; Ph.D., California (Los Angeles), 1969. Political Awakening in Southern Sudan, 1946 to 1955: Decolonization and the Problem of National Integration. *California, Los Angeles*.

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Thomas McKinley Lutz: A.B., Wittenberg College, 1956; M.A., Ohio State, 1959; Ph.D., Georgetown, 1970. Self-Help Neighborhood Organizations, Political Socialization, and the Developing Political Orientations of Urban Squatters in Latin America: Contrasting Patterns From Case Studies in Panama City, Guayaquil, and Lima. *Georgetown*.

Kevin Maguire: A.B., Colorado State, 1963; M.A., Columbia, 1966; Ph.D., Colorado, 1969. Learning Integrative Orientations: The Socialization Process in Transitional Societies. *Colorado*.

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Clair W. Matz: B.A., Albright College, 1958; B.D., United Theological Seminary, 1961; M.A., Lehigh, 1966; Ph.D., Virginia, 1970. Argentine Interest Groups: The Export Beef Sector 1958-1968. *Virginia*.

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Pinchas Y. Medding: B.A., Melbourne, 1959; M.A., *Ibid.*, 1962; Ph.D., Harvard, 1970. The Politics of Mapai, Israel's Labor Party. *Harvard*.

Daniel Melnick: B.A., Wisconsin, 1963; M.A., *Ibid.*, 1964; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1970. The Dimensions of Politicization: Language, Communication, Social Mobilization and the Generation of Political Attitudes. *Wisconsin*.

Paul E. Menge: B.A., St. John's, 1959; M.A.P.A., Minnesota, 1964; Ph.D., Duke, 1970. Management for Development: Executive Budget-Making in Indian Government. *Duke*.

Constantine Menges: B.A., Columbia, 1960; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1969. The Politics of Agrarian Reform in Chile: The Role of Political Parties and Organized Economic Interest Groups. *Columbia*.

John Goodwin Merriam: A.B., Hamilton College, 1955; A.M., Boston, 1961; Ph.D., Indiana, 1970. A Study of the Political Modernization Process on the Liberal Constitutional Period: Egypt, 1923-1928. *Indiana*.

Jon D. Miller: A.B., Ohio, 1963; M.A., Chicago, 1965; Ph.D., Northwestern, 1969. The Development of Young Children's Ideas about Nations and Peoples. *Northwestern*.

Richard P. Mock: B.A., New Mexico, 1963; M.A., Wisconsin, 1965; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1970. Decision-Making and Policy Implementation in the Ghana Water and Sewerage Corporation: A Case Study in Development Administration. *Wisconsin*.

Alfred L. Monks: B.A., Michigan, 1953; M.A., *Ibid.*, 1954; B.I.F.T., American Institute for Trade, 1955; Ph.D., Pennsylvania, 1969. Soviet Military Doctrine: 1964 to Armed Forces Day 1969. *Pennsylvania*.

Edwin P. Morgan: A.B., Southern Methodist University, 1962; M.A., Illinois, 1964; Ph.D., Syracuse, 1970. Economism of Political Development Theory. *Syracuse*.

Hanns Peter Muth: Vordiplom, Hamburg, 1960; M.A., Temple, 1962; Ph.D., Columbia, 1969. Toward "An Ever Closer Union Among the European Peoples," French Agriculture and the Political Integration of Western Europe. *Columbia*.

Johnstone Muthiora: B.A., George Washington, 1966; M.A., *Ibid.*, 1967; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1970. Education and Apartheid in South Africa. *George Washington*.

David J. Myers: A.B., Syracuse, 1962; M.A., *Ibid.*, 1963; Ph.D., California (Los Angeles), 1969. The Political Process of Urban Development - Caracas under Accion Democratica. *California (Los Angeles)*.

Koon Woo Nam: B.A., Kyung Hee University, 1958; M.A., Mass., 1965; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1970. North Korean Communist Leadership - A Study of Factionalism and Political Consolidation. *Massachusetts*.

Clark Neher: B.A., Stanford, 1960; M.A., *Ibid.*, 1961; Ph.D., California (Los Angeles), 1969. District Level Politics in Northern Thailand. *California (Los Angeles)*.

John R. Nellis: A.B., Syracuse, 1960; M.A., *Ibid.*, 1964; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1969. An Economic Theory of Developmental Ideology: The Tanzanian Example. *Syracuse*.

Byron Albert Nichols: B.A., Occidental, 1964; M.A., Johns Hopkins (SAIS), 1966; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1969. The Role and Function of Political Parties in Paraguay. *SAIS, Johns Hopkins*.

Mazi Elechukwu N. Njaka: B.A., Xavier, 1952; M.A., California (Los Angeles), 1954; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1970. The Igbo Political Institution in Transition. *California (Los Angeles)*.

Jean O'Barr: B.A., Indiana, 1964; M.A., Northwestern, 1965; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1970. Ten-House Party Cells and their Leaders: Micro Politics in Pare District, Tanzania. *Northwestern*.

Jeffrey L. Obler: A.B., New York, 1963; M.A., Wisconsin, 1965; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1970. Candidate Selection in Belgium. *Wisconsin*.

Milton A. Ochsner: B.A., Wayne State College, 1951; M.E., Nebraska, 1955; Ph.D., Oklahoma, 1968. Chinese Communist Attitudes Toward the Soviet Union 1949-1965: A Content Analysis of Official Documents. *Oklahoma*.

Monsignor John Joseph O'Connor: A.B., St. Charles Seminary, 1942; M.A., St. Charles Seminary, 1949; M.A., Catholic 1955; Ph.D., Georgetown, 1970. Cross-Cultural Interaction: An Evaluation of Some Conceptual Approaches. *Georgetown*.

William E. O'Connor: A.B., Brown, 1942; M.A., George Washington, 1947; Ph.D., American, 1970. International Cooperation Vs. Nationalism in the Economic Regulation of the World's Airlines. *American*.

William E. Odom: B.S., West Point, 1954; M.A., Columbia, 1962; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1970. Osoaviakhim: A Case Study of a Public Mass Voluntary Society. *Columbia*.

Michel Charles Oksenber: B.A., Swarthmore, 1960; M.A., Columbia, 1963; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1969. Policy Formulation in Communist China: The Case of the Mass Irrigation Campaign, 1957-58. *Columbia*.

Omonhiowan Omoruyi: A.B., Ibadan, 1962/65; M.A., SUNY (Buffalo) 1965; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1970. Social Communication and the Plural Society: An Inquiry into the Process of Integration in a Culturally Fragmented Society (Guyana). *SUNY (Buffalo)*.

Stephen Oren: B.A., Queens College, 1963; M.A., Columbia, 1965; Ph.D., *Ibid.*, 1969. Religious Groups as Political Organizations: A Comparative Analysis of Three Indian States. *Columbia*.

Arthur Arvin Palmer: B.A., Arizona State, 1965; M.A., *Ibid.*, 1966; Ph.D., Claremont Graduate School, 1970. Buddhist Politics: Japan's Clean Government Party. *Claremont*.

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Brainard G. Peters: B.A., Richmond, 1966; Ph.D., Michigan State, 1970. The Effects of Serving in the Administrative Structures of the European Economic Community on the Role Perceptions of Administrators. *Michigan State*.

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NOTE E DIBATTITI: Bruno Rizzi, *Polemica marxista*. — Vincenzo De Ruvo, *Il tempo libero e il dramma della società odierna*.

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